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TAYLOR INSTITUTION.

BEQUEATHED

TO THE UNIVERSITY

BY

ROBERT FINCH, M.A.,

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE.

2231 E. 244

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L. XXVIII.



L O N D O N,

Printed for C. BATHURST, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, A. HAMIL-
TON, T. PAYNE, T. LONGMAN, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, J.
ROBSON, F. NEWBERY, G. ROBINSON, T. CADELL, J. and T.
BOWLES, S. BLADON, J. MURRAY, J. NICHOLS, J. BOWEN,
and W. FOX.

MDCCCLXXII.



C O N T E N T S

OF THE

TWENTY-EIGHTH VOLUME.

C H A P. LXXV. Continued.

History of the United Provinces, or Republic of Holland,

SECT. VI. Containing the Death of Queen Elizabeth, and the Transactions which followed, to the Conclusion of the Truce with Spain and the Archduke Albert in the Year 1609, page 1

VII. Containing the Religious Disputes among the Protestants of the United Provinces; the Treaty with the Moorish Prince of Tetuan; the Disputes about the Succession to the Duchy of Cleves; in a word, all the Civil and Political Transactions of the new Republic, to the Expiration of the Truce in the Year 1621, 35

VIII. Containing the Commercial Affairs of the Republic during the Truce; the Renewal of the War with Albert; the Death of Prince Maurice; the Proposals of Peace made by Isabella, frustrated by the French Ministry; the Treaty with France against Spain, &c. 58

IX. Containing Proposals for a Truce between Spain and Holland; Propositions concerning the Re-union of the Seventeen Provinces; the Siege of Breda; and a Variety of other military Operations, to the Death of

C O N T E N T S.

the Prince of Orange, and the Treaty of Munster,	page 121
SECT. X. Containing all the material Transac- tions in which the Republic was concerned, until the second Rupture with England, in 1665,	165
XI. The History of the United Provinces continued; the Particulars of the Second War with England, and other Transactions, to the Invasion of the Netherlands by Lewis XIV.	212
XII. Comprehending the Affairs of the Pub- lic from the Peace of Nimeguen, to the general Treaty of Pacification at Ryswick,	310

C H A P. LXXXVI.

History of the Kingdom of Denmark.

SECT. I. Containing the Geography of Denmark; the Laws, Religion, Manners, and other Particulars which characterize the present State of that Kingdom,	351
II. Containing the History of the Danish Monarchs to the sixteenth Year of the Christian Æra,	367
III. Comprehending the History of Den- mark to the Year 981, after the Birth of Christ,	385
IV. In which is contained all the material Occurrences until the Year 1147,	425
V. Wherein the History is brought down to the Accession of Canute VI. in the Year 1182,	466

THE
MODERN PART
OF
Universal History.

C H A P. LXXV. *Continued.*

*History of the United Provinces, or Republic of
Holland.*

S E C T. VII.

Containing the Death of Queen Elizabeth, and the Transactions which followed, to the Conclusion of the Truce with Spain and the Archduke Albert, in the Year 1609.

THIS year was ushered in by the death of queen Elizabeth, an event which was by no means disagreeable to the states general. The spirit of that princess was violent and arbitrary, and the superiority she assumed so disgusting, that necessity alone forced them to comply with her humour. The Hollanders had now thrown off that humility which characterised them, when the protection of the English queen was first implored; wealth, power, and the success of their arms, inspired a haughtiness which could not suit with the spirit of Elizabeth. From the character of James I. they hoped to find in him an ally equally powerful, but less troublesome and impetuous.

MOD. VOL. XXVIII. B rious.

A.D. 1603.

*Death of
Elizabeth,
queen of
England.*

*The states
send am-
bassadors to
James I.*

rious. To secure the interest of this prince, a solemn embassy was sent to congratulate him on his accession to the throne of England. The ambassadors besought his majesty to continue the English auxiliaries in the pay of the states, and suffer them to be recruited; they expressed their hope that he would enter into a league with other powers of Europe, to oppose the aspiring views of Spain after universal monarchy; adding, that her late majesty having desired they would equip a squadron of large men of war to join an armament she intended against Spain, they had accordingly got ready nine ships and two frigates, which were lying in the Downs for his majesty's orders. To this address James answered in general terms, expressing his intention to live upon terms of friendship with the states general; but being just come to the crown, he declined involving himself in a war so early^a.

The court of Spain adopted the most vigorous resolutions to support the archduke, as they now entertained certain expectations that he would have no issue by Isabella, and of consequence the Netherlands would again revert to the crown of Spain. While mutual preparations were making, the governor of Boisseduc, by a stratagem, cut off five troops of confederate cavalry, most of whom he made prisoners. Upon this event Maurice determined to lay siege to the place; and though he could not expect to reduce it without artillery, which the depth of the roads prevented him from bringing up, yet to check the insolence of the garrison, and stop their incursions into the territories of the states, was an object of considerable importance. Thither Albert marched with all expedition; but on his arrival found that Maurice had not seriously determined on the siege, because he had neglected to occupy all the posts necessary for that purpose. To profit by the situation of the confederate army, the archduke detached, in the middle of the night, the marquis De Bella, with a select body of troops, to seize and fortify a post which would greatly straiten the enemy's quarters. Maurice had intelligence of the motion, and prepared to frustrate the design. He set out at the head of three thousand English, Scotch, and French, with whom he fell upon the marquis with such irresistible impetuosity, as soon obtained a complete victory, and possession of the important post disputed. It was this activity and penetration which rendered the prince on every occasion superior to his enemies, who possessed all his prudence and experience without that intuitive talent for

*Maurice
defeats a
body of
Spaniards.*

^a Le Clerc, lib. viii. Meteren, lib. xxv.

The History of the Republic of Holland.

essential to the general." After this action, the prince abandoned all the forts and works he had erected, and remained for two days encamped in the open country, at a short distance from the enemy, to provoke them to an engagement. But Albert had now so little inclination to try the fortune of a battle, that he retired, and, under pretence of the severity of the cold, put his troops in winter-quarters^b. Such were the operations of the campaign, after the most vigorous resolutions had been taken on both sides, of pushing their operations with uncommon diligence and perseverance.

As to the siege of Ostend, it proceeded but slowly; both the general without, and the governor within, had been changed, but no considerable advantage resulted to either party. Rivas commanded the army, and practised every expedient to approve himself worthy of the trust; but he was repeatedly baffled by the diligence of Vander Noot, the governor. At last he succeeded in reducing three out-ports, which he joined to the quarter commanded by fort Albert, by means of a great platform, mounted with heavy cannon, and surrounded with gabions full of earth. The garrison erected a battery, to frustrate the effects of this platform; and threw bombs so successfully, as to destroy the whole attempt, and cost the enemy infinite labour and expence. They seconded the fire of their battery by a vigorous sally, in which seven hundred Spaniards were killed, and an equal number made prisoners. Disappointed in this design, Rivas applied his mind to cutting off the communication between the garrison and the sea. Pompey Torgou, the best engineer in the service, contrived a kind of floating battery, which would have prevented the entrance of ships, provided it could be secured from the fury of the waves, by dykes and other defences. To raise these, above half the army was assiduously employed for several days, and when the work was almost perfected, Rivas had the mortification to see the whole destroyed by a storm of wind, and an incessant shower of bullets poured out from the heavy artillery of the garrison. Upon the whole, though no officer ever laboured with more diligence than Rivas, he made little progress; a circumstance which so chagrined the archduke, that he resolved to commit the conduct of the whole to the marquis Spinola. Before the marquis would accept that honour, he desired leave to examine the state of the siege; for which purpose he sent experienced officers to view the works. Some of these dissuaded him

*Progress of
the siege of
Ostend.*

^b Grot. lib. xli.

The History of the Republic of Holland.

from hazarding his reputation in an undertaking which must necessarily prove unsuccessful, from the impossibility of cutting off the communication of the garrison with the sea. Others were of a contrary opinion; they believed the town must infallibly surrender in time, and that perseverance would surmount every difficulty. The love of glory stimulated Spinola to embrace this last opinion.

A.D. 1604.

*The states
resolve to
besiege
Sluys.*

In the month of October he took charge of the army, and soon distinguished his capacity. Before the spring of the succeeding year he advanced his works so far, that the states general plainly perceived that Ostend could only be saved by hazarding a battle, or at least making such a diversion as would probably oblige the archduke to withdraw his army. The latter expedient was thought the least hazardous; and upon this the states resolved fixing for that purpose upon the siege of Sluys, a place so important that it would certainly engage the archduke's attention. The army, amounting to fifteen thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, embarked immediately for Zealand, where they were met by prince Maurice, attended by William Nassau, governor of Friseland, Frederic Henry Nassau, his brother, general of the horse, three other princes of the house of Orange, the prince of Anhalt, the deputies of the states general, and the council of state. Next day the fleet set sail for Flanders, and the troops landed on the banks of the canal Swartagate, after they had taken two small forts on the isle of Cadfant. It is imagined, that if Maurice had proceeded directly to Sluys, according to the advice of the deputies, he might have taken the place unprepared, and obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Ostend, by cutting off all their convoys of provision. On the contrary, he rejected the proposal, as attended with a thousand difficulties, which could only be foreseen by those who were experienced in the art of war; but the reasons he offered were such as confirmed the suspicions of the deputies that he was not desirous of finishing a war, upon the continuance of which depended his own great authority, and the elevation of the house of Nassau.

Maurice proceeded with reducing all the out-posts which could obstruct the siege of Sluys. He took IJendyck, defeated a body of twelve companies of German foot posted at Ardembourg, and took possession of Middlebourg, in Flanders, which the enemy evacuated at his approach. Whether he ought not to have proceeded directly to Sluys, is what cannot be determined at this distance of time,

^c Bentivog. par. iii. lib. vii. Meteren, ubi supra.

through

through all the mists of prejudice and passion which obscure this whole transaction. Albert had no sooner intelligence of the motions of Maurice, than he detached Velasco, general of the horse, to take post at Damare, a strong situation between Bruges and Sluys, and by every possible means to oppose the progress of the enemy. Maurice determined to dislodge him, and with that intention detached a numerous body of cavalry, under generals Ghend and Bax. The Dutch met with almost unsurmountable obstacles, by reason of the difficulty of the roads, and the resistance made by Velasco. Bax was wounded, and his troops were on the brink of being defeated, when the infantry seasonably arrived, renewed the engagement, forced the post, and defeated the Spaniards with great slaughter. Upon this success the prince invested Sluys, evacuating all the posts which commanded the town, and taking the best measures for preventing the garrison from receiving succours, until his lines were completed. Serrano, a Spanish officer of reputation, commanded in the town; but he was badly provided with necessaries, and supported only by a slender garrison, of which circumstance he gave the archduke immediate notice. Supplies of men and provision were frequently thrown in before Maurice had finished his lines: one indeed would have imagined that he purposely suffered the garrison to be reinforced, in order to try the strength of his own capacity in reducing a town which had every advantage that nature and art could communicate. At last he had so completely invested it, that the archduke placed all his hopes of the safety of Sluys in the marquis Spinola, who was far advanced in the siege of Ostend, and had gained more ground in a few weeks, than the former generals had gained in the two preceding years. Spinola however had too much discernment to undertake dislodging prince Maurice, which was necessary for the relief of the garrison. He found his lines too strong, and drawn too judiciously to be forced. After having viewed the posts, and found them impregnable, he marched with all expedition to Damare, where he attacked a detachment commanded by William of Nassau, who received him gallantly, and sustained the shock of the whole Spanish army, until he was supported by prince Maurice; and then Spinola was obliged to retreat, after having lost above a thousand men. Next day, the garrison being reduced to the last extremity for want of provision, capitulated on honourable conditions, and marched out with their arms and baggage, but so emaciated and exhausted, as to excite the compassion of their enemies. The garrison of Sluys, when it

*Sluys taken
by prince
Maurice.*

surrendered, amounted to four thousand men, so weakened with disease and hunger, that several hundreds dropt down dead in the short march to Damare^d.

The success of Maurice greatly chagrined Spinola. That prince had, in the space of three months, reduced the strongest fortresses in the Netherlands; whereas the Spaniards had spent three years before Ostend, and it was still a matter of doubt whether they would succeed.

Spinola returning to the siege, soon demonstrated the possibility of reducing the strongest situations. He blew up mines every where, he made violent assaults, and hemmed the besieged within so narrow a circle, as determined the fate of Ostend. Several governors since Noot's departure had been killed, and a multitude of inferior officers were either slain or grievously wounded. Almost every shot from the enemies' batteries now did execution, as the balls fell within a small compass wholly occupied by the troops. At last a strong wind from the south-west, at high water, gave the finishing blow to the works of the besieged, which being newly erected in the room of others that were demolished, could not withstand the fury of the waves. They were all overturned, and it was afterwards in vain for the garrison to resist; however they refused to surrender before the sentiments of the states and prince Maurice were known. A council was immediately called at Sluys, to deliberate whether the relief of the garrison was to be attempted, or the place immediately surrendered. The latter opinion prevailed, and orders were accordingly dispatched to the governor. The capitulation, in which the garrison and inhabitants obtained the most honourable terms, was signed the 20th day of September, above three years after the town had been first invested, and it had cost the lives of a hundred thousand brave soldiers. By means of this fortress, the states general employed the whole strength of Spain for three campaigns, and prevented the archduke from entering with a superior army into the United Provinces, while it left Maurice at liberty to reduce Rimbach, Grave, and Sluys. Curiosity drew the archduke and duchess to see the remains of a place which had so long and gloriously resisted the whole force of their arms; but scarce the vestiges of what it had been could now be traced; all was a heap of ruins, and those fine works, upon which such vast sums had been lavished, were reduced to rubbish and a mere chaos. As for Spinola, he was loaded with honours, and equally caressed as if he had

*Ostend
taken by
Spinola.*

terminated the war. He went to the court of Madrid to solicit supplies for the ensuing year, was graciously received by the king, and promised all he required. He gave Philip a clear detail of the state of the Netherlands, and the necessity of carrying the war into the enemy's country. He observed, that by crossing the Rhine, and finishing their operations on that side, they might easily penetrate into the provinces, which they would find impracticable on the side of Zealand, where canals, rivers, and dykes, rendered the Hollanders inaccessible. He represented, in the most lively colours, the disorders consequent on the mutiny of the troops, which proved the greatest obstruction to the service, and demonstrated that the disease was incurable, unless they were paid more regularly; for loyalty and fidelity did not require that soldiers should fight upon trust, and starve in the cause of their country. He proved that the damages sustained from the depredations of the mutineers cost the government more than if they were scrupulously paid, and that the mismanagement of the revenue was the whole source of the evil. The king and council were fully convinced with his reasoning, and they entered immediately on the necessary measures to send Spinola back, with full power to remedy all the disorders of which he complained. On his departure he was declared marshal-general of the camp, and commander in chief of the Spanish and Italian forces. He had authority to dispose of the king's revenues and troops in the provinces, in what manner he thought proper. He was created a knight of the Golden Fleece, and loaded with honours and preferments, which equally shewed the gratitude of Philip and the merit of Spinola^e.

A.D. 1605.

During the absence of the marquis de Spinola, terrible disturbances happened among the Spanish troops. Several of the mutineers had already entered into the service of the states; others were plundering the ten provinces, and some had the insolence to demand the strongest fortresses of the Netherlands, as security for the payment of their arrears. Albert's situation was truly deplorable; the scarcity of money rendered him incapable of satisfying the troops, and his want of authority prevented his protecting his subjects from their violences. He became, through no fault of his own, equally obnoxious to the inhabitants and the soldiers, while the states at the same time refused the supplies necessary for the maintenance of the court, until their de-

^e Bentivog. tom. iii. lib. viii. p. 177. Meteren, lib. xxv. Le Clerc, lib. viii.

mands were answered, and assurances given that the foreign troops should be withdrawn. Spinola fortunately arrived in time to stop the progress of an evil, which must soon have worked the ruin of the provinces. He began with immediately paying off the troops, and bringing them back to their duty, with redressing the grievances of the people, and giving all possible satisfaction to the states. Then he set on foot his levies, which were prosecuted with such diligence in Germany, Italy, and the provinces, that the states general of the United Provinces became soon sensible of the necessity of opposing this vigilant officer with all their prudence and fortitude.

*Motions of
prince
Maurice
and Spinola.*

Maurice had orders to augment the troops, and levy a body of horse in Germany. The king of France promised succours in a secret manner, and advised the states to enable the prince to enter early upon action, and stop the designs of Spinola. By exerting his utmost endeavours Maurice had his army complete a month before their expectation. In the month of May he made a bold attempt on Antwerp, which proved fruitless, though it was planned with the utmost prudence, and conducted with all imaginable resolution. The shipwreck of the vessels employed in the enterprize ruined the whole, and afforded the Spaniards an opportunity of making a great number of prisoners. It was farther intended, by this expedition, to attack Spinola at his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, before his whole strength was collected; but both enterprizes failed through a variety of cross accidents. The prince having provided all the forts on the Scheld with every necessary, resolved to remove the seat of war into Flanders, to prevent Spinola's design of penetrating into the United Provinces; and the Italian general throwing a bridge over the river, enabled his troops to turn themselves on every side, and commence hostilities in whatever quarter was found most convenient. Maurice was encamped in the neighbourhood of Isendyck, and Spinola imagining his design was to attack Sas van Ghent, or Bruges, removed to a situation where he could watch the motions of the confederates, without any danger of being attacked, his camp being surrounded with fens and marshes.

While the two principal armies were attentively observing each other, the archduke detached the count de Buquoy with a body of eight thousand men, to seize upon certain passages of the Rhine. This officer, reduced Keiser-

^f Grot, lib. xiv. Meteren, *ibid*.

waert, into which the coadjutor of Cologne put a garrison, thereby infringing the neutrality with respect to the United Provinces. The motions of count Buquoi put Maurice in fear that an attempt would be made on Reinbach; to prevent which, he detached his brother Henry, and Ernest of Nassau, to put this important place in a state of defence. They encamped on the Rhine, threw a bridge over the river, and chose such a situation as should enable them to succour Wesel, Reez, Emmerick, or Rhimberg. Wesel armed the burghers in its own defence. The inhabitants of Liguen, Oldenzeel, Grol, and Bravoort, demanded supplies of them, and provisions from the deputies who attended prince Henry, which they promised, and neglected, not imagining that Spinola would penetrate so far. In this opinion they were deceived; the marquis perceiving he could do nothing in Flanders, left the reduction of that province to count Frederic de Bergh, and suddenly arrived with five thousand men on the banks of the Rhine, halting at Boorort. This river he crossed on the 24th of July, having received intelligence that the provinces of Friseland and Overysel were defended only by a small body of forces. To secure his retreat, he ordered the count de Buquoi to build forts in certain posts; and to conceal his design, it was debated in the archduke's cabinet-council, whether Grave, Sluys, Breda, or Bergen op Zoom, should be invested. Informed of the fluctuations in the enemy's councils, the states little imagined the United Provinces were in danger, and had accordingly neglected the precautions necessary to their security.

As soon as the forts at Keiserfwaert were finished, Spinola laid his plan of operations before the council, which met with universal approbation. He could not avoid traversing the dominions of the duke of Cleves, and of other neutral princes; but he determined that his army should maintain such strict discipline, as could afford no just cause of complaint: he sent the count de Serle to assure the magistrates of the towns, that no violence should be offered to the privileges of the inhabitants; leaving the count de Buquoi with a strong detachment, to proceed with the rest of the army through Cleves and Westphalia, and maintaining such regularity and order, as even forces praise from the Dutch writers. Having penetrated into Overysel, he first presented himself before Oldenzeel, at a little distance from Liguen, which was the principal object of his attention. In one day he reduced the former town, which was poorly fortified, ill provided, and weakly garrisoned. At the same time Trivulcio was detached to occupy

Spinola's conquests.

occupy all the posts around Linguen, and take the proper measures for forming the siege. The garrison of Linguen consisted of five hundred German soldiers, under the conduct of Cobbin, who had just begun to repair the fortifications, suffered from penurious motives to fall into ruins. The states even neglected to lay in the necessary stores, because they hoped prince Maurice could return soon enough from Flanders, to frustrate all the schemes laid by Spinola; but they suffered the just punishment of that frugality which had more than once endangered the safety of the provinces. The town was invested, and the approaches were so vigorously carried on, that Cobbin capitulated ten days after the trenches were opened. It was perhaps an error in Spinola, to check the ardour of his troops, and the rapidity of conquest, by losing time in repairing the fortifications of Linguen; but his design was to secure a retreat, and maintain a footing in the province, should he be forced to retire on the arrival of Maurice. He knew that a strong garrison would be able to employ the prince's strength, while the Spanish forces might leisurely quit Overysse, and carry their conquests into another provinces.

Prince Maurice was no sooner acquainted with the intention of the Italian general, than he issued the necessary orders for preserving his conquests in Flanders, and proceeded with his army to oppose the enemy in Overysse. His first design was to relieve Linguen; but the garrison having surrendered before his arrival, he made dispositions for covering all the other towns that lay exposed. William of Nassau, governor of Friseland and Groningen, likewise began his march for the provinces, to remove the apprehensions of the people, and secure their fidelity to the states, in which views he proved successful. The great object was to prevent Spinola from crossing the Yssel; for which purpose, Maurice strictly watched his motions. After he was joined by William, the army amounted to nine thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry, and was considerably augmented by a number of Spanish mutineers, who now wholly deserted that service, and proved extremely faithful to the states general. Villar, the chief officer among the deserters, attacked and defeated a detachment commanded by the baron de la Chauss, who was killed in the engagement. The vigilance of Maurice, and the advanced season, obliged Spinola to retire, after he had left strong garrisons in Linguen and Oldenzeel. He can-

toned his troops round Malheim, at such distances as furnished the prince with the idea of surprising the Spaniards. A scheme for this purpose was drawn out; and had the execution been equal to the design projected, the Spaniards would have sustained an irretrievable blow. Prince Frederic and general Bax, were appointed to conduct this difficult and important enterprize, which failed through some misunderstanding. The attack was made by the cavalry, who were astonished to find the enemy drawn up, when they expected to have catched them unprepared; however, the onset was made with such impetuosity, as would have produced the desired effect, had not Spinola arrived with fresh forces, renewed the engagement, and after an obstinate conflict, turned the fortune of the day, when a body of Dutch infantry appeared in support of their countrymen. The action was now a second time renewed with redoubled fury, and the combatants were continually augmented, with troops powering in from all quarters. In the end, the Spaniards would have obtained a complete victory, had not two battalions of French, commanded by the count de Chatiller, secured a retreat to the Dutch, by keeping up a close, unremitting fire on the enemy's flank, which extended towards the river.

Prince Maurice checks his progress, but fails in an enterprize finely projected.

Such was the issue of a plan, upon which Maurice placed great dependence. The loss was considerable on both sides, but writers are divided with respect to the number. Bentivoglio alledges, that Spinola left three hundred dead in the field; but that the loss of the Dutch exceeded five hundred men, besides Emmerville, the best officer among the French auxiliaries*. Meteren on the contrary, affirms, that Maurice had two hundred men killed, and the enemy near three times that number; whereas Grotius reckons the loss pretty equal, but allows the victory clearly in favour of Spinola, the Dutch being not only disappointed in the intention of the attack, but forced to leave the field of battle. What beyond doubt determines the dispute, is, that the enemy immediately afterwards laid siege to Wachtendock, and reduced this strong fortress, without the prince's having it in his power to relieve the garrison: While this siege employed the count de Buquoi, to keep up the credit of his arms, Maurice made an attempt on Gueldres, which proved unsuccessful, and rather contributed to augment the disgrace he endeavoured to avoid. These misfortunes, however unjustly, affected the

* Bentivog. p. iii. lib. vii. p. 187. Meteren, lib. xxvii. p. 574. Grot, lib. xiv. p. 470.

reputation of this great commander, who was often under the necessity of acting agreeable to the instructions of the states, contrary to his own sentiments; frequently he entrusted the execution of delicate enterprizes to his officers, and was always curbed by a faction, which now openly professed themselves enemies to the aspiring ambition of this prince, and the growth of the house of Orange.

*Naval
affairs*

We shall conclude the transactions of the year with observing the rapid progress of the infant India company, which not only received the joyful news of vast conquests made in Asia, of several rich captures of Portuguese Indiamen, but of the safe arrival of thirteen large ships, loaded with spices, and the most valuable merchandize of India. About the same time, a Dutch squadron, equipped for that purpose, had the good fortune to fall in with a fleet of transports, which was carrying a battalion of Spanish forces to recruit Spinola's army. The transports were chiefly English, except a few Hamburgers: they hoisted the English flag; notwithstanding which, the Dutch admiral attacked them with great fury, sunk some, took others, and pursued the rest to Dover, where he fired warmly upon them within reach of the English cannon. Five companies of soldiers were taken or destroyed, the seven remaining companies were blocked up for several weeks, and James was forced to put up with this violation of the neutrality, contenting himself with fruitless, disregarded remonstrances. His cautious, timid disposition, could not long escape the discernment of the Dutch (A), and they seemed willing to revenge upon him the haughty usage they had been compelled to bear from the spirited Elizabeth. This year was likewise successful in cruizes upon the Dunkirk privateers, many of which were taken; and their crews immediately hanged; by which example they were so terrified, as to keep close in port, and suffered the Dutch commerce to proceed unmolested.

A.D. 1606. The year was ushered in with demands from the council of state of the United Provinces, for supplies to support

(A) It must however be confessed, that the states general had reason to resent the conduct of king James, who, according to their writers, took every opportunity of favouring the archduke and the Spaniards. He had not only withdrawn the English forces, but suffered

them to be employed in the Spanish service, and recruited in England. Besides, the transports on this occasion were almost all English, a circumstance which could not fail of being deemed a violation of the neutrality he professed.

the expences of the ensuing campaign. It appeared that the public charges were considerably augmented, without the army's being proportionably increased. Twelve hundred thousand florins were assigned for the extraordinary expences of the land forces; besides which, the council proposed that the provinces should liquidate all the sums due since the year 1599; which amounted to twelve millions of florins. The former demand was readily granted; but all the provinces exclaimed violently against an exaction, which would entirely impoverish the people, though it was no more than they had subscribed for the public service, and which, if performed, would have enabled prince Maurice to ruin Spinola, and terminate the war in a single campaign. Still, however, a faction exclaimed against the prince, and attributed the prolongation of the war to his ambition and avarice; although it was demonstrable, that, unable to keep the field, he was forced to act defensively, and was even too weak to succour Rhimberg, when besieged in the month of August.

Difficulties about raising the supplies in Holland.

Spinola's circumstances were altogether different. That general, when the campaign was finished, repaired to Brussels, to concert the plan of future operations with the archduke, and was so fortunate as to have all his proposals approved; but the concurrence of the court of Spain was necessary for the carrying them into execution, and it was presumed, the lively representations of Spinola would greatly influence his Catholic majesty. Accordingly he set out for Madrid, and was received by the king with the utmost cordiality. His proposals were immediately applauded; but the difficulty was to raise the sufficient supplies. Three hundred thousand doubloons a month, besides the revenues of Flanders, were demanded for the vigorous prosecution of the war, which was a sum too vast even for the Spanish monarchy, assisted with the treasures of Mexico and Peru, already drained by continual wars of near forty years standing. The best measures possible were however taken to answer Spinola's expectation, and with such alacrity did the whole court embrace the scheme presented, that an advanced sum of money was immediately remitted to Brussels, to make fresh levies. But the plan of operations was in some respects disconcerted by the tediousness of the negotiations at Madrid, and a fever which Spinola afterwards contracted, that prevented his return to the Netherlands, until the summer season was pretty far advanced.

Spinola obtains promises from the king of Spain of the necessary supplies.

This delay probably saved the United Provinces. The states spent the whole winter in deliberating upon the means

means of supporting the expences of the campaign, and the troops that would be necessary. The levies were not begun till late in the spring, and even then made under a variety of disappointments. The French king, embroiled with the duke de Bouillon, forbid troops to be raised in his country, and a war kindled in the territory of Brunswick, obstructed the levies made in Germany; above all, the parsimony and unseasonable frugality of the Dutch had almost ruined their affairs. At last the business of recruiting was undertaken, and Henry permitted a small body of French to pass into the Netherlands, before the end of the campaign ^b.

*He takes
the field
and enters
the pro-
vinces.*

Spinola did not hesitate about seizing the advantage gained by his superiority. He had two armies in the field; one composed of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, he led in person; the other, amounting to ten thousand infantry, and one thousand two hundred cavalry, was under the direction of the count de Buquoi. Both were provided with every necessary, and constantly attended by two thousand waggons, loaded with provision. Advancing to the country of Twente, Spinola ordered the count de Buquoi to pass the Vaal, and enter the enemy's country; but in this attempt he was frustrated by the vigilance of Maurice, who raised such a variety of obstructions, as it was impossible to surmount. Baffled in his principal design, Spinola resolved not to lose the whole fruits of his superiority, and accordingly invested Grol, a circumstance which obliged Maurice to march to the relief of the garrison. He met with numberless difficulties in succouring the place; but was on the point of succeeding, and had wrote to the governor an assurance of speedy assistance, when the letter being intercepted by Spinola, and the siege vigorously pushed, the garrison was compelled to surrender in despair. This event obliged the prince to retire, and so animated the Spanish troops, that Spinola undertook the siege of Rhimberg. The prince de Soubise, and several volunteers of distinction, immediately threw themselves into the town, with a view of displaying their courage; the defence was obstinate; but colonel Utenhove was at length under the necessity of capitulating. Maurice, in vain practised every method to save Rhimberg; he would even have ventured a battle, had the states approved of so desperate a remedy; but all was in vain; the activity of Spinola rendered his utmost endeavours fruitless.

^b Le Clerc, lib. viii. Meteren, lib. xxviii.

Scarce had the Spanish general completed the reduction of this strong town, when the troops mutinied. At first he endeavoured to prevail on them by arguments to return to their duty, and finding reason useleſs, he employed force. This augmented the evil, and more enflamed the paſſions of the mutineers, who thought themſelves hardly enough uſed in being deprived of their pay. They even increaſed to two thouſand horſe and foot, retreating towards Breda, where they could inſure quarters. Maurice took advantage of the ſpirit of rebellion, and the ſickneſs that prevailed in the Spaniſh army. He marched towards Overyſſel, with intention to recover the late loſſes ſuſtained by the provinces. He began with Lochem, which he reduced in three days, and then proceeded to Grol; but he had ſcarce formed the ſiege of this place, when he foreſaw numberleſs difficulties in the proſecution. Still however he purſued his deſign, in expectation that the confuſion in Spinola's army would prevent his giving him any annoyance. Conſiding in this hope, he abated of his uſual caution. Spinola's intelligence was good; he aſſembled eight thouſand infantry, and twelve hundred horſe, and ſet out with the utmoſt ſecrecy and expedition to attack the prince's quarters, while the garrifon, informed of his intention, kept up a brisk fire on the beſiegers. Maurice however had advice of Spinola's march; he conſulted the deputies what ſhould be done, and had their conſent to hazard a battle, if neceſſary. But he did not chuſe to riſque the ſafety of the provinces on the iſſue of an engagement; though the French auxiliaries, and even the Dutch troops, loudly demanded battle. On this occaſion, he certainly acted with prudence, though it afforded a handle to his enemies, to cenſure his courage, and at the ſame time his deſire to prolong the war. Maurice had too much fortitude and true magnanimity to enter upon dangerous meaſures for mere popular applauſe. He had already exhibited too many proofs of courage, to be juſtly taxed with cowardice, and he left his general conduct to ſpeak for his fidelity. In a word, he reſolved to retire, and executed his purpoſe in ſo maſterly a manner, that Spinola did not think proper to purſue; and contented himſelf with reinforcing the garrifon¹.

*His troops mutiny.**He relieves Grol.*

After Spinola had accompliſhed the relief of Grol, he returned to Bruſſels, to remedy the diſorders which threatened deſtruction to the archduke's affairs. Every method was tried to appeaſe the mutineers, and in ſome

¹ i Bentivog. par. iii. lib. vii. p. 107.

measure with success. Such was the confidence they reposed in Spinola, that they returned, upon his promise that their arrears would soon be advanced; but the remittances from Spain falling short of expectation, he failed in his engagements, and yet still had the good fortune to retain the affections of the soldiers, who shifted the blame from him, upon the shoulders of the archduke. In fact, Spinola and his friends had advanced large sums to the crown of Spain, of which they began now to dread the loss, together with the blighting of those laurels acquired in the two last campaigns. But the difficulty consisted in extricating himself. To throw up his command, would but lessen all his prospects of being reimbursed, and to continue his commission, would be hazarding the reputation he had gained with so much toil and labour. In these circumstances his only hope was, that the United Provinces would not take advantage of the situation of the Spanish army; but would, from their usual principle of frugality, involve Maurice in the same difficulties that attended him from the necessities of the court of Spain. Such was the situation of affairs at the close of the campaign ^k.

The states general perceiving that little progress was made in the land-operations, thought the most effectual method of distressing Spain, and of concluding the war at a small expence, would be to harass the Spanish shipping, and destroy the commerce of that kingdom. In pursuing this design, not only the expence of a fleet would probably be reimbursed by captures, but the Dutch trade greatly promoted, and new colonies erected on the ruins of the Portuguese establishments. One grand fleet was according equipped to cruise on the Spanish coast, to watch the arrival of the plate flota, and protect the commerce of the provinces. This armament was preparing, when advice was received that a Dutch squadron of seven ships had fallen in with eight galleons from Peru. The Spaniards attacked the Dutch with great vigour, but met with so warm a reception, that two of the galleons were burnt, and the rest so roughly handled, that three foundered at sea and were lost. This misfortune was severely felt by the king of Spain, though it produced no immediate advantage to the Hollanders. It raised his indignation to such a height, that he fitted out a squadron to intercept the Dutch, met them in their return, took the whole fleet, and sent orders to the admiral to treat the prisoners in

^k Le Clerc, *ibid.* Grot. lib. xiv.

the same manner as the Dutch had used the Dunkirk pirates; upon which the crews were immediately hanged. To revenge this cruelty, the states gave orders to admiral Hautain, who commanded their grand fleet, to attack the Caracca flota in the river Tagus, and burn and destroy the whole without mercy; but he was frustrated in this attempt, and forced to satisfy himself with some unsuccessful descents on the coasts of Spain and Portugal. As he was ready to quit his station, eight galleons homeward bound were discovered. Hautain immediately gave chase, and drove two of the galleons on the rocks, where they perished; the rest entered the Tagus, and escaped. Soon after he was overtaken in a terrible storm, in which the whole fleet were dispersed, and several ships were lost. His squadron was now reduced to thirteen sail, including frigates and brigantines, when the flota of Don Faisardo, composed of nine men of war, and eighteen galleons were descried. The immensity of the booty in view determined the Dutch admiral to attack the enemy, though greatly superior to him in strength. He endeavoured to gain the weather-gage, and was disappointed. Vice-admiral Claassen was separated in this tack from the rest of the Dutch fleet, attacked by five ships of the enemy, and engaged with the utmost fury. He defended himself for several hours with great intrepidity; but his main-mast being shot away, and his ship otherwise greatly shattered, he resolved to blow himself and crew into the air, rather than strike to an enemy who had lately so cruelly treated his countrymen. This desperate design he executed with admirable constancy, and perished with one hundred and fifty brave soldiers and skilful mariners. The engagement was warm between Hautain and the Spanish admiral, but night separated the combatants, and prevented the destruction of both parties, who were each resolved to die or conquer. Such were the transactions of this year, towards the close of which the richest India fleet ever seen from India arrived, with the agreeable news of farther advantages gained in Asia, and the prosperous situation of the company's affairs.

The infinite losses sustained by the Spaniards, by sea and land, in Europe, Asia, and America; the immense expences of the war; the little probability of reducing the provinces; the exhausted state of the treasury; the vast debts contracted by the crown; and the mutinous disposition of the troops, all suggested the first idea of the necessity of a truce with the obstinate Hollanders. It was now seriously deli-

The court of Spain begins to talk of peace.

berated in council, and the motion supported by the persons most attached to the interests of their king and country. The Portuguese, who were the greatest sufferers in their East India traffic, made strong remonstrances to Philip III. on the damages sustained from a ruinous war, in which they were no way concerned. They had lost an infinity of rich ships, were deprived of their best establishments in the Indies, stripped of their commerce, and in the open way to destruction, if a speedy issue was not put to the disturbances in the Low Countries, which had already cost Spain and Portugal above double the intrinsic value of the Seven Provinces. They asserted, that the difficulty of the war would every year increase, with the inability of Spain to support it; that the enemy were growing rich and powerful upon the ruins of their trade and navigation, and would every year prove more formidable. They added, that the natural situation of the provinces, surrounded by deep rivers and the ocean, rendered them impregnable; and if Spain could not succeed through the spirited conduct of such generals as the duke of Parma and the marquis Spinola, while she exerted her utmost force, how could she expect a fortunate issue under any other generals, when her strength was spent and exhausted? Philip, wholly occupied with the pursuit of pleasure, was naturally pacific, and had prosecuted the war by the advice of his council rather than from inclination. His ministers insinuated to him that the French king was labouring to unite the provinces to his own crown, in order to extend his dominions over the Netherlands. It was, beyond doubt, less disadvantageous and dishonourable to Spain, to suffer the provinces to enjoy their liberty, and become a free state, than to fall into the hands of a powerful and ambitious rival, who was mounting by large strides to an equality with the house of Austria. The success of the infant India company, afterwards established upon a larger basis, made the king apprehensive, not only of the loss of his colonies in the East, but of that vast empire he possessed in the West Indies. It was at the same time whispered, that the Dutch would afford the Moors shipping to transport vast armies into Spain; and indeed it is astonishing that the provinces, amidst all their distresses, never attempted making this diversion. These considerations, joined to the inclinations of the archduke and Isabella, who were quite wearied out with the perpetual complaints of their subjects, determined Spain to make overtures for a truce. Even Spinola, was of opinion that it was better to enjoy the ten provinces in security and peace, than risque the whole Netherlands, and ruin Spain, in the fruitless attempt to conquer
rebel

rebel subjects, who had too long tasted the sweets of liberty, ever again to bear with ease the shackles of monarchy and absolute dominion. He said, that if to their growing empire in Asia, they should add establishments in America, Spain would be reduced to its primitive poverty.

These sentiments of the Spanish court transpired before any formal proposals had been made. In Holland some alleged, that the report of pacific designs was industriously propagated, only to lull the provinces into security. Numbers of people pretended to discredit the rumour, because they lived, and had raised fortunes by the war. Others found out, that a peace would dissolve the union of Utrecht, and bring the trade of Holland and Zealand back again to Antwerp. On the other hand, the provinces most exposed wished for an equitable peace, and all moderate persons desired to see the public tranquillity re-established on such a footing as should secure the liberty of the provinces. These were the general sentiments of both parties, when the commissioners Walrave and Wittenhorst arrived from the archduke at the Hague, to make some proposals touching a congress. Prince Maurice was then in Overysse; and the deputies to whom the ambassadors addressed themselves, gave such discouragement, that they returned to Brussels, without having publicly communicated their instructions. They were again sent to the Hague in the month of December, with orders to acquaint the states, that they had instructions from the archduke to assure them of the sincerity of his pacific views, and readiness to grant any reasonable terms. They were farther impowered to offer the states either a peace or truce, and the choice of time and place for fixing a congress, where the articles might be adjusted. To these assurances and demands the states general refused to give an answer, because the ambassadors had brought no letters expressly addressed to the states. This difficulty was not foreseen; but, to remove it, one of the ambassadors set out for Brussels, obtained the letter required, and returned to the Hague. Now the ambassador demanded a public audience of the states general, and obtained it on the 3d of January. They read publicly the archduke's letter, professing his hearty desire to heal up those wounds which had so long afflicted the Netherlands; they commented upon the letter; represented the uncertain event of war, the misery of the people, and the duty of conciliating fellow-subjects who were unhappily divided by civil discord. The states general answered, that while the

Objections to a peace in Holland.

A.D. 1667.

The archduke sends deputies to the Hague.

archduke formed any right to the United Provinces, it was impossible they could ever consent to a treaty; that all the world allowed they were born a free people, and their highnesses could never make out their pretensions to dominion over them but by force; that it was incumbent on the states to recover what had been insidiously and oppressively wrested from them; that they could not consent in conscience, in honour, or safety, to treat with princes who formed pretensions on their undoubted liberties, until such pretensions were solemnly abjured; as for the rest, they declared they would be no ways accessory to the evil consequences which might ensue, since their resolutions were all formed in self-defence, and founded on justice and the natural rights of mankind, all of which dictated, that subjects might lawfully oppose the ambitious encroachments of their sovereigns, and draw their swords against princes in defence of liberty¹. With this answer the ambassadors returned, promising that they would soon acquaint the states with the archduke's sentiments.

It must be acknowledged that the general sentiments of the United Provinces were averse to peace; that the states treated the archduke cavalierly, and raised all possible obstructions in the way of a negotiation; but such were the circumstances of the courts of Madrid and Brussels, that they now waved punctilio, and were contented to effect at least a suspension of hostilities upon any tolerable conditions. With this view John Neyen, an ecclesiastic, extremely conversant in politics, insinuating in his address, able, penetrating, subtle, and eloquent, was again dispatched to the Hague. Neyen was acquainted personally with the principal men in Holland; he had a great number of friends in that country, and, though a Catholic, was exceedingly beloved by the reformed, because he had the art to make his opinions seem moderate. On his arrival he found the states immoveably fixed in their resolution to listen to no terms, unless they were treated and addressed as a free people. To this demand the archduke had strong objections, because it was in fact acknowledging that he had hitherto maintained an unjust war; that he was in no condition to continue it; and that he had really no just pretensions to the sovereignty of the United Provinces. He apprehended that such a concession would be injurious to Philip's and his own reputation; and he was sensible of the danger of rewarding rebellion with liberty. However, necessity overcame his scruples, and he determined to grant

¹ Baudius de *Judicio*, lib. i. p. 4.

the demands of the states general, hoping, that if the negotiation should turn out to his advantage, the event would plead his apology, and excuse the means he had practised of restoring peace to his subjects; but he first gave instructions to Neyen, to endeavour to procure some mitigation of this hard preliminary condition. Neyen expatiated to the states on the archduke's pious intentions to spare the effusion of Christian blood, and of treating with the provinces upon the most equitable footing; he eloquently explained the mutual obligations of sovereigns and subjects, and enumerated with admirable address all the arguments in favour of indefeasible right, a topic since that time so hackneyed in other countries; he launched out upon the blessings of peace, and the advantages which the commerce of the United Provinces, in particular, would deduce from the establishment of public tranquillity; but he artfully avoided touching upon the liberty of the states general, and the preliminary demanded. Finding all his arguments to induce them to relax in this particular fruitless, he returned to Brussels, and was in a few days sent back with full powers to negotiate with the United Provinces, as a free state, over which neither the Catholic king or the archduke had any just claim to sovereignty. He was directed to conclude either a truce or perpetual peace, according as he found the states general disposed; to offer them the choice of their own deputies, and the time and place for fixing the congress; and, to facilitate the treaty, to demand a suspension of arms for the space of eight months, during which no hostilities of any kind should be permitted; provided, however, that the proposals should in eight days be accepted. These overtures were contained in a writing, signed by the archduke on the 13th day of March, 1607, and accepted by a similar writing signed by the states on the 24th of April. At the same time, orders to suspend hostilities were reciprocally sent to all the governors of towns, generals, and commanders in either service. The articles of truce were exchanged at Lillo; and the archduke left the farther explication of the agreement of suspension to his envoy Neyen, who desired leave for this purpose to repair to the Hague. As Neyen received no immediate answer to his request, he construed the silence of the states into consent, set out for the Hague, and, on the 1st day of June, published an edict, whereby he declared, that the suspension took place at sea as well as land, limiting it however to the Northern ocean and the British channel. In this edict the frontiers were adjusted, as were several other particulars, which had before been omitted.

Foreign ministers, particularly the French ambassador at the Hague, were made acquainted with the determination of the states, and invited to send plenipotentiaries to assist at the congress. In consequence of this intimation, the French king sent the president Jeannin, and the sieurs Roiffi and Busenval to Holland, where, on their first arrival, they gently expostulated with the states, for having come to a resolution so important to the tranquillity of Europe, without having previously acquainted their master with their intention, and received the advice of so constant and necessary an ally^r. James, king of England, likewise promised that his ambassadors, Spencer and Winwood, should attend the congress.

*Obstruc-
tions raised
by the states
to the pro-
gress of the
negociation.*

The chief difficulty that remained regarded the manner of opening the negotiation. The deputies of the states foresaw the great revolution in affairs which so sudden a change from war to peace would produce, especially should prince Maurice disapprove of the treaty. The reputation acquired by the prince in the long course of his services, rendered him very powerful and very popular. Maurice was not only at the head of the army; but he held the stadtholdership of four out of the seven provinces, and the rest were under his direction, as his two cousins were governors. Several of the states became jealous of his authority and ambition; they united into a faction, pretended to fear that Maurice's popularity would aspire at absolute dominion, and gave themselves up to the direction of Barneveldt, pensioner of Holland, a minister equally able and faithful. They saw that the continuance of the war would certainly increase the prince's authority, and a truce proportionably diminish it, and open the way to the exertion of the functions of civil power: this consideration disposed the whole party to wish for the treaty, and to advance its progress and issue with all their weight and influence. It was farther necessary, they alleged, to shew their allies that the states had it in their power to conclude peace when they pleased; a demonstration which would render them more independent on their allies, oblige France to declare more openly, and induce all their allies to afford real, instead of imaginary assistance and large promises. On the other side, the Orange party threw all possible obstructions in the way of the treaty, receiving every proposal with great coldness and arrogance, starting punctilious difficulties upon every expression, and obliging the archduke, upon every trifling occasion, to send expresses into Spain,

^r Metteten, lib. xxviii. Groc. Hist. lib. xvi.

and wait their return, without advancing a step in the negotiation. In this interest may be included the bulk of the people, as well as the whole body of militia by land and sea. The former, by long habit, had contracted invincible prejudices against Spain, and the latter proposed the improvement of their own fortunes. But there was one consideration which weighed strongly in favour of the opposite faction. This was the decline of the vast Spanish monarchy, so formidable under Charles V. and Philip II. owing to extensive projects, ambitious councils, and unfortunate events. On the contrary, France was rising to a great degree of power, conducted by a prince enterprising, constant, and intrepid. This king put an end to all domestic discord and misfortune by a peace with the house of Austria. It was obvious, however, that the temper of the nation, long accustomed to constant heats and commotions, would not long remain quiet without exercise; and to prevent the people from finding employment at home, it might be necessary for the king to contrive work for them abroad, which might at the same time promote the views of his own ambition. Flanders had anciently formed a part of the Gallic monarchy, and its princes derived and held their power of the kings of France. An enterprize to recover the ancient demesnes of the crown lay extremely convenient, and seemed perfectly congenial to the disposition of Henry, who was at this very time making great preparations, which might very probably fall on this side, if invited by any greater decay of the Spanish power in the Netherlands. It was farther observed, that the authority of Spain in the Low Countries was supported by treasures, which came by long and perilous voyages from Spain; and by troops drawn from thence, from Italy, or Germany, at a great hazard and expence. The territory of the ten provinces was inconsiderable, and awed by the neighbourhood and jealousies both of France and England; but if Henry were once master of Flanders, the body of the French monarchy would be so great, so entire, so populous, and flourishing, as would make an attempt on the liberty of the United Provinces fatal, and completely decisive. It was this idea of a political balance, as well as a dread of the ambition of Maurice, that actuated that able minister Barneveldt, though many of his party were excited by personal resentment to the prince, and drawn over by the presents and promises of Spain.

* Bentivog. p. 209. Meurs. Rer. Belg. lib. v.

Besides the contending interests of the two parties, the negociation met with another obstruction. The archduke had indeed given his solemn assurance, that he would obtain a declaration from king Philip, ratifying the means he proposed, and the terms he should stipulate in the treaty; but hitherto no declaration of the Spanish court had appeared to confirm the preliminary steps to the negociation. Such a declaration was necessary, because the Netherlands reverted to the crown of Spain at the decease of the archduke without issue; in which case all treaties with him would prove void, unless they were concluded with Philip's consent. At last the declaration, couched in form of two acts, was obtained; of which circumstance Spinola gave notice to the states, desiring a passport for Lewis Verreiken, the archduke's ambassador. When Verreiken presented the declaration to the states general assembled at the Hague, it was objected, that the king had approved in general terms of all that had been done, and promised strictly to observe the armistice; but that he had designedly slurred over the clause where it was specified, that the archduke treated with the provinces on the footing of a free state, over which he had no jurisdiction. Not only this, but several other particulars in the manner and style of the act, were displeasing to the states general. They resented the title given the archduke of sovereign of all the Netherlands; the act's being written on paper instead of parchment; the king's subscription, We the king; the seal affixed, which was not the great seal of Spain; and the demand that the Dutch squadrons should be immediately recalled from the Spanish coasts. In the end, the ambassador was informed, that the states could not accept the declaration without considerable amendments. Vereiken laboured to remove the objections. He insisted that the Catholic king would never have ratified the preliminaries stipulated by the archduke, had not his intentions been wholly pacific; that, procuring the amendments required, would only retard the negociation; but that if the states would, in the mean time, proceed to business, he would engage to obtain the declaration they wanted, as soon as in course it could be expected. But this proposal was positively refused; and the states, for their own security, gave the ambassador copies of such a declaration as would quiet their scruples, in the Latin, French, and Spanish Languages; that no mistake through the equivocal sense of words, might arise^t. In these, several articles, relative to religion were inserted, which, it

^t Meteren, lib. xxviii. Le Clerc. lib. viii.

was apprehended, the court of Spain would not grant; and indeed the writing would seem to be calculated with that design, and dictated by the partizans of the house of Orange.

When the second ratification arrived at Brussels, the first observation which occurred, was, that the great seal was not affixed; but this difficulty the archduke engaged to surmount, should the contents prove otherwise agreeable to the sentiments of the United Provinces. The article with respect to religion, it was foreseen, would occasion more trouble. Verreiken and Neyen were dispatched to the Hague with this new ratification; which, though it was supported with all their eloquence and address, could not gain the approbation of the states. They objected, that, like the former, it was written in a loose style, upon paper, and sealed with a private signature. However, to preserve the appearance of candour, they said they would communicate the ratification to the provincial states, and report their opinion in six weeks; adding, that if the archduke thought proper to appoint plenipotentiaries in ten days, they would follow his example, and send deputies to the congress. Before the ambassadors departure, the states desired that the original ratification might be left in their hands; but this request was refused, though Verreiken, to oblige them all in his power, remained at the Hague, kept the ratification, and sent his colleague to attend the archduke's commands. By the 14th of November Neyen returned from Brussels, with orders to deliver the ratification to the states, upon receiving their written promise to restore it, in case the negociation should prove abortive. Even this expedient was rejected, and Neyen again forced to set out for Brussels, where he obtained the archduke's leave to surrender the ratification, without any promise or written acknowledgement. From such punctilious conduct and fastidious cavilling, it was obvious that the Orange party prevailed; that the general sentiments of the people were not pacific; and that the negociation would at last prove fruitless.

While the treaty went on in this channel, letters addressed to the states were received from the emperor, in which he expressed his astonishment at their not acquainting the imperial court with their intentions. He reminded them that the Netherlands were formerly a part of the empire, and that consequently they could not claim the privileges of a free state without his consent; nor would any grants made by the archduke and the king of Spain prove valid, without the full approbation of the Aulic council.

To

To these letters the states returned a civil answer, excusing themselves by affirming, that they imagined the king of Spain and the archduke had given his imperial majesty timely information, otherwise they should not be wanting in this mark of respect. They represented the causes which induced them to throw off the sovereignty of Philip, and now insist on the privileges of a free people; they alleged their having already been acknowledged independent by several states and sovereigns; and lastly, that they apprehended it properly belonged to Philip, to enquire whether he had a power to make the grants he proposed; that, as for themselves, they had long taken the resolution of being free, or of perishing in the defence of liberty.

Scarce had the states general returned this answer, and received the compliments of several foreign princes, when the provinces reported their opinion, that the ratification was a sufficient basis for negotiating a peace or truce. This resolution had been carried in all the provincial states, in despite of the objections raised by the Orange faction. Never did the talents of Barneveldt appear more conspicuous than on this occasion; on which he equally displayed the orator, the statesman, and the patriot. After having deliberated with the ambassadors of France and Great Britain, the states acquainted the archduke by letter, that they were ready to enter upon the negotiation, provided that nothing should be demanded repugnant to their privileges, or obliquely directed against their liberties; and that if he would nominate plenipotentiaries, they would appoint an equal number of deputies (A). Towards the close of the year

(A) It was at this very time, when the attention of all Europe was fixed on the approaching congress, which was to determine the fate of the United Provinces, that the Hollanders planned the scheme of a West-India company, which should likewise trade to Africa, upon the model of the East-India company. The project met with obstructions, on account of the peace now negotiating; as it was apprehended the king of Spain would dispute any grants which could be made out to the company. However,

though the states chose to avoid raising difficulties in the way of the treaty, which the whole world would have attributed to their desire of prolonging the war, they permitted their grand armament to set sail in quest of the Caracca fleet, soon expected. Admiral Hemskirk accordingly steered for the coast of Spain, received information that a Spanish squadron of six men of war lay in the bay of Gibraltar, and made dispositions for attacking the enemy. Juan Alvares d'Avila, commanded the Spanish fleet. He

was

year the armistice expired ; and the archduke gave the states general notice, of his desire to prolong it for a month. He likewise acquainted them by letter, that he had nominated plenipotentiaries, and expressed his inclination that the congress might sit with the utmost expedition. The marquis de Spinola, Ricardot, Mancidor, the archduke's secretary, Neyen, and Verreiken, were appointed ambassadors. It gave umbrage, that not one native of the Netherlands should be chosen to adjust the articles of a treaty, that wholly respected this country ; but the power was in the hands of the Spaniards, and by exerting it they proposed to gain some advantages to themselves^u.

In the beginning of the following year, Spinola and the other ambassadors set out for the congress. As soon as they arrived in the territories of the states, they were received by Justin Nassau, and conducted to the Hague, without any expence. In all the towns the people flocked to see Spinola, whose reputation was as great in Holland, as in the other provinces of the Netherlands ; and at Dordrecht, prince Maurice met that general, who seemed to regard the prince with astonishment and admiration. Maurice expressed sentiments no less favourable to Spinola, and they both paid those compliments which were certainly due to each other's merit. Various were the sentiments of the people on the arrival of Spinola in Holland. Before the arrival of the plenipotentiaries, the states had prevailed on the French ambassadors, that their master should become gaurantee of the treaty intended ; and they ventured to engage, that his majesty should assist the states with ten thousand men, in case it was broke through the fault of the king of Spain or the archduke. By the 4th of February, the states ge-

A.D. 1602.

^u Meteren, lib. xxx. Le Clerc, lib. viii.

was attacked by Hemskirk with the utmost resolution, and the engagement continued with great fury, until the Dutch admiral lost his arm by a cannon-ball. The death of so brave an officer caused some confusion in the fleet ; but the spirits of the Dutchmen were soon roused, by the gallant conduct of Verhoef, who succeeded to the command. After an ob-

stinate fight, d'Avila was killed, his ship run a-ground, and burnt by the garrison of Gibraltar, to prevent his being taken ; the rest of the Spanish fleet was burnt, sunk, or destroyed, and the victory declared indisputably in favour of the Hollanders, though they received no other benefit from it than the destruction of the Spanish armament (1).

(1) Meteren, lib. xxviii. Le Clerc, lib. viii. p. 248.

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The congress sits at the Hague.

neral thinking it was time to open the negotiation, sent compliments to the ambassadors, and demanded their instructions. Then they appointed William of Nassau and the sieur Broderode, with a deputy from each province, to confer with them. John Barneveldt was chosen to represent Holland. All were assembled in a great hall provided for that purpose, and the first day was spent in examining their reciprocal powers, in which a variety of difficulties occurred. We shall only mention, that the Dutch deputies demanded whether the ambassadors proposed treating with them as the representatives of a free state? To which interrogation they were answered in the affirmative. They next enquired by what right the archduke retained the arms of the provinces, if he proposed resigning the sovereignty? It was replied, that he was directed in this particular by the practice of other princes, the king of Spain retaining the arms and title of king of Jerusalem; the French king, those of Bavaria; and the king of England, the arms and title of sovereign of France, though they possessed not a foot of land in those countries. In a few days the Dutch deputies produced a schedule of the particular privileges they demanded, and the form of resignation required. The Flemish ambassadors declined giving an answer, but sent the writing to Brussels; and received the archduke's consent, that this article should be granted, agreeable to the desire of the states general, in hopes that an equivalent might be obtained relative to the commerce of the Indies. The facility with which an article of such importance was given up, created suspicions in the states, that either the archduke was not sincere, or that the congress would prove fruitless, on account of extraordinary demands touching some other points; though in fact it proceeded from an extreme desire of terminating a war, which had equally exhausted Spain and the ten provinces.

The next object was a general armistice, restitution, and compensation of losses; articles which were without difficulty adjusted, by leaving matters in their present situation; but it was more delicate and dubious with respect to commerce. Both equally affected the extensive trade of the East Indies; they had each too long experienced the advantages of this commerce to resign any part of it without reluctance. The directors of the East India company were deeply concerned in the issue of this article, and they made the strongest remonstrances to the states general and the deputies. Four days were taken up with the single article of commerce; the debates were warm and spirited, but nothing was determined. At length the Dutch deputies declared,

declared, that nothing but the acceptance of one of three proposals they had to make could terminate the dispute. The first was, that the provinces, in consequence of a peace, should ever have free leave to trade to the Indies; the second, that they should have liberty, in consequence of a truce, for a certain number of years, or that at least there should be peace on this side the tropics, and both nations be left to promote their several interests by arms on the other side the line. This last proposition was made because the Hollanders knew themselves greatly superior by sea, and the Indian princes in general disgusted at the Portuguese government. Two of these propositions were immediately rejected; the one being directly contrary to an express instruction, that the commerce with the Indies should on no account be allowed to the provinces; and the other to the inclinations of the archduke; which determined him to have the peace general, or the congress dissolved. As to the second proposal, the ambassadors declared they would accept it with this restriction, that the states should agree to renounce the India trade at the expiration of the truce. But this restriction was refused, and the ambassadors desired that the article of commerce might be deferred until others were adjusted.

Next the Dutch deputies demanded a list of the articles of which the ambassadors proposed treating; but this satisfaction was denied, until they consented that no advantage would be taken of omissions, and that, whatever should happen to be forgot, might not be excluded. The deputies set the example, and gave in a list of their propositions, contained in twenty-eight distinct articles. They were followed by a similar catalogue exhibited by the ambassadors in seven articles, the principal of which turned upon religion; but they were expressed so equivocally, and arranged with so little method, as afforded a large field for cavilling. With this writing they presented a request, that the states would draw out a scheme of the European and Indian commerce, which they would transmit to the courts of Brussels and Madrid, provided it contained nothing which appeared too severe to the catholic king and the archduke. The proposal was accepted, the writing prepared, and a demand made, that both parties should reciprocally deposit a certain sum in Spain and Holland, as security for the performance of their engagements. The articles were first examined at the congress, and debated with much warmth. Ricardot, in particular, was so affected with the insolence of the deputies, that he shed tears, and lamented the unhappy situation of Spain, which reduced a great

great monarchy to the necessity of temporising with a set of burghers and merchants. Spinola managed his temper with more address, and to his conduct it was owing that the congress had not broke up long before. Neyen was dispatched to Brabant and Spain with the scheme of commerce, which now received considerable amendment; but still the bill was too harsh, and long rejected by the proud stomachs of the Spaniards, who could not make concessions with any grace to those whom they used to command. These proposals met with a variety of obstructions at the court of Madrid, and Neyen's long stay rendered it necessary to prolong the armistice to the end of the year.

About this time the states general received advice of negotiations carried on at the court of France, which almost determined them to break off the conferences precipitately. While Neyen continued at Madrid, Don Pedro de Toledo was sent to Paris, to engage Henry in the interest of Spain, and thereby destroy the fruits of the whole negotiation at the Hague. Philip could not be prevailed on to acknowledge the freedom of the provinces, unless they previously renounced the commerce of the Indies; but finding that the French monarch was deaf to all his proposals, he concealed his sentiments, in hopes of obtaining his ends by dint of address and refined policy. At last, the ambassadors declared, on the 20th of August, that their final instructions, respecting the three great points of religion, liberty, and commerce were arrived: that his Catholic majesty was resolved to acknowledge the freedom of the provinces, upon no other conditions than that they should re-establish the Catholic religion, and renounce the India commerce. Upon this declaration they retired, leaving the deputies to deliberate upon an answer with the states general, the council of state, prince Maurice, and William of Nassau. These having communicated the proposal to the foreign ambassadors at the Hague, it was resolved that the negotiation was at an end: and a manifesto was published on the 23d, in which, after enumerating all the transactions of the congress, the whole blame of the consequences that might ensue from a rupture of the treaty was thrown upon Philip and the archduke. The manifesto was delivered to the Spanish ministers, who complained loudly of the manner in which they were treated. They then demanded an audience of the states general, and obtained it on the 27th. Here they proposed a truce for a certain number of years; and the states general accepted the offer, on condition, however, that the sovereignty and freedom of the province should be acknowledged

leged during, and at the expiration of the truce. This article exceeded the powers of the ambassadors; but they remitted the proposal to Brussels, and received for answer, that what the states demanded could only be granted on their renouncing the commerce of India, and establishing the Catholic religion in all the provinces; that however the archduke had forwarded their propositions to the court of Spain, expected an answer in a few days, and hoped the ambassadors might in the mean while be permitted to reside at the Hague. In this manner the truce was spun out to the end of September.

In the mean time prince Maurice, who never approved of the negociation, apprehending that a truce at least would ensue, should the Spaniards relax in their conditions, sent a circular letter to all the magistrates of the cities. This letter was dated the 21st of September, and tended to alienate the minds of the people from the truce in agitation. In the arguments urged on this occasion, it was easy to discern the politician, the patriot, and at the same time the aspiring prince. He strenuously opposed the restoration of popery, and asserted the sovereignty of the provinces; but he at the same time artfully inflamed the minds of the people, and rendered them averse to peace, possibly with a view to his own interest. Certain it is, that the truce proposed was necessary to both parties, and would have proved beneficial, could it have been obtained on equitable conditions. Maurice however seemed averse to it upon any terms; and it was perhaps more the interest of the Spaniards to have concluded a perpetual treaty of peace.

On the 24th of September, the ambassadors gave notice to the states that they were now empowered to treat with the provinces as a free republic, and conclude a truce for seven years; during which both parties should freely trade to each other's dominions in Europe, retain what they now possessed, and desist from all acts of hostility. They acknowledged, however, that the archduke was not authorised by the Catholic king to grant these conditions; but that he hoped to get them ratified. The proposal was communicated through the channel of the French, English, and Brandenburg ambassadors; but it was rejected, unless the sovereignty of the states was absolutely acknowledged without restriction, and free leave granted to trade to the Indies. As such concessions exceeded the powers of Spinoza and his colleagues, the conferences broke up, and the ambassadors took their leave. At parting, Ricardot assured the states that the archduke had acted with the utmost sincerity throughout the negociation; he blamed their obstinacy,

nacy, exhorted the states to reflect seriously on the conditions they had rejected, which they might probably hereafter not be able to obtain by intreaty and solicitations; and he concluded with saying, that they must be responsible for all the consequent effusion of Christian blood, should the war be resumed. The ambassador was answered by the pensioner Barneveldt, who instanced, as a proof of the sincerity of the states general, their refusal to enter upon the conferences, until their sovereignty was acknowledged. He concluded with retorting the allegation, that they would be responsible for the future effusion of blood, since the severity of the Spanish councils first kindled the war. The tyranny of Philip II. furnished the fuel, and the pride and inflexibility of Philip III. prevented its being extinguished, at a time when all the combustible materials were already consumed *.

The negotiation of peace broke off.

Soon after the departure of the ambassadors, it was discovered that Ricardot had either forgot, or designedly left at his lodgings, the original instructions given to the Spanish ministers. These the states published, with a long comment in their own vindication; though posterity have justly construed the instructions to their prejudice. In every line the archduke's pacific intentions were apparent, and nothing but the fastidious and insolent demands of the states, their caviling humour, and punctilious conduct, would have prevented the establishment of a truce, on the same terms on which it was afterwards obtained. All the foreign ministers would seem to be of this opinion. They concurred in pressing the states at least to conclude a truce; and the president Jeannin, in particular, enforced his advice with a variety of arguments. When the states objected that no dependence could be placed on the promises of the Spaniards, who had so often violated their engagements, he replied, that his master, the king of France, would guarantee the treaty, attack the violators with all his forces, and support with all his might that prudence and perseverance which enabled an oppressed people to treat with their sovereign on the footing of a free republic.

The republic divided into parties.

It has already been frequently intimated, that the provinces were divided into two factions, one of which totally rejected the truce, and every proposal that did not immediately contribute to the establishment of a solid and lasting peace. At the head of this party was prince Maurice; whose interest and aspiring views made him, it is alleged,

* Grot. lib. xvii. Baudius, lib. iii. Meursius, Rer. Belg. lib. v. Meteren, lib. xxx. Le Clerc, lib. viii. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, tom. i.

prefer war to the most advantageous terms of accommodation. It was, however, dangerous to profess himself an enemy to the tranquillity of his country; he therefore chose the safer method of obtaining his ends, by arguing against the consequences of the truce, sensible that Spain and the archduke were not yet sufficiently humbled to grant peace on the terms the states would demand. Barneveldt was the oracle of the other faction; he entered warmly into the opinion of the French ambassador, and thought a truce ought not to be rejected, because perpetual peace could not be obtained; it would, at least, afford the provinces a breathing, to enable them to renew the war with redoubled vigour. He penetrated into all Maurice's views, and represented in the strongest colours the danger of servitude to a family, whose patriotism was only a cloak to their ambition. Libels and pasquinades, calculated to blow up the sparks of civil dissension, were every day published; nor did the Orange party scruple to tax the kings of France and England with selfish views, in recommending a truce which could not be rigidly observed; which in consequence would involve the provinces in numberless calamities, and thereby prove beneficial to the commerce of France and England. A number of anonymous letters, threatening an attempt on his life, were received by Barneveldt, all of which he laid before the states, saying, that, though he despised the anger of the great, and the resentment of the deluded vulgar, while he was conscious of faithfully performing the duty he owed to his country, yet he could wish to resign an employment which he found rendered him odious. With these words he quitted the assembly, and was soon followed by deputies, sent to exhort him not to abandon the state at this critical juncture, when his ability and integrity were most wanted. Upon resuming the functions of pensionary, he represented, in the most lively terms, the advantages deducible from the succours offered by the two kings, and the regard which ought to be shewn to their sentiments; he gave in an exact calculation of the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war; he refuted all the objections made to the truce; and by the weight of his influence, the spirit and strength of his arguments, brought over the province of Holland to the opinion of the five other provinces, which had declared in favour of the truce. Zealand alone, swayed by private motives, on account of the rich captures made during the war, and the influence of Maurice, remained deaf to all terms of accommodation. The dispute grew high, the Zealanders insisting that to conclude a truce without their

consent would be a direct infraction of the union of Utrecht; and the others remonstrating upon the injustice of one province's giving law to all the others *.

A.D. 1609.

The conferences renewed, and truce concluded for twelve years.

In these disputes the year was spun out, without any progress made, either in the prosecution of the war, or of a temporary pacification. However Barneveldt, and the foreign ministers laboured with so much zeal and assiduity, that they prevailed on the archduke to prolong the armistice, and send deputies to confer with the French and English ambassadors at Antwerp. There the great point was gained, of renewing the conferences with the states general of the United Provinces, then assembled at Bergen op Zoom. In the end, the conferences were removed to the Hague; and, after infinite obstructions were surmounted, a truce for twelve years was concluded on the 9th of April, ratified on the 14th, then published in all the towns of the Netherlands, and joyfully received by the majority of the people, especially of the Spanish provinces. In the first article of the treaty the archduke, in his own and the king of Spain's name, acknowledged the United Provinces as a free state, renounced all claim to sovereignty over them, but in such general terms as would admit of altercation. In the second, a truce for twelve years, by sea and land, through all the dominions of both parties, was concluded. By the third article the parties were to remain in possession of what they now held, without cession or exchange. In the fourth a general amnesty was stipulated, and full freedom of trade, by sea and land, granted to each other's dominions. This necessarily implied a cessation of hostilities in the Indies; however, great debates afterwards arose upon this account. Spain observing the rapid progress of the Hollanders in the India trade, apprehended they would soon become too powerful in that quarter; and the Dutch were willing to maintain the advantage of their superiority. Both, for this reason, disputed the article; yet it could not be set aside without destroying the whole treaty, and the fruits of all their laboured conferences. The fifth article regulated the imports, and duties to be paid by the subjects of the archduke and the states, trading to each other's dominions, which were to be on the same footing with those of other nations. The archduke used his utmost endeavours to have the duties at Lillo, on the Scheld, abolished, and the commerce of Antwerp restored to its former grandeur; but this was so diametrically opposite to the interest of the Hollanders, that it was impossible

* Aitma, tom. i. lib. i. p. 16. Meteren, lib. xxx. fol. 660.

it should ever take place. The sixth and seventh articles likewise regarded commercial affairs; but it would be unnecessary to dwell on particulars; sufficient it is to observe, that the truce was mutually beneficial, Spain being no longer in condition to support the war, and the Hollanders having obtained the end of all their desperate resistance and invincible perseverance in the cause of liberty. Philip of Nassau was of all men the greatest gainer by the truce; as, in consequence of it, he entered into possession of all his paternal estates in the Spanish Netherlands and Burgundy; while the states rewarded the faithful services of Maurice with a pension of twenty-five thousand florins, to be paid annually out of the public treasury, besides an appointment of sixty thousand francs as governor-general. Pensions were likewise settled on the other princes of the house of Nassau: all were gratified in a manner that demonstrated the high sense the republic had of their merit; though they might possibly be disappointed in their great design of raising prince Maurice to sovereign authority. In this manner was a bloody, tedious war terminated, which had more than once almost totally extinguished every spark of freedom, and annihilated the Protestant religion in the Seven United Provinces*. The fortune of the states on this occasion admirably displays how courage, conduct, and perseverance, however baffled and disappointed, will, in the end, rise superior to misfortune, and triumph over every adversary.

S E C T. VII.

Containing the religious Disputes among the Protestants of the United Provinces; the Treaty with the Moorish Prince of Teutan; the Disputes about the Succession to the Duchy of Cleves; in a Word, all the civil and political Transactions of the new Republic, to the Expiration of the Truce in the Year 1621.

SCARCE had the United Provinces tasted the sweets of liberty and peace, when religious disputes arose, to blight the felicity procured by obstinate valour and invincible resolution. James Arminius, of Oudewater, in the province of Holland, first a minister of the gospel at Amsterdam, and afterwards professor at Leyden, gave birth to

Religious disputes in Holland.

* Scriptores citat. ibid. p. 18 & 662. Etiam Baud. tom. iii. sub fin

a new sect, called after his own name, whose principles were founded upon doctrines as old as the belief of a supreme Being. The sect was, however, in his time first distinguished, and his disciples were stigmatized as deserters from the followers of Calvin. They asserted free-agency; they spoke ambiguously of God's prescience; they deemed the doctrine of the Trinity not essential to salvation; many of them affirmed that the scripture requires no adoration of the Holy Ghost; and all declared that Jesus is not equal to God the Father: in a word, they regarded the creed of St. Athanasius as an unintelligible, unmeaning comment on an incomprehensible mystery. These tenets were adopted by great numbers of the learned in Holland, and other Protestant provinces, particularly in Germany; but they had not been publicly taught from the professorial chair before the elevation of Arminius to that office. Most divines who had received their education at Geneva, or in the Palatinate, brought with them from thence the doctrine of predestination: a violent contest arose between the parties; synods and religious conferences were held in divers places; the states interposed, and the chief persons of the republic espoused either Arminius or Gomarus, who were the leaders of these factions; for such in reality they ought to be esteemed. Religion was only the pretext, policy was the source of those impure and bitter invectives poured out on both sides. The prince of Orange and Barneveldt seized this opportunity of venting their mutual animosity, which now was greatly augmented by the credit which the pensioner acquired from accomplishing the truce with the archduke, in despite of all the endeavours of the house of Nassau. In all controversies it is difficult to adhere to the original point in dispute; it is particularly so in religious contests, where probably both parties are reasoning upon what exceeds the limits of their understanding. The smallest deviation leads into a greater, and at last the disputants end in something which has not the smallest relation to the first subject of debate. Thus it was that a quarrel among obscure divines, about points which neither could determine, became the bone of contention among the leading personages in the provinces, and laid the first conception of a humour that has ever since remained lurking in the constitution of the state, breaking out upon all revolutions, and laying the foundation of that disunion and discord, which will probably terminate one day in the total subversion of the republic*.

* Meteren, lib. xxxii. Le Clerc, lib. ix.

With respect to civil affairs, the object of greatest consequence was to push with all imaginable vigour the advantage which the provinces in general might deduce from this interval of tranquillity; for, during the war, trade was altogether confined to Holland and Zealand.

*Treaty
with the
emperor of
Morocco.*

With this view the states ordered that one hundred and fifty Moors, taken on board Spanish captures, should be returned without ransom, and presented to the emperor of Morocco, in consideration of the civilities shewn by that prince to Hemkirk's fleet some years before, and to obtain certain commercial privileges in his dominions. Two ships of war were accordingly sent, under captain Hermanfen, to the coast of Africa, having on board the Moorish prisoners, and a present of some black cattle from prince Maurice to the emperor. The presents were well received; all the immunities required were granted; and a proposition was made of declaring war jointly against the king of Spain, which the Dutch civilly declined, urging in excuse the last truce. This proposal was made by an alcaide, who returned with the fleet to Holland. The Moorish envoy, perceiving the states were averse to war, offered to take part of their fleet into his master's pay; but this demand was likewise refused, and, to qualify his disappointment, the ambassador was loaded with presents, and dismissed with the strongest protestations of respect and veneration for his master.

The next year was ushered in by an event which had almost frustrated the intention of the late treaty with Spain and the archduke, and involved in a fresh war all the provinces of the Netherlands. Prince John William, duke of Cleves and Juliers, dying without issue-male, his dominions devolved upon his sisters, in whose right the elector of Brandenburg, and duke of Newburgh, demanded the succession. Several other competitors likewise appeared; but these were the chief. The elector applied to the French king and the Dutch to support his pretensions; the duke of Newburgh had recourse to the king of Spain and the archduke. At first the contention lay between the house of Saxony on the one side, and the houses of Brandenburg and Newburgh on the other. Divers conferences were held to adjust the claims of the candidates amicably, but they proved fruitless. The archduke, newly respiring after a tedious war, had no inclination to involve himself in fresh disputes, in which he was properly no party; but it was his interest to provide that the Dutch should take no advantage of his pacific inclinations, and, under pretence of assisting the elector of Brandenburg, seize upon those

*The truce
broke by the
death of the
duke of
Cleves.*

places in the disputed territory which lay most convenient to the provinces. The emperor claimed the right of deciding the dispute ; but Henry IV. did not chuse that the house of Austria should have any accession of dominion or power. However, the former adjudged the duchies, under certain limitations, to the house of Saxony ; and the assassination of Henry, by Ravillac, happened before that monarch had taken any measures to oppose the imperial verdict. Still the court of France espoused the princes, and encouraged the states general to undertake the siege of Juliers, to which they were solicited by the elector of Brandenburg. Dutch writers allege, that the states determined upon this measure with reluctance, apprehending it might be deemed an infraction of the truce ; but they were compelled to it by Maurice, whose warlike, ambitious mind eagerly sought a rupture, or at least a war, in which his talents shone with such peculiar lustre. Accordingly, with fourteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, he traversed Spanish Guelderland, without offering the smallest violence to the inhabitants, the subjects of the archduke Albert, and sat down before Juliers. After a vigorous defence, the city capitulated by the 2d day of September, and was garrisoned by Dutch forces, under the pretext it should be sequestered in the hands of the states until the dispute might be finally decided. Albert regarded this transaction as an infraction of the truce. He perceived that the states, actuated by ambition, relied too much on his pacific intentions ; he therefore determined to venture the whole state of Flanders rather than suffer such an encroachment on right, and addition to the power and dominion of rebel provinces, not yet declared free, but treated with as free and sovereign ; a middle distinction made in the late treaty, by way of salvo to the pride of the court of Spain. He first demanded solemn restitution of the town of Juliers, in the name of the duke of Newburgh ; but obtaining only shuffling, dilatory answers, an army was assembled under Spinola. As the states had strongly garrisoned their late acquisition, they were under no apprehensions about the destination of this army, not doubting but it was intended against Juliers ; in which design the archduke would find himself disappointed. The masterly conduct, however, of Spinola, threw the provinces into the utmost consternation. After having approached within sight of Juliers, he wheeled round suddenly, marched to Wesel, and took it before the Dutch army could come to its relief. This town was strong by nature and art ; it was claimed by the duke of Brandenburg as a dependency on the

the duchy of Cleves; but was held by the inhabitants under the protection of the states general. Not less astonished than awed by the success of a bold attempt, which opened a way to the invasion of the provinces, the Dutch applied to the mediation of England and France, and at last accommodated matters with the archduke by more abject concessions than they had ever before made in their most adverse circumstances. By this one spirited stroke Albert regained the reputation he had lost from the terms granted in the late treaty, and the states were justly chastised and mortified for that insolent carriage shewn towards sovereign princes and crowned heads, who were once their masters^b.

The archduke and republic again reconciled.

The appearance of a rupture with the archduke cooled for a while the ardor of faction and religious controversy in the United Provinces. No sooner was the truce re-established, than the civil divisions broke out with redoubled strength and vehemence. The Gomarists renewed their prosecution of the Arminian dissenters; they were pushed on by the house of Orange, sometimes protected by the states, and opposed chiefly by Barneveldt, Grotius, Vossius, the learned in general, and the magistrates of cities in which their influence prevailed. Arminius, on his first elevation to the professorship, behaved with the utmost moderation; he scrupulously avoided giving offence, but was, in course of lecturing, forced to advance opinions which roused the indignation of the Gomarists, who watched the opportunity of resuming the disputes. His doctrines were opposed, and he defended them with great temper and ability. The best pens in Holland, or indeed in Europe, were employed in his vindication. Grotius and Vossius both embarked deeply in the cause; and the Leyden professor became the head of a faction of which he was but an inconsiderable member. In some towns the Arminian clergy were imprisoned or expelled, in others the Gomarists underwent the same treatment. Synods met in all the provinces; public disputations were maintained; and both parties rather confirmed in their opinions than convinced of their errors. The suspension of the clergy naturally led to an inquiry into the rights and powers of the magistrates, this into the prerogatives of the lieutenants or stadtholders of the several provinces, and that into the sovereign right of the provincial states and states general. A question purely speculative became now a matter of the utmost consequence to liberty. The Arminians were represented as secret friends to Spain, and enemies to the privileges of their country; the people were

The religious disputes again renewed

A.D. 1611.

^b Idem. ibid.

inflamed; prince Maurice was raised to a greater height of popularity than he had ever before attained, being at the head of the army, and supported by the multitude, he ventured upon some bold and dangerous alterations in the civil government; changing the magistrates of cities at pleasure, so as to obtain a majority in the provincial states, and consequently in the states general. The first contested election of magistrates was at Leuwarde in Friesland, where the magistrates, legally chosen, were deposed, and supplanted by others nominated by the populace. The next was at Utrecht, where the divisions ran high in proportion to the number of the people. The burgomasters were disliked, and complaints were made of their assuming an authority inconsistent with the laws; promises of speedy redress were given, but the populace wanted more. They demanded the authority, and by a violent election of burgomasters usurped the right of civil government. So general was this tumult, that even the Roman catholics took up arms, and insisted upon the free exercise of their religion, though expressly prohibited by the union of Utrecht, in which all other opinions besides are licensed. As the violence of of faction ran to a dangerous height, prince Maurice, attended by deputies from the states general, repaired to Utrecht, in order to restore the tranquillity of the city; but, instead of meeting with the respect his quality, his office, and his merit, demanded, he was grossly insulted, and forced to retire precipitately. This event determined the states general to assemble at Woerde, and to summon the provincial states of Utrecht and prince Maurice before them. After long deliberation, no remedies, adequate to the disease, could be found; the states of Utrecht were therefore dismissed, with a serious exhortation to apply themselves vigorously to the suppression of riots and tumults, which might probably terminate in anarchy, and the destruction of all government, unless seasonably prevented. It is difficult to find the cause of the commotions in Utrecht; they would seem to be a consequence of the original dispute between Arminius and Gomarus; but then the parties, in the heat and zeal of controversy, had changed opinions; and Maurice was insulted by the very populace by whom he had been adored.

A.D. 1612.

*Commutations
at Utrecht.*

When the provincial states of Utrecht returned, they reported the censures passed on their conduct by the states general; which so enraged the populace, that, flying to

e Utembogard. par. iii. p. 488. Meteren, lib. xxxii. Le Clerc, lib. ix.

arms,

arms, they committed a thousand disorders, and raised such tumults as the new magistrates could not appease. The burghers were ordered to send four deputies to attend the states at the Hague, with the submission of the inhabitants of Utrecht. It was added, that if they chose the states should sit rather at Utrecht than the Hague, their inclination should be gratified, provided the garrison was reinforced with four more companies of soldiers, to suppress disorders, and protect the assembly against insults. All these admonitions and concessions produced no effect. The Utrechters remained obstinate, and the states talked of laying siege to the city. Previous, however, to violent measures, they published a circular letter, addressed to all the provincial states of the union, acquainting them with the transactions at Utrecht, and requiring their advice and assistance. Meanwhile a body of forces had orders to file off towards Utrecht. At first the magistrates laughed at the motion of the army; they imagined the states would never push matters to extremities; but they no sooner beheld the city almost completely invested than they changed their tone, and besought the magistrates of Amsterdam to interpose as mediators. In consequence of this request, a kind of reconciliation was effected, and the Utrechters were punished, by deposing the new magistrates, and restoring those who had been expelled by the people. Thus ended, without effusion of blood, a tumult which might have endangered the safety of the commonwealth, had not the government acted with great spirit and resolution.

With respect to the clergy, their disputes became purely political. It was debated, how far the sovereign authority might interpose in ecclesiastical affairs? Whether the clergy might not, in conscience, be under the necessity of preaching doctrines contrary to the legislative power? Whether the sovereign authority has power to assemble the clergy, and to chuse the members of the assembly? Whether the ecclesiastical synods are subject to the sovereign power? and, admitting they are, Whether by that means the sovereign is not made arbitrary over the consciences of his subjects? The parties came to be distinguished by the appellations of Remonstrants, and Contra-Remonstrants. Libels, pasquinades, and violent invectives, mutually enflamed their spirits. At Utrecht factions were renewed; and it was visible the people only watched an opportunity to subvert the government, and restore their own favourites to the magistracy. This consideration induced the states general to invest the council of state with authority to exact a fresh oath of fidelity from the magistrates, burghers, and other

The religious disputes now become political.

other inhabitants. The populace were now exasperated to the highest pitch. They knew themselves guilty of sedition; by the oath required they became guilty of perjury. They formed the project of gaining possession of the garriſon, commanded by the chevalier Ogle, who was appointed to that trust by prince Ernest of Naſſau. Canter and Helſdingen, the perſons raiſed to the magiſtracy in the late tumult, entered into the conſpiracy; and all bound themſelves by an oath to ſecrecy, and fidelity to their engagements. By ſome means, however, their deſign tranſpired; ſome of the conſpirators were ſeized, put to the torture, and an ample diſcovery obtained. The two chiefs were baniſhed for life, and forbid, at the peril of their lives, ever ſetting foot in the United Provinces. Several of the conſpirators were condemned to death; but afterwards relieved, and pardoned.

As the controverſy could never be decided by arguments, where each party built upon the authority of the ſacred writings, the contra-remonſtrants ſolicited the ſtates general for a national ſynod to ſit under the direction of the ſtates; and they granted the requeſt, as the moſt probable method of terminating diſputes; but were oppoſed by the provincial ſtates of Holland and Utrecht. Thus, not only the eccleſiaſtical, but the civil government was divided. Barneveldt ſaw the ruin that impended, and he endeavoured to divert it, by propoſing certain eccleſiaſtical laws to be confirmed by the ſtates. The ſcheme had been projected ſeveral years before, but never carried into execution. It was now approved by a variety of members of the ſtates of Holland, but rejected by others, until the religious controverſy ſhould be firſt decided. Whatever was done before this event, would, it was urged, be premature, and the laws would have the approbation only of one party. Barneveldt, however, meant to ſilence all diſputation by the force of laws; but this ſtep was contrary to the intereſt and views of the Orange faction, who made a handle of the propoſal, to the prejudice of that great ſtateſman and patriot. He was accuſed of dangerous deſigns upon religion; notwithstanding which he carried his point in the province of Utrecht, and was in a fair way of ſubduing the rage of faction^d. At Rotterdam matters went otherwiſe. One Giſelius, a violent contra-remonſtrant, ſtirred up the people by his ſeditious harangues. He preached that it was unlawful to communicate with the remonſtrants; he was admoniſhed to moderation by the magiſtrates, but in vain. He was exhorted to

^d Brandt, lib. xxv. Utemb. p. 4.

hold a conference with his opponents, and to compromise their differences amicably, but to no purpose; he refused to appear, and continued his inflammatory harangues from the pulpit. The magistrates published a proclamation, declaring, that neither they nor the remonstrants were the authors of those factions which disturbed the public tranquillity, and forbidding the people to credit the calumnies published against the clergy. At last it became necessary to suspend Gisellius. He was accordingly forbid to preach within the jurisdiction of Rotterdam. This was called persecution, the notion of which is attended with the worst consequences in a free government. His partizans caballed in private, became dangerous, and obliged the magistrates to order Gisellius immediately to quit the city. He refused to obey, but was compelled, and ignominiously led through the public streets by a bailiff. The Orange party made an excellent handle of this circumstance. They exclaimed, that liberty was at an end; that the magistrates usurped a power altogether unconstitutional; they even asserted, that the remonstrants were in the interest of the Jesuits, and conspiring again to subjugate their country to the Spanish tyranny. However absurd the accusation might appear to all judicious persons, it was so artfully propagated as to gain credit. Mourier, a French writer of reputation, then resident in Holland, relates, that so convinced was the princess dowager of Orange of the ambitious designs entertained by prince Maurice, that she seriously remonstrated with him upon the subject. He even alleges, that the prince endeavoured to prevail on her to gain Barneveldt to his purposes, assured that the consent of this honest patriot would easily pave the way to sovereignty. He farther relates, that the princess closeted Barneveldt, used all her influence with him, and received for answer, that nothing could be more consonant to his wishes than the glory and elevation of the house of Orange, could this be obtained consistently with the liberty of his country. Barneveldt then expatiated upon the hazard of the project, which must necessarily terminate in the ruin of the family, and possibly of the commonwealth. In a word, he spoke with so much strength and energy, that he entirely overcame the princess, converted her to his own opinion, made her a rigid stickler for liberty, and persuaded her to exert all her influence to induce Maurice to lay aside his purpose, and heal up those divisions in church and state, which could never produce any other effect than the destruction of all parties *.

*Ambitious
designs of
prince
Maurice,
and steadiness of Bar-
neveldt.*

* Contin. de Reidan. lib. xxvi. Brandt. lib. xxvi.

The History of the Republic of Holland.

†† Maurice affect to abstract himself entirely from the ecclesiastical disputes. When Barneveldt told him, faction ran so high that the states of Holland must have recourse to him to assist their authority, he pretended astonishment, and declared his aversion to meddle in these matters. However, Barneveldt had too much discernment not to fathom his private sentiments; which the prince indeed inadvertently hinted in the conversation about the remonstrants. The pensioner proposed, that the states general should be moved to grant a general toleration, with respect to the disputed points; and that the clergy of each side, who were suspended, should be restored to their functions. To this proposition the prince, in appearance, consented; and it was accordingly decreed by the states, assembled at the Hague, in the year 1616, that every violation of such general toleration as contributed to the public tranquillity, should be punished in the most effectual manner by the civil and ecclesiastical powers. It was farther decreed, that if any fresh disputes should arise upon points hitherto uncontroverted, they should be decided by a majority in the provincial or national synods. These resolutions were, however, opposed by the deputies of Rotterdam, the Briel, the Hague, Benthuyfen, and a variety of towns, where the people declared they could not, with a safe conscience, hear doctrines openly preached, which must give offence to every sincere Christian. It was not considered, that Jews, Armenians, and Mohammedans, were permitted the free exercise of their several religions in Holland. Still, however, the states pursued their first resolution, though they relaxed a little in favour of the deputies, on condition they would not suffer persons within their jurisdiction, who embraced the toleration, to be oppressed. In the end, the deputies were dismissed, with an exhortation to examine the affair coolly and deliberately, and to assist with all their influence in restoring the public tranquillity, which could not be a task of great difficulty, considering that both parties were of the same religion, had the same form of worship, the same public ceremonies, the same manner of exposing vice and cherishing virtue, and differed only in a few points of little consequence to salvation, or indeed to society.

The excellent design of the states was, however, considerably obstructed by the pride and conceit of the theologians, who would not admit that any part of their system was capable of amendment; and by the secret endeavours of the Orange faction to lessen the influence, and blast the

the character of Barneveldt, as well as to diminish the authority of the provincial states of Holland. This purpose could not be accomplished but under the mask of liberty and religion, which ever work powerfully on the minds of the vulgar, who least understand them or enjoy their benefit. The nobles and magistrates of Holland were attacked in public writings; and Barneveldt, in particular, after forty years faithful service, was libelled as a traitor to his country. He had frequently represented this abuse of liberty to the states; but the point was delicate: laying any restraint on the press would enflame the minds of the people, and afford the fomentors of sedition the fairest opportunity of declaiming against the government. Barneveldt now gave in a draught of his plan for suppressing libels and inflammatory publications; but it was strongly opposed by the magistrates of Amsterdam, notwithstanding their own conduct was the subject of the keenest satires and pasquinades which had yet appeared. They gave no other reason for their opposition, but that they did not approve of renewing laws which had been repealed after mature deliberation. Nevertheless, in the following year, Barneveldt so far prevailed, that the ordonnance was published, though it was never put in force, nor received by many of the towns¹.

*Barneveldt
proposes re-
straining
the liberty
of the press*

Such was the state of parties, that the remonstrants were obliged to meet privately in some towns, and the contra-remonstrants in others. Wherever the faction happened to be most powerful, they seized on the churches, and excluded their opponents. At Amsterdam the remonstrants were weakest; but hearing that the states had in other cities granted the use of churches to the contra-remonstrants, upon their petitioning, they wrote to Leyden for a minister of their sect to preach the gospel in Amsterdam. One Rembert Bischoep was sent; and, on his arrival, the reformists met in a private house, to hear divine service, and perform their devotions. Finding the place too small for their numbers, they hired a large warehouse belonging to a merchant; their opponents complained to the magistrates of their illegal assemblies; but obtaining no redress, they assembled in a tumultuous manner, during public worship, broke the windows, forced the doors, abused the minister, and threatened the lives of the audience. The remonstrants now, in their turn, complained to the magistrates, and demanded justice and protection; but they were answered, that the best method to secure themselves would

*The popu-
lace rise
against the
remon-
strants.*

¹ Brandt. *ibid.* Le Clerc, lib. ix.

Prince Maurice declares himself head of a party.

be to avoid such meetings as incurred the resentment of their fellow-citizens. What encouraged the populace in their tumults, and made the magistrates remiss in the discharge of their duty, was the conduct of prince Maurice, who had, about this time, declared in favour of the contra-remonstrants, and desired that a clergyman of their principles might be sent to preach in the French chapel at the Hague. The remonstrants were now afraid to assemble; they petitioned the magistrates for the same protection granted to other sects: they pleaded the toleration edict; but obtained no satisfactory answer, though the magistrates were too cautious absolutely to deny their petition. At last they had recourse to the states; but the apprehension of involving themselves in disputes with the magistrates, obliged the states to shift off the matter, by recommending the petitioners to the burgomasters of Amsterdam.

He refuses to assist the States of Holland.

Not only the open declaration of prince Maurice, but the conduct of Dudley Carleton, the British ambassador, encouraged the contra-remonstrants to proceed in a higher strain. They now threw off all respect for the states of Holland, and Barneveldt was grossly insulted in the assembly, by a person greatly his inferior in birth, capacity, influence, and integrity. Every thing contributed to the public confusion, and all moderate persons dreaded, that anarchy and the dissolution of the government would ensue. The states were reduced to the necessity of imploring the prince's protection, which he artfully withheld, under various pretexts. He even issued several orders to prevent the troops from assisting the magistrates in quelling tumults and suppressing seditions. This conduct induced Barneveldt to labour diligently in keeping the states assembled, as the only means of preserving the constitution. As last the magistrates of the several towns, seeing they could expect no assistance from the military power to enforce the laws, resolved to augment the garrisons and guards of their own authority, agreeable to the original laws of the country, as Grotius demonstrates*. They communicated their intention to the prince, who was displeased, alleging it was an encroachment upon the prerogative of the governor of the province. Upon this pretence he quitted the Hague in the night, and set out for the Briel, where he introduced two companies of soldiers in despite of all the remonstrances of the magistrates. He had not acquainted the council of state with his reso-

Seizes on Briel, &c.

* Apolog. cap. x.

lution,

lation, a circumstance which gave great offence to that assembly, as it was an established custom with the governors to take their leave in form. Maurice, however, disregarded their sentiments; he had now thrown off the masque, and resolution was necessary to obtain a majority in the states, by changing the magistrates in the cities.

Advice of the transaction at Briel soon arrived at Leyden; and the magistrates, apprehending they might be favoured with a similar visit, assembled the chief burghers, who formed the resolution, that, in case the prince should approach the city, a deputation should meet him, to request he would offer no violence to their privileges, by forcing armed troops into the city. The same resolution was taken by the magistrates of Haerlem, Torgau, and Woerde; but Maurice had by this time gained possession of Delft and Scheidam. Thence he sent circular letters to the cities of the province of Holland, justifying his conduct; but they were so ill received by the magistrates in general, that he was, more than ever, convinced he could never effect his purposes while Barneveldt's interest was so considerable; nor could this be diminished but by obtaining a majority in the states, by placing his own creatures in the public offices of the cities. However, before he made an attempt on the cities of the province of Holland, he made trial of his authority at Nimeguen, where, during the war, he had retained the power of changing the magistrates at pleasure. Here he deposed three of the chief magistrates, who espoused Barneveldt, and favoured the remonstrants. The disgraced magistrates threw themselves under the protection of the states of Holland, and implored their assistance. Their request was granted, and the states immediately wrote to the states of Guelderland; but the city of Amsterdam, and some other places, interposed, and refused to suffer the letter to pass in the name of the states of Holland, because their deputies had opposed the contents ^b.

After this transaction, Maurice went to the states of Guelderland, informed them of what he had done at Nimeguen, and received their thanks and applause. Here his influence carried every thing; he exhorted the states to assist him in supporting the authority of the states general against the encroachments of the provincial states, and curbing the insolence of the city-magistrates, who had the presumption to raise troops, and act in a military capacity, in defiance of the laws, and to the destruction of all liberty. Accordingly, the states of Guelderland charged

He has great influence in Guelderland.

^b Brandt, Apolog. cap. x. Contin. de Reidan. lib. xxvi.

their

their deputies to the states general, to represent the prince's resolution to support their authority; but it appears that neither Maurice nor the states entertained a just idea of the nature of the government, or understood the laws of their country. The power he assumed, in quality of governor, was by no means consistent with the liberty of the cities, which, from time immemorial, had enjoyed the right of nominating their own magistrates, and levying guards for their defence; the deprivation of these privileges could not therefore but excite a ferment, and raise suspicions in the breast of every friend of liberty and his country. As to Barneveldt, he was so much affected by the public disturbances, so anxious and so solicitous about the fate of the republic, and so diligent in opposing the ambitious purposes of prince Maurice, that he was seized with a fever, which had almost deprived Holland of her most faithful and able minister. On his return to the states, perceiving he could not stem the torrent, and that the prince would one day wreak his whole vengeance upon his head, he desired leave to resign the office of pensionary, and retire into private life, where he might at least freely deplore the unhappy fate of a country, that, after having foiled the whole power of the Spanish monarchy to enslave her, was now on the eve of falling a prey to civil faction, and the ambition of her own children.

The great point now in debate was, whether a national synod should be held? Maurice attended the states at Overysseel, and there strongly recommended a measure which alone, he said, could terminate the disputes of the clergy: his speech, however, was regarded as a snare; he now appeared in a military capacity, in which it is allowable to ruin your enemy either by stratagem or open force. On this subject the deputies of Haerlem spoke freely, at the next assembly of the states of Holland. They were the first who ventured to declare their suspicions, and their resolution to support the states against all enemies. To this effect they delivered a memorial to the states of Holland, to which their deputies demanded an immediate answer. The only point about which any difficulty occurred, was, the adjusting the contingents for supporting the expence of the government for the current year. Haerlem demanded that all the cities in arrear should make up their accounts before demands were made on those who had already advanced their proportions. At length those new deputies were wholly determined by the prudence, the equity, and ability of Barneveldt. Something was likewise due to the spirit and good sense of Maurier, the French

A.D. 1614.

French ambassador, who, by order of the king, demanded an audience. Among a variety of other topics, Maurier told the states, that, in his opinion, there remained only three methods of re-establishing the public tranquillity of the provinces; either open force, a general decision of their differences, or a compromise, in which both sides must relax. As to the first, no man, he urged, of understanding and honesty would recommend it; the second was attended with a thousand difficulties, which must arise in course of debate, where both sides were too much heated and enflamed to reason dispassionately; the last, in his opinion, was the only probable measure: a general toleration, until some better expedient could be found, would in the mean time disarm faction, and frustrate the schemes of those men whose ambition would be gratified at the price of public felicity and liberty.

Though the disputes in the states of Holland yielded to the remedies applied by Barneveldt and Maurier, it was otherwise with the provinces in general. Maurice remained firm in his sentiments, was too powerful to be openly charged, and too artful to disclose his purposes. He secured the English minister in his interest, and, with all the contra-remonstrants, demanded a national synod, as the only effectual application to a disease, which, he said, would soon destroy the constitution. Upon Barneveldt's opposing this measure, libels, more bitter than any of the former, were every day published; and that great man was forced to have recourse to the justification of his conduct, which merited the highest applause and deepest gratitude from his country. He published a remonstrance, in which he recited the particulars of his birth, services, and education; the cause of the present disorders, and the only means which appeared to him adequate to the removal of that malignity which affected the whole mass of humours. Corrosive applications, he said, were unadvisable; they irritated and enflamed the habit, without answering any of the indications, or touching the seat of the disease: such were the infamous libels, propagated to blight the fairest characters, and ruin those persons in the opinion of the people, who alone were capable of saving the commonwealth. He desired it might be considered, that the excessive malice and rancour contained in those writings could not be altogether levelled against him; they must have a deeper design; that of destroying the other faithful servants of the public, overthrowing the rights and privileges of the cities in particular, of the country in general, and annihilating the very shadow of liberty, and a republican

lican government. The virulence, the calumny, and barefaced falsehood of the writers, evidently demonstrated by what religion they were animated. They did not even endeavour to conceal their sentiments, respecting the establishment, and made no scruple of avowing the violation offered to the liberties of certain cities, under pretence that there was a necessity to use compulsion in chusing the magistrates. Were their professions of zeal for religion, and their country, sincere, they might have pursued methods more honourable, and consistent with the true spirit of devotion and patriotism; but it was much easier to propagate calumnies than to prove facts; bold assertions were sufficient evidence to the vulgar; and, provided their passions were influenced, it was not necessary to convince their judgment. He concluded with again recommending Christian toleration to all who remained attached to the reformed religion, and disputed only about speculative points unessential to salvation. He laid before the states an account of the public expence; besought them to contribute unanimously to the supplies wanted for the ensuing year; then, addressing himself to the deputies of certain provinces in arrear for their contingents, he exhorted them to use their utmost efforts with their constituents to remove every obstruction to the peace, and restore the unanimity and felicity of the commonwealth^a.

A.D. 1616.

A.D. 1617.

An air of simplicity and candour, of good sense and public zeal, of deep penetration, profound judgment, and extensive knowledge, powerfully recommended this performance to every sincere patriot: it was however attacked with all possible marks of inveterate rancour; the author was loaded with abuse and obloquy; and even the states were attacked with a degree of malignancy, which could not pass unnoticed: accordingly they offered a reward for the discovery of the author, or printer of the libel, and took Barneveldt under their immediate protection. They were supported by the towns of Haerlem, Leyden, Rotterdam, the Briel, and Schoonhoven. By these instructions were given to their deputies, to represent, at the next assembly of the states, the necessity of taking measures for preserving the freedom of electors, and the liberties of the cities, promising to indemnify the deputies, and support them with all their strength and influence. The states accordingly remonstrated, with prince Maurice, on the present situation of affairs; they represented, that certain persons, meaning himself and the Orange faction, had, contrary to justice,

Grot. Apol. cap. xx.

and

and the mutual obligations into which they had entered, violated the rights and privileges of the province of Holland; that his highness was perfectly well acquainted with the duties of a stadtholder, which chiefly consisted in maintaining the sovereignty of the province, and protecting the general liberties of the cities and inhabitants; that the states were bound, in consequence of their oath, to preserve the government, and determined by their respect for the house of Orange, to support the magistrates and people, in the due exertion of their authority, against all oppression. They exhorted him, therefore, to assist their laudable endeavours; to use his influence with the other provinces; to protect and aid the authority of the states in ecclesiastical matters; to join with them in the most efficacious methods of removing those obstacles, which occasioned so much grief to every sincere patriot; to protect in particular the province of Holland, against the encroachments of the other provinces, excited by the machinations of certain turbulent divines; to desist from demanding a national synod, so contrary to the express meaning of the treaty of Utrecht; to prevent the courts of justice from receiving orders and directions, contrary to the resolutions of the states; to oblige them to confine themselves within the limits of their instructions, without encroaching on the privileges of the states or cities; to acquiesce in the ancient right of the cities, to provide for their own security by levying guards and garrisons, when the forces of the state were insufficient; to oblige the officers of the army to obey the orders of the states, the council of war, and the magistrates of those towns where they should happen to be quartered. They likewise requested, that his highness would not attempt to garrison towns, or interfere in the elections of magistrates, without the consent of the states and council of war; that he would bestow no military preferments, and neither augment or diminish the garrisons, without previously acquainting them; and, lastly, they earnestly intreated, that he would give no ear to evil counsellors, who sought to aggrandize themselves at the expence of their country, and only regarded the republic and the Orange family as the means of their own elevation; but that he would always rely on the advice of the states, who regarded his honour and interest as the honour and interest of their country. This method his father, the late prince of Orange, of glorious memory, always followed, and he constantly met with the warmest returns of gratitude; secured the liberties of the provinces, and raised them from an oppressed, insulted, despicable people, to a powerful,

powerful, formidable, and free republic. The measures here pointed out, were no less necessary, they said, to the good of the public than for the security of individuals. They could not by any means allow the smallest violation of their liberties, which they were obliged by oath to defend with their lives and fortunes. Better it was, they said, to die honourably than to survive the loss of those blessings which their ancestors and themselves had purchased at the exorbitant price of their blood. In a word, they asserted, that if they were properly assisted by the influence and power of the stadtholder, they would undertake speedily to subdue all controversies which affected the public tranquillity, close up those wounds, which by habit would become incurable, restore order, discipline, and regularity to the state, and prevail on all the provinces to contribute their several proportions, for the support of the government and common cause ^b.

History does not inform us what reply Maurice made to this remonstrance; we are only told that he was greatly shocked, but not moved to second the purposes of the states, or convinced by their arguments. On the contrary, he assembled a great number of divines of his own faction at Amsterdam, to assist the magistrates in drawing up reasons to convince the states of the necessity of a national synod. This, with another writing, was presented, and clearly refuted by Grotius, who was too close, clear, and learned for his antagonists. It was at length proposed by the council of state, that three theologians from each province should meet, to adjust the conditions of a mutual toleration; and that if they could come to no agreement in the space of a month, the Protestant clergy of Germany, France, England, and Switzerland, should be invited to their assistance. The proposal was approved by a majority of voices in the states; but Amsterdam, and the deputies of some other cities, opposed the resolution, and started a variety of objections. They were eager for a national synod, in which they were strongly supported by the provinces of Zealand, Groningen, Friseland, the Ommelans, and prince Maurice, this division among the cities, the powerful faction in favour of the contra-remonstrants, and the terror of Maurice in his military capacity, entirely destroyed the authority of the states of Holland, and rendered them incapable of prosecuting their moderate designs. Still, however, the council of state continued to urge their proposition, declaring null and void all that had been transacted in favour

^b Grot. Apol. lib. xx.

of a national synod. The council became now more than ever affected to the states, from the affront offered them by the prince's departure to the Briel, without their consent or knowledge. The breach with the council of state considerably diminished the interest of Maurice; but it did not retard any of his projects. Backed by four provinces, besides a variety of cities and towns, he expected to surmount all opposition, and to effect such alterations in the constitution as would infallibly raise him to the sovereignty of the provinces. He made no scruple of declaring, that augmenting the garrisons, suppressing tumults by a military force, in a word, levying troops for the protection of the cities, without the authority of the governor, were in themselves acts of rebellion. The truth was, these steps formed obstructions to his design of changing the magistratures. The city of Utrecht insisted upon an exertion of this privilege, handed down from time immemorial, but, to avoid altercation, the magistrates first sent deputies to confer with the prince and the states general. Barneveldt, in the name of the states of Holland, had an audience upon the same subject; but all his arguments could not prevail with Maurice to suffer the garrisons to be under the direction of the magistrates, or to relinquish his project for retrenching the privileges of the cities^c.

Soon after these conferences Maurice repaired to Utrecht, attended by three deputies from the states general. He was received with great marks of distinction, and the burghers were ordered to appear under arms. The magistrates and clergy waited upon him with compliments; and to the latter he said, that his intention was to restore the public tranquillity, by assembling a national synod, when all the controverted points should be canvassed, and their disputes finally decided. The reply was, that nothing could be expected from such an ecclesiastical court where the parties were to sit in judgment, but altercation, debate, and confusion; they therefore intreated him to lay aside the project, as dangerous, and at all events inadequate. Notwithstanding this repulse from the clergy, Maurice proposed to the provincial states of Utrecht the disbanding of the new levied garrisons, and the convocation of a general synod. The proposition being communicated to the deputies of Holland, they waited on the prince, and exhorted him to contribute to the repose of the provinces, to support the privileges of the towns, and to protect the public tranquillity; but they hinted not the smallest suspicion that

^c Le Clerc, lib. iv.

he was labouring to overthrow the constitution, and execute designs very opposite to their request. Maurice was more sincere; he plainly gave the deputies to understand, that their arrival in Utrecht was by no means agreeable. However, they held conferences with the states; after which the prince was told, that the guards raised by the magistrates were perfectly constitutional; and, with respect to religion, that a national synod could not be convoked without detriment to the privileges of the provincial states, who were supreme within the jurisdiction of the province. After several fruitless negotiations, held upon the supposition that the prince would not venture upon any alterations without authority, at last his design was discovered, and the states, unable to oppose, determined to connive at his measures. His authority was great in the army, and his influence general over the minds of the people, who regarded him as the bulwark of liberty, and the hero who had rescued the provinces from the tyranny of the Spaniards. Before the blow was struck, the members of the states, with Ledemberg, the secretary, quitted the city, and repaired with all diligence to the Hague, there to expect the issue. Already Maurice had occupied the principal avenues leading to Utrecht, which he lined with soldiers. When he had assembled a sufficient force, he ordered the new levies raised by the magistrates to appear, upon which he released them from the oath taken, obliged them to lay down their arms, and disbanded the whole garrison. Grotius affirms, he had no authority for this measure, that the power was entirely in the provincial states; and that Maurice had interpreted their silence, their inability to appease him, and their abrupt departure, into an assent of his measures. Afterwards he went to the town-house, where he loudly complained of the injury done to his honour by those new levies, which deeply reflected on his integrity and patriotism. This was all the apology he offered for the grossest violation of the privileges of the city and province. His aim was to pass for the protector of the church and state, and, indeed, his conduct was so specious, that it gained the affections of the vulgar, who strenuously pressed him to assume the sovereignty.

*Maurice
offers violence to the
privileges
of Utrecht.*

Next he procured a few of the burghers to accuse the present magistrates of abusing their office. This was sufficient reason for deposing them, and substituting in their room the friends of Maurice and the contra-remonstrants. Accordingly the prince proceeded to the election, or rather nomination of new magistrates, and to appoint a perpetual instead of an annual council. All the remonstrants were turned

turned out of their places. Ledemberg, secretary to the states, was forced to resign, and his office was immediately filled up by a creature of the house of Orange, after he had for thirty years served the public with unblemished integrity. A variety of alterations were besides made in the other several departments of the state; even the clergy were deprived of their stipends, and forced to evacuate the city, and many of them to quit the province of Utrecht. The contra-remonstrants, encouraged by these favourable changes, demanded the cathedral church, then possessed by the remonstrants. Taurin, the minister, refused to comply; but he was soon obliged to take sanctuary under the wing of Ledemberg, with whom he retired to the Hague. Upon the secretary's being arrested a few days afterwards, Taurin escaped to Antwerp, to avoid the same fate ^d.

Prince Maurice having terminated matters to his wish at A.D. 1613. Utrecht, set out for the Hague, where he made report of the late transaction, and received the thanks of the deputies of the four provinces in his interest. The deputies of Holland were likewise exhorted to prevail on the cities to disband the new levied guards; but it was obvious, from their answer, that they looked upon the prince's conduct as an infraction of the privileges of the provinces. They perceived that the least tumult would furnish a pretext for similar trespasses on the constitution, and the means of procuring a majority in the states general, by rendering himself absolute in the cities, and of consequence in the provincial states. They concluded with saying, they would report the prince's request to their constituents, as the matter was of too great importance for them to determine of their own authority. They demanded, that, in the mean time, the cities of Holland might be left in the full exertion of their privileges; but they were served in a similar manner with those of Utrecht, and even the cities in the prince's interest were not exempted from a variety of changes, introduced probably to shew his impartiality. It was not possible indeed to ward off the blow, because the stadtholder had the army at command, and the states of Holland were wholly disarmed. Besides, he took his measures with such prudence and art, as seemed even to have deceived Barneveldt himself. At the very time Maurice was projecting the fall of that patriot, he was loading his relations with favours, and preferring them to very considerable employments. The pensioner's son was created master of the dykes and

^d Brandt. lib. xxix. Grot. Apol. cap. 20.

forests, a lucrative and honourable office. To the younger son of Barneveldt, he gave the government of Bergen op Zoom, by which he placed in his hands one of the keys of the United Provinces. At last, the artifice, the power, and address of Maurice rendered his party every where superior. He gained over to his interest Francis Aersens, son of Cornelius Aersens, secretary of state, who had been long ambassador at the court of France. The violence, the ability, and vigour of Aersens, quickened the measures of the prince. His aspiring ambition scrupled at no action which could promote his interest; perniciously bold, and detestably eloquent, he converted the noblest qualities to the worst purposes; ruined his country, oppressed innocence, and sacrificed patriotism to the shrine of those ill-fated virtues, which might have proved the bulwark of liberty, and strongest barrier of the commonwealth. Aersens stimulated Maurice to what he was before inclined by his own disposition. To his counsel may be attributed the solemn synod assembled in the month of November, at Dordrecht, to which the states general, the provincial states of the Seven Provinces, the kings of England and France, the elector Palatine, the landgrave of Hesse, the cities of Bremen, Verden, Geneva, and the protestant cantons of Switzerland, dispatched their ambassadors and deputies. Thither the Arminian party was cited, to explain the principal points in which they dissented from the established church.

Barneveldt and the remonstrants had long avoided this blow, under pretence that a general synod was a trespass on the privileges of the provincial states. They knew the intention was to render them little in the opinion of the people, if they appeared; and if they refused to obey the citations, to expose them as public incendiaries, the friends of Spain, popery, and slavery. The remonstrants refused to attend the synod; at last they published a long writing, in which they explained the chief points of their doctrine, protested against the synod, and exhibited their reasons for refusing to appear in their own defence, before judges who were actually parties in the dispute. Accordingly their opinions were solemnly condemned, and the remonstrants were stigmatized as calumniators, who vilified the established religion, and attributed to the Belgian church other sentiments than those it really professed. Aersens wrote several pieces against Barneveldt, in which he boldly charged him with these designs. He was a spirited, artful, and fluent writer; his works were bought with avidity; they made a deep impression on the minds of the people, and so far influenced their passions, that Maurice resolved, before the

the public ardour cooled, to seize upon Barneveldt, Grotius, Hoogenberts, and other leaders of the Arminian party, whom he imprisoned in the castle of Louvestein, whence that faction has ever since borrowed the appellation (A). The advanced age, the long services, the moderation and patriotism of Barneveldt, now little availed him; even his writings, which clearly refuted all the allegations of his enemies, were either neglected, or read with a partiality and prejudice injurious to his reputation. Maurice procured an order of the states general for his imprisonment. His practices and intrigues had obtained a majority in the states; notwithstanding which, this order was signed only by eight members, particularly attached to the prince's interest. Barneveldt was accused of being the author of the disturbances at Utrecht, and of harbouring designs destructive of public liberty. He was tried by judges appointed by the states general, condemned to death by the most iniquitous sentence, and deprived of his life on a public scaffold, by the same blow which ruined the character of prince Maurice, blasting those laurels that were acquired by long and important services (B). Maurice lost his popularity and

The leaders of the Arminians imprisoned.

A.D. 1619,

Barneveldt condemned and executed.

(A) In this confinement the learned Grotius remained for several years, when at length he made his escape, through the courage, the affection, and address of his wife Reigerberg. This lady had obtained leave to send large boxes of books to her husband, and to visit him in prison, which furnished her with a hint for his escape. She persuaded him to lie in one of the boxes, to be returned to his house. He was carried out by the guards, without suspicion, though they complained of the uncommon weight of their burthen; he escaped to the Spanish Netherlands, and passed from thence into France, where he was well received by the king. At last he was employed by Christina, queen of Sweden, that liberal protectress of merit, and died at Rosbach,

in the duchy of Mecklenburgh, in the year 1645 (1).

(B) This terrible tragedy was acted in the castle of the Hague, on the 13th day of May, A. D. 1619, when Barneveldt was seventy-two years of age, fifty of which he had spent with equal integrity and ability, in the different employments of ambassador to the courts of France and England, and pensionary of the states of Holland. A medal was struck in honour of his memory. All his virtues now, when too late, were approved in their full lustre. He was called a martyr to his country, the protector of liberty, the father, the friend, and the advocate of the provinces; in a word, his memory is held in veneration to this day, and his death regarded as the deepest stain upon the house of Orange.

(1) See his Life.

the

the garrison numerous and resolute, he converted the siege into a blockade, by which he reduced the place to the necessity of surrendering, in despite of the utmost efforts of the prince to throw in succours^d.

Notwithstanding this advantage, and the great superiority of his forces, the archduke was still desirous of an accommodation : he was on the point of renewing the negotiations, when he was seized with a disorder which carried him off, and deprived the Netherlands of all hope of seeing an end to their calamities. It was expected that the death of Philip III. which fell out about this time, and the minority that ensued, would have accelerated a peace ; but the Spanish ministry, as well as the counsellors about the archduchess, found their advantage in the continuance of the war. It is likewise said, that Spinola, animated with his success before Juliers, encouraged by the distraction of the provinces, and the strength of his army, promised to reduce the Dutch in a few campaigns to absolute subjection. In pursuance of this design he assembled his whole army, with intention to invest Bergen op Zoom, the strongest fortress in Dutch Brabant. Maurice penetrated his meaning, and took care to provide the garrison with liberal reinforcements of men, ammunition, and provisions. The prince had his head-quarters at Emmeric, whence he detached colonel Henderson, a Scotchman, with seven hundred men, who threw themselves into the town, in defiance of the vigilance of Spinola. Soon after the colonel sallied out with a numerous party, on the quarter of the besiegers commanded by Baglioni, general of the Italian forces. Here, after an obstinate conflict, he was wounded, just as he was on the point of obtaining the victory ; his party, finding themselves unsupported, retired with some precipitation, and the colonel died the day following, deeply regretted by prince Maurice. Now the siege was pushed with great vigour, and the resistance was such as might be expected from a brave garrison, animated in defence of liberty, and assisted by strong fortifications. However, the prince, who was too weak to offer battle to Spinola, formed an enterprize on Boisleduc, which he thought would necessarily draw off the attention of the enemy, and interrupt, if he could not wholly suspend, the operations against Bergen op Zoom. But he was soon obliged to abandon the design from a variety of untoward accidents. As yet he was not reinforced by the German protestants under count Mansveldt and the duke of Brunswic. These auxiliaries were arrived at Sedan ;

A.D. 1622.

^d Mem. de Fred. Hen. Pr. d'Orange, p. 12, 13.

but

but before they could proceed, it was necessary to fight Gonzales with a strong detachment. Upon this the count determined, and accordingly attacked the Spaniard, who received his charge with great intrepidity. After an obstinate and bloody action, in which the duke of Brunswic was dangerously wounded, victory declared for Mansveldt; the enemy retreated, and he was left to pursue his march unmolested.

Spinola had prosecuted the siege with the utmost vigour, and performed every thing which could be expected from an officer of experience and ability. All those expedients which he had practised with success at Ostend were now repeated, and every stratagem of the military art exhausted; but the length of the siege occasioned great desertion in his camp; his army was exceedingly diminished, and the besieged were encouraged to a more spirited defence by the late advantage gained by Mansveldt, which they hoped would enable prince Maurice to give battle to the Spaniards. Mansveldt had brought a reinforcement of four thousand horse and three thousand foot; and the prince had besides ordered his brother prince Henry to join him with his whole army. He was now at Emmeric with a body of eight thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, opposing the designs of the count de Berg. Upon the union of all the different corps, the main army exceeded twenty thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry, a force more than sufficient to compel the exhausted, dispirited Spaniards to relinquish the siege of Bergen op Zoom. Accordingly Spinola broke up his camp on the approach of the prince of Orange, and retired in such good order, that Maurice, who well knew his capacity, apprehended this motion was a feint, only to lull him and the garrison into security. It proved otherwise, and Spinola had the mortification to see himself baffled, for the first time, in a siege which had cost him the lives of ten thousand soldiers, of the flower of his army. On the 4th day of October prince Maurice entered Bergen op Zoom with thirty troops of horse, and next day he was followed by prince Henry, count Ernest de Nassau, and other officers, with whom he concerted the plan of their future operations.

*Spinola
raises the
siege of
Bergen op
Zoom.*

Some time before Bergen op Zoom was invested, the governor of Antwerp had laid siege to Sluys with ten thousand men, by express order of the archduchess; but the strength of the place, the valour of the garrison, and the dreadful inundation in which they overwhelmed the country, by breaking their dykes, and opening the sluices, rendered the enterprize fruitless, and obliged Ignatio de Borgia to decamp with

with great loss and precipitation. Nor was this the only attempt in which the Spaniards failed, during the tedious siege of Bergen op Zoom. They laid siege to Hasselt, an inconsiderable town in Overysfel, and would have reduced the place but for the vigorous and gallant conduct of the burghers of Haerlem, led on by the captains Olican and Vander Camer, who penetrated through the enemies camp, entered the town, made a furious sally, and obliged the Spaniards to retreat with great slaughter, and the loss of their artillery.

Prince Maurice, having accomplished his purpose at Bergen op Zoom, retired to Rosendal, and sent a detachment to invest Steinberg, which capitulated before the batteries were erected. Spinola too had retreated towards Antwerp, where he was joined by six thousand men, just arrived from Spain, and the corps under the count de Berg. With this reinforcement he was superior to the Hollanders; accordingly he advanced within three leagues of the prince's camp, and offered battle, which the prince declined, saying, he had come to relieve Bergen op Zoom, and reduce Steinberg; he had accomplished both designs, and was satisfied. Upon receiving this answer, Spinola turned off towards Brussels, and Maurice marched to Breda. The enemy resumed their operations, and the count de Berg was detached to lay siege to Pfaffenmutz, while prince Maurice was contriving the means of getting rid of his troublesome ally, count Mansveldt, who with his undisciplined troops, accustomed to violence and rapine, was desolating the provinces with all the fury of a barbarous enemy. At last the Germans crossed the Rhine, and passed into Westphalia; when Maurice was in hopes that Mansveldt would have attempted the relief of Pfaffenmutz, the brave garrison of which, after a most gallant defence, and suffering extreme hardships, was forced to capitulate. The count de Berg repaired the fortifications, put a strong garrison into the place, and changed the name to that of Fort Isabella; but the works were soon after destroyed, in consequence of a petition presented to the emperor and diet at Ratibon, by the magistrates of Cologne.

Maurice is disappointed in his designs on Antwerp.

At the time prince Maurice declined the challenge sent by Spinola, he was meditating an attempt upon the most considerable city in the Netherlands. Antwerp was the great object of his designs, and he took every precaution to draw off the enemy's attention from this city. The scheme was so well laid, that, on taking leave of the states at the Hague, he said, "That God only could prevent the success of the enterprize." However, it miscarried, through a train

a train of unavoidable accidents, which human sagacity could not foresee. The fleet, assembled at the Briel, was locked up by a sudden frost; some of the vessels which had put to sea were lost in a storm; two regiments were shipwrecked; and thus the finest project that had been concerted during the war proved abortive. Flanders and Brabant must have followed the fate of Antwerp, the loss of which would have been a mortal blow to the Spanish affairs. Disappointed in a scheme upon which he had set his heart, Maurice returned, greatly chagrined, to Ryfwic, where a conspiracy against his life was discovered. The author was William Barneveldt, grandson of the pensioner, who determined to revenge the ignominious death of that celebrated patriot. He communicated his design of assassinating the prince to his elder brother, the sieur Barneveldt, of Groenveldt, exhorting him to assist in avenging the indignity done the family, and in ridding the provinces of a tyrant, whose sole aim was to acquire the sovereignty of the country, and subject the people to a more cruel slavery than they had suffered under the dominion of Spain. But Groenveldt received the proposal with horror, and used every argument in his power to prevail upon William to drop an attempt which must terminate in the ruin and disgrace of the conspirators. His remonstrance produced no effect; William was obstinate and implacable; his violent spirit knew no bounds, and he resolved to pursue his vengeance at the hazard of his own destruction. He engaged in the plot a number of Arminians, actuated, like himself, by an aversion to Maurice, and a desire of rescuing their country from bondage. It was determined to shoot the prince on his way from Ryfwic to the Hague; and the conspirators had all their proper parts assigned them; the arms were purchased, and the day for execution was fixed. Two of his associates, struck with remorse, discovered the conspiracy; the prince returned to the Hague, doubled his guards, and Barneveldt escaped to Antwerp, where he died some years after. Four of the conspirators were seized, tried, condemned, and executed. Groenveldt likewise was taken into custody, and condemned as a party, because he had not discovered his brother's intentions. It was not sufficient that he had endeavoured to dissuade him from the attempt; he was beheaded, and considered by the people as a martyr to fraternal affection, an innocent victim offered to appease the resentment of prince Maurice.

A.D. 1623.

A conspiracy against his life discovered.

• *Neuvillè Hist. de Hollande, tom: i. lib. v.*

This

The persecution renewed against the Arminians.

This opportunity was favourable to the Gomarists, and they did not fail to embrace it, in renewing their persecutions against the Arminian party. They gave out that the whole sect was engaged in the conspiracy; notwithstanding the edict of the states, which had forbid the revival of all religious disputes, they began publishing bitter invectives against the Arminians; and even accused a little society, formed for the support of poor sectarists, of a design against the government. It was affirmed, that the Arminian ministers, banished the provinces, had returned in disguise, and were exerting their utmost influence to excite the people to rebellion. In a word, they carried their violences to so great a length, and were so powerfully supported by the prince of Orange, that, by an ordonnance published in the month of February, in the name of Maurice and the states of Utrecht, the Arminians were declared rebels and enemies to their country; they were proscribed afresh, and a reward of six hundred livres offered to whoever should accuse any of them of crimes and misdemeanors against the government, or designs upon the prince of Orange; nor was the reward limited to conviction; the accuser had his pay upon lodging the heads of his accusation in some public court; by which means a door was opened for corruption, perjury, and persecution. Armed with legislative power, the Gomarists kept no bounds; they not only abused the Arminians from the pulpit, reviling them with the opprobrious names of traitors and parricides, but they proceeded to persecute individuals, and to establish courts as iniquitous and oppressive as those inquisitions which had originally occasioned the defection of the Seven Provinces. The Arminians presented a petition, craving the protection of the states general against such unprecedented cruelty. They solemnly disavowed all knowledge of the horrid conspiracy with which they were charged; they remonstrated on the injustice of persecuting a whole body of people for the crimes of certain guilty members; they declared they had no relation, connection, or interest in the fate of the conspirators, whom they detested and abhorred; they urged their services to the states, and pressed that they might be tried by the laws of their country in the usual form, and not dragged before courts determined upon finding them criminal. The famous Grótius supported this petition with an apology for the Arminians, founded on the common rights of humanity, and the laws of the provinces; but this masterly piece, instead of convincing, served only to irritate the minds of the Gomarists. The states did not care to interpose, as the prince of Orange
and

and the province of Utrecht had given sanction to the persecution. And thus the unfortunate Arminians were left a prey to the most implacable of all enemies, as they were actuated by the spirit of political and theological rancour.

It must indeed be confessed, that the prince of Orange had some cause for that implacable hatred he bore the Arminian faction, which had long wished to see the influence of his family retrenched. All the accomplices in the late conspiracy were of this party. Slatius, an Arminian preacher of Bliswick, now in custody, and actually engaged in the plot, had confessed on the rack that all the principal persons of his persuasion were accessaries to the design of assassinating Maurice, and subverting the government. This evidence was extorted from him by the violence of the torture, and the hope given him of pardon; however, it left suspicions injurious to the Arminians in the minds of several men extremely moderate in their sentiments; though, when his declaration came to be read, it appeared a mere tissue of malevolence and calumny. He was, therefore, condemned to death; and a libel he had published the preceding year against the prince of Orange, ordered to be burned by the hands of the executioner. Several other persons were beheaded at the Hague and Leyden, only because they were Arminians, and consequently supposed favourers of the violent measures upon which some turbulent, headstrong, and bigotted individuals of the same faction had entered.

In this manner was Holland torn with civil faction, and at the same time oppressed with an expensive, bloody war, against the whole power of the Spanish monarchy; while her commerce was disturbed by the piracies of the Barbary corsairs, especially those of Tunis and Algiers. The states complained, by their ambassadors, to the courts of Fez and Constantinople, under whose protection the Barbary states screen themselves; but they could obtain no redress, because several of these claim a kind of independency under the dominion of their deys, and prove extremely useful auxiliaries to the grand signor and the emperor of Morocco. In order, therefore, to get rid of such troublesome foes, the states entered into a kind of composition with the maritime cities of Barbary, whereby it was declared, that the enemies of either should be regarded as the enemies of both. This agreement was purchased by a sum of money; and, to render it more valid, a treaty was concluded, between the United Provinces and the joint em-

*Treaty
with the
states of
Barbary.*

^d Neuville, tom. i. lib. v.

pire of Fez and Morocco. In consequence of this agreement they committed hostilities against the Spaniards, in which they were assisted by the Dutch and Germans; although the latter were waging an actual land-war with the states; for the emperor, without declaring openly against the Hollanders, maintained two formidable armies to assist their enemies, and, if possible, to reduce the Netherlands once more under the dominion of the house of Austria. One was distinguished by the name of the German Catholics; it had been employed against the Protestants of Bohemia, commanded by count Tilly, and was now ordered to advance into Friseland. The other, conducted by Gonzales de Cordova, acted along the Lower Rhine in the duchies of Juliers and Gueldres, and was composed chiefly of Spaniards, under the direction of the emperor. It was proposed to join these to Spinola's army, in order to form such a body of forces as should, at one blow, crush the rebellious Hollanders.

A. D. 1624.

Sensible of what was transacting among the enemy, the states endeavoured to ward off the impending stroke by an artifice that succeeded. They again employed Mansveldt and the bishop of Halberstadt to make a diversion; furnishing them with money to begin new levies. With these auxiliaries it was resolved to carry the war into Liege, Cologne, and the Catholic part of Westphalia, in order to draw the attention of Tilly and Gonzales from the United Provinces. They likewise entered into an alliance with Bethleem Gabor, prince of Transylvania, who was in open rebellion against the emperor, with a view to employ the imperial army in Hungary; and by attacking the court of Vienna in so many parts, distract her counsels and divide her forces. Mansveldt began his expeditions, or rather his depredations, in East Friseland and Westphalia. He ravaged, pillaged, and desolated with the cruelty of a barbarian; respecting neither age nor sex, and robbing without distinction the indigent and wealthy. Encouraged by his success, the Dutch garrison in the little town of Lippe made irruptions into Westphalia, and levied prodigious contributions; inspiring the states with a high opinion of the scheme concerted to divert the enemy, and an inclination to augment the irregular auxiliaries. With respect to the bishop of Halberstadt, the Spaniards opposed his crossing the Weser, and placed strong garrisons in Hoxter, Hamelen, Rintelén, and Wecht; but count Stirum, a few days after, took this last place by assault, and put the whole garrison to the sword. These hostilities, and others committed in Lower Saxony, produced an assembly of the princes,

princes, where a league was concluded for the defence of the circle. The bishop of Halberstadt was chosen captain-general of the forces of the circle, by which the powers in alliance thought to detach him from the interest of Mansveldt and the United Provinces. His brother, the duke of Brunswic, engaged to the emperor for his honour; and, in consequence of this engagement, Tilly had instructions not to penetrate into Lower Saxony. To these promises made by the duke, the ambitious prelate paid little regard. He saw himself at the head of a fine army of nineteen thousand foot and five thousand six hundred horse; he despised the emperor's pardon, and drew upon himself the indignation of the court of Vienna, the allied powers of Lower Saxony, and the whole weight of count Tilly's forces. At length he was defeated at Statlo, and his army entirely destroyed, except six thousand of the scattered remains, which were picked up, and retained in their service, by the Hollanders.

Victory obtained by count Tilly

Upon the bishop's defeat, Mansveldt retired to East Friseland, a province at that time disturbed by civil dissensions. In the city of Embden alone were no less than three parties; one declared for the natural sovereign, one for the emperor, and a third for the United Provinces. Tilly, who knew the ill treatment which the inhabitants had received from Mansveldt, thought to profit by their aversion to that general, and the friends of the bishop of Halberstadt, and for that purpose to enter the territory of Embden in conjunction with Gonzales. The United Provinces were apprised of his design soon enough to prevent it, by sending prince Henry and count Ernest Casimir of Nassau, with a body of forces, towards the city. A garrison of twelve complete companies was left in the town and citadel; the harbour was put into a state of defence, and the whole party for the emperor banished. This precaution destroyed all Tilly's schemes, and obliged him to retire to Westphalia, where he revenged the disappointment on the towns held in that country by the Hollanders. Sparemberg, and several places of less consideration, felt the effects of his resentment; he afterwards marched to invest Lippe, or Lippstat, the only remaining town the Hollanders possessed in Westphalia, and a place of the utmost consequence. The garrison, composed of French and Dutch soldiers, was numerous, and well provided. Tilly made regular approaches, battered the walls with great fury, gave the assault, and was vigorously repulsed; but finding

* Neuville, tom. i. lib. v.

that Manfveldt did not care to hazard a battle; the garrison at last surrendered the place upon honourable conditions. As the winter approached, the armies of both sides retired into quarters; and fruitless negociations were renewed in this, as in every other preceding season. Before we resume the military operations by land, it will be necessary to give a short view of the naval transactions of the United Provinces.

*Naval
transac-
tions.*

Soon after the treaty with the states of Barbary, the provinces experienced how little confidence ought to be placed in the faith of pirates. Four Dutch ships were attacked on the coast of Genoa by the corsairs of Algiers, and three were taken, after a long and bloody engagement. The fourth, determined not to fall into the hands of so cruel and perfidious an enemy, fought desperately; and the crew, finding all endeavours vain, set fire to the powder-room, and blew themselves up, with seventy of the barbarians who had boarded the vessel. Nor was this the only loss sustained in the course of this year; another of more importance happened, in consequence of a well concerted plan of the court of Madrid, whereby upwards of a hundred sail of Dutch ships were seized in the harbours of Spain and Portugal (A).

But these losses, considerable as they appeared, were amply recompensed by the prodigious success of the East India company. The trade was extended, the settlements were established on the most secure footing, the enemies colonies miserably harassed, and their shipping entirely destroyed. Above sixty rich vessels were taken or sunk, and the booty amounted to upwards of two millions sterling, a remittance now made to Europe, to enable the provinces to support the war with vigour, and extricate themselves with honour out of a quarrel of which Spain grew heartily tired.

The naval operations of Holland were not confined to Europe and Asia; a strong fleet was sent to America, under

(A) It must be remembered, that, through the whole course of this war, the Dutch traded to the Spanish ports, as if they had been in entire friendship with the crown; than which nothing can furnish a stronger idea of the attachment of the Hollanders to gain and commerce. It was no uncommon practice with them to supply towns with provisions that were besieged by their own armies; and to furnish the enemy with ammunition and other necessities; without which they could not continue the war. Their motive and their apology was, that they, by these means, kept in their own hands the profits with which other nations would be enriched.

admiral

*Successes
of the
Dutch in
South
America.*

admiral Hermit, with instructions to penetrate to the source of those vast treasures which the Spaniards drew from Peru, and their settlements on the southern continent of America. Willekens had been detached with a squadron to Brasil about four months before. When the viceroy of Lima understood that a Dutch fleet was upon the coast, he immediately equipped a powerful armament, which he drew up in the port of Callao, on which he doubted not the Hollanders would make their first attack. Hermit was not discouraged by the superiority of the enemy; they were more than double his force, but he boldly crowded sail for the harbour, and greatly astonished the Spaniards at his boldness, who were then preparing to give him chase, not expecting he would presume to offer battle. The engagement was begun by the two admirals, whose example was followed by the vice-admirals, and the conflict maintained with great obstinacy, until the Spanish admiral's ship, with eight hundred men on board, was sunk, and the vice-admiral's burned. The loss of these two ships was succeeded by the destruction of nine more, six of which were sunk and three consumed by fire. The enemy retired under the cannon of the town; Hermit pursued, and the action was renewed with redoubled fury. In the space of an hour eleven Spanish men of war were sunk, taken, and destroyed. The consternation was so great in Lima, that, had the admiral pursued his blow, he must infallibly have taken the town, and gained possession of the immense treasures lodged in the citadel. But he wanted to refresh his men, in order to attack the place with more vigour next day; by which time the viceroy had assembled a numerous army that rendered the scheme impracticable.

Admiral Willekens arrived in All Saints bay on the 8th day of May, and next day cast anchor before the town of St. Salvador, the capital of the country, and the residence of the Portuguese viceroy. His squadron consisted of nine large ships, manned with fifteen hundred sailors and two thousand marines. All the soldiers were put on board the four ships that composed the van, in order to persuade the enemy that the other ships were equally crowded. Willekens landed with all his forces, drove the enemy from the shore, and obliged them to hide themselves behind the walls of the city; the vice-admiral, in the mean time, gaining possession of a strong battery, that formed a kind of outwork, on a projecting rock. Next day they found the town abandoned by the inhabitants, and the gates set open; however, the garrison still continued in the castle, until finding that all resistance would prove fruitless, they surrendered.

rendered. The town was pillaged, and vast quantities of rich merchandize were sent on board for the use of the West India company; nor did the soldiers even spare the churches, from whence they carried off great quantities of plate, and other valuable moveables. Colonel Van Dort was appointed governor of the town, and a strong garrison left to support his government. His first act was to publish a manifesto, in the name of the states, allowing liberty of conscience to all who would take an oath of fidelity to the republic of the United Provinces. He then hoisted the Spanish flag, in order to deceive the Spanish and Portuguese shipping, and had the good fortune to seize eight rich merchantmen by this stratagem. Willekens dispatched three men of war to Europe, with an account of the success of the expedition. On their voyage they took several valuable prizes, and their arrival in Holland gave the greatest satisfaction, as it was not doubted but the entire conquest of the Brasils would ensue.

*The Spaniards mis-
carry in an
expedition
to the pro-
vinces.*

While the United Provinces were thus victorious in America, the court of Spain were making great preparations to oppress them in Europe, and terminate a war which had hitherto served only to draw the treasures of Peru and Mexico into Holland. The designs of the Spaniards, however, created less uneasiness to the states than did the conduct of their allies, whose rapacity became more troublesome than their services were useful. Mansveldt, destitute of money and provisions, in East Friseland, kept possession of several fortresses, which he offered to sell to the states general for three hundred thousand florins; a proposal that was accepted, though extremely unjust, because his troops were expressly hired for that service. By this bargain the Dutch, who were already in possession of Embden, formed a good barrier on that side against the incursions of the Germans and Spaniards. Mansveldt now resolved to penetrate into the bishoprick of Munster; but, being defeated in several enterprizes, he returned to Holland with a number of officers, who professed themselves entirely at his devotion. The severity and duration of the frost encouraged the Spaniards that were quartered in Cleves to undertake two expeditions upon the ice. They crossed the Yffel, entered Velau, and penetrated into the province of Holland, in which they had not before set foot for a number of years. By the other expedition it was proposed to invade the territory of Drente and the province of Groningen. Prince Maurice, hearing of the pre-

parations at Antwerp, frustrated the design: he put the fortresses in the best posture of defence, and employed several thousand men in breaking the ice at all the passages; yet could not all his vigilance prevent the count de Bergue from crossing the Yssel with forty troops of horse and ten thousand infantry, filling Dutch Guelderland with consternation, and advancing to Arnheim, which he invested. The garrison having been seasonably reinforced, made a vigorous resistance; but the excessive inclemency of the weather gave greater obstruction to the count's progress than the fire and sallies of the besieged. He therefore dropped the enterprize, and pushed forward to Eede, where he received advice that the prince of Orange was arrived at Utrecht, with all his forces, and forty pieces of cannon. This intelligence broke all his measures, and he began to think of an expeditious retreat, from an apprehension he should be shut up by the breaking of the frost, and exposed to famine, and the hazard of a defeat. He retired with precipitation, and repassed the Yssel, abandoning all the great designs he had formed with the loss of near half his army, which perished by cold, hunger, or the sword; the Dutch garrisons in Arnheim, Zutphen, and Deventer, falling out upon his rear, and making prodigious slaughter. Nor was the other expedition very successful, though it bore the most promising aspect; it ended in burning some villages, and taking prisoners a number of peasants; the prince of Orange's diligence entirely confounded the Spaniards, who thought to find the provinces defenceless, and lulled in profound security.

Still the old quarrel continued between the elector of Brandenburg, assisted by the Dutch and German Protestants; and the duke of Newburg, supported by the Spaniards and catholic powers, about the succession to the duchy of Juliers. The wretched inhabitants of Cleves, Juliers, La Marc, Ravensburg, and Ravestein, were equally oppressed by both parties; each of whom endeavoured to support their claims at the expence of the country. This contest gave birth to a negociation between the elector and duke, whereby it was proposed to compromise a difference that tended only to desolate the people, whom both called their subjects. A treaty was signed, and the parties sent the articles to the Hague and Brussels to receive the sanction of the states and the archduchess. But neither the Spaniards nor the Dutch chose to resign the towns they possessed in the countries disputed; and thus the negociation was rendered fruitless, and the inhabitants kept in a state of grievous oppression.

*Naval
transac-
tions.*

A strict regard to their several interests was the only particular in which the archduchess and the states of the United Provinces agreed. While that princess joined issue with the Dutch, in rejecting a treaty which would have restored peace to the territories of Juliers and Cleves, she was taking measures to repair the losses lately sustained on the ocean, and recompence the miscarriage of the late expeditions into the provinces. With this view she had collected a considerable naval force at Dunkirk, consisting of nine large men of war, and a great number of small privateers, with which incredible damage was done to the Dutch commerce. Besides a variety of other vessels, fifty fishing busses, and an English man of war of fifty guns, were taken by the enemy; in a word, so formidable was this squadron, that the states offered a reward of ten thousand florins, and the benefit of the prize, to whoever should equip a force sufficient to take one of the larger vessels; the same reward was offered for each of the nine men of war, and a portionable gratuity for single privateers. Excited by these promises a number of adventurers soon appeared, and, among the rest, general Lambert, who, with a considerable force, gave chase to six men of war as they quitted Dunkirk, came up with them, and maintained a bloody engagement for several hours. He was killed by a musket-ball in the heat of the action; a great number of his people perished, and the whole Dutch fleet was extremely shattered: but the enemy did not fare better; one of the ships, with the whole crew, went to the bottom; another was driven ashore and destroyed, and the four remaining sheered off in a wretched plight to the English coast. Though this engagement did not prove decisive, it however checked the ardour of the Spaniards, who now slackened greatly in their cruizes, and appeared with more caution out of their harbours. The Dutch, however, fully balanced the losses sustained here, by other more fortunate cruizes on the coasts of Spain, Portugal, and Barbary. Among other valuable prizes they took a ship laden with the plate, rich furniture, and money, of the conde de Lemos, viceroy of Sicily, estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling^b.

*Treaty
with
France.*

These, and other misfortunes, obliged the Spaniards to have recourse to extraordinary methods to repair their marine; for which purpose several French ships were detained in their ports, and the crews and shipping employed in the king's service. France remonstrated upon this violence of-

^b Neuville, Hist. tom. i. lib. v.

ferred to the rights of nations, but could obtain no redress; and this furnished a pretext for a closer alliance between the French king and the provinces. Ambassadors were sent to Paris, and a treaty was concluded; whereby the states agreed, on their part, not to enter upon any negotiations of peace, nor even a truce, without the consent of his most Christian majesty; to asssociate the king's subjects in the trade to the East Indies; to allow the free exercise of their religion to the French ambassador, his domestics, and the king's troops serving in the provinces, provided this was done in so private a manner as to give no umbrage to the professors of the established religion of the provinces; and to revoke their treaties with the corsairs of Barbary. At the same time the states contracted an alliance with the crown of England, which never proved of any service, unless we except the opportunity with which it furnished the Hollanders of gaining possession of some English settlements in the East Indies, by the most insidious and barbarous conduct, which James was too indolent and pusillanimous to resent.

Preparations of the Spaniards.

What rendered the Dutch more eager to fortify themselves by alliances, were the vast preparations making by the Spaniards and the archduchess in the Netherlands, where it was reported an army of fifty thousand men would open the campaign. One division of this extraordinary force was destined to act in Brabant, and to lay siege to Breda, under the conduct of Spinola. It consisted of twenty-six thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. A second corps of nine thousand foot and three thousand horse, under the count de Berg, was to attack the places held by the Dutch and the elector of Brandenburg, in the dutchies of Juliers and Cleves; while a third body was to form a flying camp, and make inroads into the provinces, by means of the Vaal and Meuse. The command of this camp was assigned to Juan Bravo de Lagunas. All that the states could oppose to so formidable an army, was a corps consisting of thirteen thousand infantry and four thousand horse, under the immediate command of the prince of Orange, and another of six thousand foot, and eighteen troops of dragoons, conducted by prince Henry, but subject to the orders of Maurice. The former was destined to oppose Spinola, and the latter to cover the countries which the count de Berg was directed to invade. On the 16th day of July, Spinola quitted Brussels, and advanced with his whole army towards Heusden; a motion which alarmed Breda, though he had taken every measure to conceal his real design upon that city. Justin Nassau, the

the natural son of William, prince of Orange, was governor of Breda; he supplied the garrison in the most plentiful manner with provision and ammunition; broke down the bridges and avenues to the city; ruined the surrounding mills; laid the adjacent country waste; and destroyed whatever could prove useful to the enemy, or any way assist their approaches. Prince Henry used the same precautions for the security of Rees and Emmeric, and armed the peasants to defend the passes. In the month of August, the count de Berg laid siege to Mundeberg, which was garrisoned by the Brandenburgers, and obliged it to surrender. Thence he marched to Cleves, a circumstance which so alarmed the garrison, that, retiring into the citadel, they left the city open to the Spaniards, upon which the magistrates presented the keys to the Spanish general, and put themselves under the protection of the archduchess. The citadel surrendered after a feeble resistance; and the victorious Spaniards, without regarding their promises to the magistrates, obliged the townsmen to purchase an exemption from being pillaged at an enormous price. After having exacted an oath of fidelity to the archduchess from the inhabitants, the count formed several unsuccessful enterprizes against Ravestein, leaving a strong garrison in Cleves. However, he found means to reduce Griet and Genep, before he marched to join Spinola, who had by this time invested Breda.

*Siege of
Breda.*

This city was among the strongest and most considerable places in the Netherlands, being fortified with the utmost caution and ability, by the late and present princes of Orange. The citadel, which formed the residence of the princes of that family, was surrounded by a ditch of prodigious depth filled with water, and a strong wall, defended by three great bastions. The arsenal was celebrated for its extent, and the vast quantities of arms and military stores it contained. As to Spinola, he was perfectly acquainted with the strength of the place, and thought he should expose his whole army to imminent destruction, should he attempt an assault before he had regularly carried on his approaches. He even resolved upon reducing the city by famine, as the method attended with least danger to his army; and accordingly began with drawing trenches round, for the space of four miles, erecting forts and redoubts at certain distances.

A.D. 1625.

On the other hand, the garrison, consisting of seven thousand infantry, and several troops of horse, composed of English, French, and Dutch soldiers, took the most vigorous measures for their own defence. The English were under the command of colonel Morgan, who had frequently

quently distinguished his valour in the service of the states; the French were directed by colonel de Hauterive; and the Dutch troops were subject to the immediate orders of colonel Lohre, though the whole received their instructions from Justin de Nassau, the governor. The first advantage was gained by Baglioni, who seized a large convoy of provisions and stores coming up the river, converting the boats into a bridge. This loss dispirited the besieged, and reduced them to a stated allowance of bread; however, they were encouraged by the return of the prince of Orange to the Hague, after having retaken Cleves, and obliged the Spanish garrison to surrender at discretion. He now advanced to Werkam, and was contriving the means of diverting Spinola's attention from the siege of Breda, by a second attempt on Antwerp, which likewise miscarried, just as it was on the point of execution, though planned with the utmost caution and ability. Already the Dutch cavalry had gained possession of all the avenues to the city, the ditch was filled with boats, and several ladders were applied to the walls in the night, when a Spanish sentinel discovered the design. Immediately the alarm spread, the garrison was under arms, and the governor had the address to order a number of trumpets and warlike instruments to be sounded in different parts of the city, to apprise the Hollanders that he stood in his defence. By this expedient, the prince's troops were seized with a panic; they conceived a whole army enclosed within; they abandoned their posts with great precipitation; and were deaf to all Maurice's intreaties and menaces, until they got beyond the reach of danger. About ten days after this miscarriage, the prince prevailed upon his troops to resume the enterprize; but it was then too late, and he perceived before he could approach the city, that the garrison was prepared. This consideration obliged him to withdraw his army; and he retired to the Hague, where care, chagrin, and disappointment, brought on a disorder that ended with his life, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, forty of which had been constantly employed in the service of his country. He was buried at Delft, in the tomb erected for his father, regretted as the preserver of his country, and admired as the greatest statesman and warrior of his age. Vigilant, indefatigable, penetrating, cautious, enterprizing, and sagacious, he united all the virtues of a general and hero, with the knowledge of a scholar. Particularly learned in the arts belonging to the cabinet and the field, he had also made great proficiency in those more properly within the sphere of the gentleman and the philosopher.

*Prince
Maurice's
death and
character.*

sopher. He had a taste for the fine arts, especially drawing and architecture; but his principal study was engineering, fortification, and those branches of the mathematics which relate to the military art. In these he was a master, having proved the speculative knowledge by long and assiduous practice. His camp was the school of great officers, where persons of the highest distinction, and the best soldiers in France, received the first principles of education. Ambition was his prevailing foible. This had led him into some violences inconsistent with the general tenor of his conduct, unpleasing to his countrymen, and almost destructive of liberty. His ambition, however, was the weakness of a great mind; it sometimes shaded, but never totally eclipsed his extraordinary merit, his generosity, and patriotism (A).

*Operations
of the siege
of Breda.*

Mean while, Spinola prosecuted the siege of Breda with the utmost diligence and vigour. On his pushing his trenches near the bastions, the besieged began a terrible fire to retard his approaches, and sustained it with such vehemence and obstinacy, that Spinola was in hopes they must soon surrender for want of ammunition. But here he formed a false judgment of the prudence of Justin de Nassau, who finding he could not accomplish his purpose, by the most terrible firing that ever was kept up, resolved to try the effect of water. With this view, he stopped up the course of the river Marck, and having formed a large basin of water, opened the sluices, swept away men, horses, and houses in an inundation, and over-

(A) When prince Maurice returned to the Hague, he left his army at Rosendal, with orders that prince Henry should join it with his corps, and the auxiliaries expected from France. The instructions to Henry were to attempt raising the siege of Breda, on the junction of all his forces; but this he did not live to see accomplished, and the apprehensions he was under for this city, which composed a part of the family estate, increased his malady, and accelerated his death. There were only three particulars respecting his military conduct, which he wished on his death-bed had

been otherwise. He repented of having fought the battle of Newport, which, though it added to his glory, produced no advantage to the republic. He blamed himself for not following the counsel offered him when he reduced Sluys, of laying under water the towns possessed by the Spaniards, on the Rhine and Meuse; and he taxed himself severely, for not taking possession of Spinola's quarters before Breda, at the time the siege was forming. History cannot instance so few errors in the conduct of any man, who acted at the head of an army for the space of forty years.

flowed

flowed the whole country. The chief force of the torrent fell upon Spinola's quarters, and he exerted his utmost ability to remove the consequences. He dug large pits, and cut out ditches and canals to receive the water; but these being filled, and the whole ground covered over, so as to appear one uniform mass of water, served only to entrap his cavalry. The inundation was augmented by the rains which happened to fall; a mortality among the soldiers and horses ensued; and of his whole army, Spinola had scarce twelve thousand men fit for service by the month of December. With these inconsiderable remains, lines of vast extent were to be defended, the works were to be advanced, the sallies from the garrison repulsed, and provisions to be conveyed into the camp, while Spinola, the soul of action, was confined to a sick bed.

In the garrison, an epidemical disease and scarcity likewise prevailed; but the excellent regulations made, and strictly observed, enabled the town to hold out three or four months beyond the time expected. The magistrates bought the corn for the bakers, obliging them to sell the bread to the inhabitants and garrison at a price affixed, and returning the overplus of their pay to the soldiers. A variety of other prudent regulations were established by the magistrates and governor, such as we do not find equalled by any instances recorded in history, upon a similar occasion, and all evincing the steadiness, sagacity, courage and ability of Justin de Nassau. A kind of rivalry appeared between him and Spinola, which should best fulfil their several duties. The Spanish general caused himself to be carried about the works in a litter; he inspected and directed every thing; and displayed the activity of full health, at the time his life was in imminent danger from an acute malady. He ordered several breaches in the lines to be repaired. These the Hollanders had made by sap, with a view of introducing succours to the besieged. He drove piles into all the ditches and canals through which their boats could pass. He made drains, to clear off the waters of the river Marck; and succeeded in a great measure, by dint of perseverance, vigilance, and conduct. He was now reinforced with a body of eight thousand foot, and one thousand five hundred horse; many of the sick were perfectly recovered by his extreme care; and his army was again become formidable, amounting to twenty-five thousand infantry, and eight thousand cavalry. Nor was prince Henry idle, who now succeeded to the titles and dominions of his brother, and was elected governor of Holland, Zeeland, Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overijssel. He

He pressed France for assistance, and was joined by a body of cavalry under the conduct of the count de Rouffi, and the marquis de Rambures. With this reinforcement, and a body of German infantry, he attacked the enemy's lines, and, after an obstinate conflict, was repulsed. He advanced a second time; but Spinola, who entertained a high opinion of his valour and conduct, did not chuse to wait for him in his lines; he marched out with the greater part of his army, seized upon a convenient post, and obliged the prince a second time to retire towards Boisseduc. Henry, finding no prospect of being able to relieve the garrison, sent a permission to the governor to surrender on the best conditions he could obtain. This plan, which was signed with no name, fell into the hands of the besiegers, and Spinola sent it open, by a trumpet, to Justin de Nassau, offering him an honourable capitulation; but that intrepid governor, suspecting the letter was forged, because it was anonymous, replied civilly, that a permission was not an order to surrender; and that he should better follow the prince of Orange's intention, and shew his respect for Spinola, by continuing to defend the city to the last extremity.

By this time the garrison was diminished, by disease, fatigue, want, and hardship, to half the original number; but Justin put on such a countenance, as concealed his situation from Spinola. He frequently sallied out upon Baglioni's quarters, where the Italians were perishing with cold and hunger, the whole subsistence of the besiegers depending on the contributions raised in the neighbouring territories. This inconvenience produced a mutiny in the camp, that could not be appeased without applying violent remedies, and executing within sight of the whole army the chief ringleaders. One of the mutineers blew up Spinola's chief magazine, valued at two hundred thousand livres. Urged more by necessity than compassion for the besieged, Spinola sent a message to the governor, exhorting him not to force him to extremities, which might be attended with fatal consequences to a brave garrison; but Justin, with equal art and dissimulation, answered, that Spinola was certainly ill served by his spies, as he appeared wholly unacquainted with the state of affairs in Breda, which was fully provided for a siege of several months, and defended by soldiers who preferred death to the necessity of surrendering. At that time the besieged were not informed of the death of the prince of Orange. They flattered themselves with the hopes of speedy succour, and were entirely ignorant of prince Henry's late disappointment. When they wrote to the army an account of their
miserable

misérable condition; Henry returned an answer, written with his own hand, and signed with his name, apprising them of the death of Maurice, the unsuccessful attempts made to raise the siege and throw in succours, the great inferiority of his troops in point of numbers, and the death of king James, whereby he was disappointed of a strong reinforcement; concluding, that he left the city entirely to the discretion of the governor, and other principal officers. Justin was thunderstruck with the contents of this letter. He had hitherto concealed the total want of provision and ammunition from the enemy, and his own garrison, except a few officers, and other persons in whom he reposed confidence. The colonels Hauterive and Morgan would listen to no propositions, saying, that the honour of their several countries were concerned, and that they were responsible for the conduct of the English and French forces. They therefore required an express order from the prince of Orange to surrender, notwithstanding they pined under the united pressure of fatigue, scarcity, and disease. Justin acquainted the prince with their resolution, and he sent back an order to surrender, threatening with capital punishment whoever should disobey; but he requested that the garrison would first acquaint him by a certain number of fires, lighted up in different parts of the city, how many days they should be able to hold out. Upon receipt of this order, eleven fires were kindled; but as the prince had sent a duplicate of the order by the other messenger, and this fell into the hands of the enemy, Spinola was now acquainted with the desperate circumstances of the besieged. By this acquisition he likewise discovered the mystery of the eleven fires: a council of war was assembled to deliberate whether they should stay the eleven days, and then oblige the garrison to surrender at discretion, or immediately offer conditions worthy of so brave a garrison. The Spanish officers were of the former opinion; the count de Berg and Spinola, supported the latter. At last the marquis, determined to pursue the dictates of his noble generosity, sent such terms as could not be refused. The count de Berg conducted the negotiation. Two separate capitulations were drawn up, one for the garrison, and the other for the city, and both the most honourable and advantageous that could be devised. They were accepted, and the garrison marched out on the 6th of June, after having sustained a siege for ten months, whereby they were diminished two-thirds: nor was the loss inferior on the part of the inhabitants. Spinola drew up his army to salute them, and surrounded by his field officers, paid particular compliments

*Breda surrenders
and Spinola
resigns.*

compliments to the governor, the colonels Morgan, Hanterville, and Lohre. He distributed money among the soldiers, ordered the sick and wounded to be treated with the utmost tenderness, conveyed the rest in the manner most commodious for them to Gertruydenburgh, and displayed all the sentiments of a hero in the regard paid to the valour and merit of his enemies. In honour to the memory of prince Maurice, he resigned the command after this memorable siege, sufficiently contented with having set bounds to the conquests of that great general, upon whom fortune seemed to frown for the two last years of his life ^k.

The surrender of Breda was matter of the highest satisfaction to the courts of Madrid and Brussels, rejoicings were made all over the Spanish Netherlands, and the archduchess, with her whole court, set out for the new conquest, into which she made her public entrance. She confirmed the privileges granted by Spinola to the inhabitants; and appointing Balançon, surnamed Wooden Leg, because he had lost that limb at the siege of Ostend, governor, she returned to Brussels. Such a profusion of civilities were poured out on the inhabitants of Breda by Spinola, that the states general began to be alarmed at his conduct, suspecting he meant by his kindness to seduce other towns from their allegiance; but Spinola was actuated merely by motives of generosity. He admired and rewarded their constancy and fidelity, and simply followed the impulse of humanity. However, the states prohibited their subjects from all intercourse and commerce with Breda; a step which obliged the archduchess to renew former edicts, whereby all the Spanish Netherlands were strictly enjoined to maintain no correspondence, commerce, or connection with the United Provinces. The present edict differed only in one circumstance: in all former ordonnances, the Dutch were termed rebels and traitors; here they were simply called enemies.

*Naval
transactions.*

With this siege ended the campaign in the Netherlands. The year was no less fruitful in naval transactions than in military operations by land. Here the Dutch were more successful. After the affair of Lima, admiral Hermit pursued his course to the coast of Chili, with intention to amuse the enemy, to persuade them that he had dropt all farther designs on Peru, and likewise to cruize for the plate-fleet, which he expected would set sail by the month

^k Le Clerc, tom. i. Neuville, tom. i. passim. La Vie de Prince Maurice, p. 56. Vie de Prince Henry, 4to. p. 22.

of December. Being disappointed in this last project by the false information of a Spanish pilot, he returned to Callao, manned eighteen boats, entered the harbour, burned nineteen Caracca ships, a great number of frigates, and was on the point of taking a galleon, valued at two millions of pieces of eight, when he was discovered by the light of the fire from the ships. Above a hundred pieces of cannon were pointed against him, and plied with such fury that he was forced to retreat. A second attempt was made next day; but the strong reinforcement sent by the governor of Lima rendered it fruitless; and Hermit directed his course to Guayaquil, the most commodious harbour in Peru, where an immense treasure is always lodged, ready to be shipped on board the galleons. Here he disembarked his troops, defeated the Spanish army, took the town, and seized the treasure; but, on his departure, he unfortunately set fire to the place, a circumstance, which so incensed the inhabitants, that, in despair, they took arms, pursued the admiral, killed five hundred of his men, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, the loss of his nephew, and great part of his booty. Determined, if possible, to revenge this disgrace, Hermit returned a third time to Callao, and planned such a scheme as must have inevitably destroyed the great galleon, which lay, like a floating castle, in the harbour; but his project was betrayed to the viceroy by two Greeks, who deserted to the enemy. Thus disappointed of the main object of his pursuit, though upon the whole extremely successful, the brave admiral fell into a fit of melancholy, and died of chagrin; upon which the command devolved on his vice-admiral, John Hugues, who contented himself with cruising for the plate-ships, between Lima and Panama, in which he proved extremely fortunate.

Matters went more untowardly in Brasil, where the Dutch fleet had been lately so successful. The reduction of St. Salvador was esteemed in Holland the most important acquisition made during the war, as it paved the way to the conquest of all Brasil; but as the Spaniards placed an equal value upon this town, they omitted nothing that could re-establish them in the possession. At the very time when admiral Willekens returned to Europe, imagining he had fully provided for the security of St. Salvador, by leaving a strong garrison of two thousand men, six men of war, several frigates, and great store of provision and ammunition, the Spaniards were equipping a squadron of fifty-six sail, under Frederic de Toledo, to drive the Hollanders out of Brasil. This fleet, manned with twelve thousand sol-

diers and mariners, arrived before the town about the close of the year, and laid siege in form, Toledo debarking with the land-forces, while Juan Faxardo was left with the fleet to block up the harbour. The garrison made several vigorous sallies to obstruct his approaches, but Toledo sustained them with resolution, watched every motion and opportunity diligently, plied his cannon with great spirit and ability, and at last effected a breach, just as Faxardo had destroyed several ships, and reduced the marine to such distress, that the sailors mutinied. In these circumstances Van Dort died of a fever, contracted from the excessive fatigue of the siege, and the heat of the climate. This incident increased the disorder in the fleet and the army. The Dutch sailors marched in a body to lay siege to the new governor, because he refused to surrender; so that he was obliged to capitulate, and march out of the town, without being allowed the honours of war, for Toledo had no idea of displaying the gallantry of Spinola. The garrison were transported to Holland, loaded with infamy, and the execrations of their countrymen, for having, by their own misconduct, occasioned the miscarriage of the most considerable enterprize formed by the West India company. All the soldiers and mariners were dismissed the service, and scourged out of the army; several of the officers were cashiered, rendered incapable of service, suffered to live in disgrace and obscurity; and the new governor alone was promoted, for the perseverance and steadiness with which he had adhered to his duty, under such embarrassing circumstances; but his name is not recorded¹.

The States assist in oppressing the French protestants.

Mean while, the states concluded a treaty with the French king, whereby they agreed to assist him with a fleet to oppress his protestant subjects, and block up the sea-ports held by the Hugonots. The prince de Soubize, and his brother the duke of Rohan, remonstrated to them on the iniquity of assisting a tyrant to oppress subjects of the same religion which was professed in the United Provinces, whose sole crime was, that they would not sign articles against their conscience, and profess a mode of faith which they deemed little better than idolatrous. The cities of Rohan, the towns of Montauban, Castres, and a variety of other places, sent deputies to Holland, beseeching the states not to enter upon a measure so inconsistent with conscience, honour, charity, and every principle of humanity; they protested they would use their utmost endeavours to

¹ Le Clerc, *ibid.*

accommodate

accommodate matters, and only requested that the states would refrain from hostilities until the issue of the negotiations now on foot should be decided. The catholic writers accuse the protestants of insincerity: they allege, that the prince de Soubize, while the treaty was depending, and after the states general had consented to defer hostilities, set sail to attack the combined fleet of France and Holland. According to them, he pushed through the French line, and attacked the Dutch admiral in the rear; who, after a gallant defence, had the misfortune to be blown up^m. The truth is, the states general were determined to gain the French king to their interest, even though at the expence of the most dishonourable concessions. He had consented to augment his army in the Netherlands; and they, in return, stipulated to employ their fleet against the Hugonots. They promised the protestant deputies every thing they required, and had, at the same time, dispatched secret orders to their admiral to join the sieur de Monty, the king's admiralⁿ. It was this junction, and certain motions made by the combined fleet, that alarmed the prince de Soubize, and occasioned the breach of armistice of which he is accused. The states laboured to vindicate themselves, by throwing the blame on the Rochellers; but time has not been able to wash out this stain from the reputation of a protestant republic, then waging a bloody war on account of religion.

A.D. 1626.

The loss of Breda, and the powerful army maintained by the Spaniards in the Netherlands, rendered it necessary to divide their forces, and support Mansveldt, notwithstanding he proved so troublesome and expensive an ally. Perceiving that his forces were daily decreasing by numerous desertion, the states sent commissioners to Emmeric to review the remaining troops. They were found to amount to five thousand foot and twelve hundred irregular horse, which were to be augmented to a corps of eight thousand strong, to act, in conjunction with the troops of Denmark, against the imperial army in Lower Saxony. While Mansveldt was employed in making levies, the bishop of Halberstadt, with a detachment of four troops of horse and six hundred musketeers, made a feint motion towards Brabant, and, wheeling suddenly round, surprised the town of Ordinguen, which he sacked and pillaged. Mansveldt having completed his corps, and received a reinforcement of two thousand Hollanders, traversed Westphalia, ravaged

Mansveldt's incursions.

^m Neuville, tom. ii. p. 18.
Rohan.

ⁿ Vide Remonst. de Duc de

the bishoprick of Osnaburg, and desolated the territories of the duke of Lunenburgh, because that prince had declined acceding to the league formed by the princes of Lower Saxony. Afterwards, in conjunction with Halberstadt, he cut in pieces a detachment of five hundred Croats. From this time, to the eve of the succeeding year, Mansveldt acted separate from the Dutch forces. He found means, however, by the remittances of the states, to augment his army to twelve thousand men, with a train of thirty pieces of cannon; with which force he penetrated into Upper Saxony, took Zerbst by escalade, and put the garrison to the sword. He then spread terror to the very heart of Silesia; but his infantry being cut in pieces by Wallenstein, in an action near the bridge of Dessau, he marched with his cavalry to the march of Brandenburg, where he began to recruit his army. All this while the bishop of Halberstadt was making a powerful diversion on the Weser, and harassing count Tilly, the Bavarian general's army, that great general being himself confined by sickness. The bishop profited by the opportunity; he hovered continually on the skirts of the imperial army, destroyed their forage, cut off their convoys, skirmished with their detachments, and proved a very troublesome enemy; when he was seized with an ardent fever, of which he died at Wolfenbüttele, to the excessive joy of all the inhabitants of the surrounding countries, who regarded the prelate as the scourge of the catholic religion, and a very Anti-Christ.

*Revival of
religious
disputes in
Holland.*

The states were forced to act defensively during this whole year, which produced nothing memorable. The civil divisions which again appeared in the provinces, obliged them to rely chiefly on the vigour of their partizan allies. Notwithstanding the people already tasted the sweets of prince Henry's gentle, moderate, and prudent government, the Arminian party, animated by the death of Maurice, formed a design of revenging their late sufferings; and by the exhortations of their banished brethren, began to revive, and shew their implacable hatred to the house of Orange. The more moderate among them, however, endeavoured to prevail on the party to try the effects of more gentle measures, by soothing the prince, and requesting that they might experience that favour which they had reason to expect from his repeated intimations. Henry, out of respect to his brother's memory, and from an apprehension of disabling the states, paid little regard to their remonstrances. He contented himself with general testimonies of esteem for Hugo Grotius, who was then at Paris, and with releasing from confinement Hoogerbert, pensionary

ry of Leyden. It is even supposed that he connived at the fresh persecution commenced in Amsterdam and Leyden against this unhappy party. Here some persons of consideration in the government proposed, wholly to suppress Arminianism, and by prohibiting even the private exercise of the worship professed by the sect, and obliging them to subscribe to certain articles drawn up by the national church, at one blow to crush a faction which had caused so much trouble to the republic. These measures were pushed with violence; they were opposed by all men of understanding, as equally unjust and impolitic; yet possibly the debate might have given birth to a civil war, had not the general attention been seasonably diverted by a more important object.

The great preparations of the Spaniards rendered it necessary, that the states should act with the utmost vigour and unanimity. The departure of Spinola from the Netherlands gave the prince of Orange great hopes he should be able to retrieve the losses of the last campaign. He laboured diligently to put the army on the best footing, and had actually formed a corps of sixteen thousand foot and four thousand cavalry, which he commanded in person; together with another body of forces under the conduct of count Ernest Casimir, of twelve thousand soldiers. With this force the count invested Oldenzeel, which he reduced in the space of eight days, though defended by the famous Monelé, a native of Franche Comté, in whom the arch-duchess had the utmost confidence, as he was the particular favourite of Spinola. On his side, the prince of Orange encamped near Cronenburgh, made a motion as if he proposed laying siege to Wessel, and erected a fort near Isselburgh, to obstruct the works carried on by the Spaniards, in forming a canal from Rhimberg to Venlo. His great design was to reduce fort Rieldrecht, on the frontiers of Flanders; for which purpose, leaving the main army under the direction of count Stirum, he embarked a considerable detachment in four hundred boats, collected on the Vaal, and set out on the enterprize, which was frustrated by the shallowness of the river, in consequence of a great drought. This expedition was succeeded by another against Linghen, in Westphalia, which likewise proved unfortunate. He now prepared to oppose with his whole army, the attempt to open a passage between the Meuse and the Rhine. During his absence, however, Stirum was attacked, defeated, and taken prisoner, by the count de Berg,

• Vie du Prince Henry.

The Spaniards defeated in an attempt on Sluys.

who with an army covered the works. The conflict was bloody, and the chief advantage the enemy could boast was, that they made the Dutch general prisoner; and retired from the Dutch camp without being pursued; with about four pieces of cannon. So unexpected a blow could not fail of disconcerting the prince's measures; it likewise encouraged the Spaniards to form another project, little less important than the surprising count Stirum's camp. Spinola, who had not yet quitted the Netherlands, advised an attempt upon Sluys. Count Horn, with a choice body of troops, was detached upon this business, with orders to seize upon the harbour, the fate of which would determine that of the town: as cutting off all communication would effectually reduce the garrison to the necessity of surrendering; but the vigilance of a centinel disconcerted the whole scheme, when it was just on the point of execution. The soldier, firing his piece on the approach of the Spaniards, alarmed the garrison; all flew to the ramparts; the count perceived he was discovered; but determining to push his way, he approached quite to the draw-bridge, and was there saluted with such a volley of grape-shot as put his party in disorder, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, his loss amounting to four hundred men killed on the spot.

At this time Spinola was at Dunkirk, waiting the issue of the attempt on Sluys. He was greatly mortified to find it had miscarried, and spoke with resentment of the rashness of the count in exposing his men to certain death, after he was discovered. The court of Spain had erected an admiralty, of which Spinola was president. The new college, eager to distinguish its zeal, equipped a squadron, on occasion of the rupture with England, attacked the combined fleets of England and Holland, destroyed four ships of war, and carried a great number of prizes into Dunkirk; but the Dutch soon repaired the loss and disgrace, by the defeat and capture of the large galleons, fitted out as men of war; and several advantages that were obtained over count Philip de Mansveldt.

The more effectually to stop the courses of the Dunkirkers, the states provided a fleet of fifty cruisers in Holland and Zealand, to which Lewis XIII. joined seven large men of war, the finest ever built in France. Spinola endeavoured to provide for the security of all the ports which he feared might be insulted; and carefully concealing from the prince of Orange the scarcity of money, made such ef-

forts as greatly exceeded expectation, and increased the reputation he had already acquired for activity and address in the most difficult conjunctures. The troops which he ordered to file off to the frontiers of the provinces, alarmed the states general for Bergen op Zoom, Grave, and Flushing, into which they put strong garrisons, supplying them with abundance of provision and military stores.

As soon as the rigour of the season would permit, the prince of Orange advanced with his army between Nimeguen and Arnheim. This motion obliged the Spaniards to recall the prince of Issemburgh, after he had been detached with two thousand men to join count Tilly, in Lower Saxony, against the forces of Denmark and the circle. It was supposed the prince would undertake the siege of Wesfel; to prevent which the count de Berg approached Gueldres. Henry, however, either had no design upon Wesfel, or he dropped it, in order to invest Groll, a town the most conveniently situated for obtaining a clear, indisputable frontier. Success in the enterprize would likewise deprive the Spaniards of a place conveniently situated for laying the adjacent territories of Overysfel, Drent, Twente, Groningen, and Friseland, under contribution. Thirty years before Groll had been reduced by prince Maurice; was retaken by Spinola ten years after; and now was besieged by prince Henry, with an army composed of one hundred and sixty-eight companies of infantry, fifty-five troops of cavalry, and a fine train of artillery. All the passes were immediately blocked up, and the trenches were formed with the utmost vigour. The garrison consisted only of twelve hundred men; but it was augmented by a number of the inhabitants, who formed themselves into companies, and performed excellent service. Old Dulken, a soldier of great valour and experience, was governor; but age and infirmity confining him to his chamber, he devolved the chief care upon Verreiken, an officer who had already distinguished his capacity. The count de Berg hovered round with his army, greatly incommoded the besiegers, and closely watched every opportunity of succouring the garrison. The trenches were opened on the 20th of July; the siege continued to the 18th of August, when the garrison, perceiving that their repeated sallies answered no purpose but to weaken themselves, and that they could expect no assistance from the count de Berg, began to relax in their vigour. A wound which the governor received in the shoulder, the demolition of the principal works, the dismounting of almost all the artillery, and the great strength of prince Henry's lines greatly disheartened the

A.D. 1627.

*Prince
Henry re-
duces Groll.*

garrison. They saw the English and French auxiliaries pushing their operations to the foot of the wall, and colonel Hauterive ready to spring a mine, which would open a vast breach; this consideration determined them to send a trumpet to the prince, requesting leave to give the count de Berg notice of their situation: this request being refused, the brave garrison renewed hostilities, made a vigorous sally, and filled the trenches with carnage. Their attack was exceeding fierce, and nothing but the great superiority of the besiegers, and the prodigious strength of prince Henry's works, could have prevented this little garrison from cutting their way through to the army. At last they capitulated upon the same honourable conditions that Spinola had granted to the city of Breda. Henry indeed rivalled the humanity of that great commander, and poured out civilities on the soldiers and inhabitants. Count Stirum was appointed governor; the old fortifications were repaired, and a variety of new works added^a.

Several enterprizes which the Spaniards formed against Zealand, miscarried; Groll was reduced, and Berg now appeared as unfortunate as Maurice and Henry had been during the three preceding years. The prince of Orange pursued his advantages, and by several spirited attacks, and judicious operations, dislodged the enemy from all the posts they had to secure the navigation of the Scheld. He likewise harrassed them in Westphalia, in Brabant, and on the Wesel; but in the midst of these successes, a rupture with England was apprehended. The English, on account of the depredations of the Dutch in the East Indies, had detained three Dutch Indiamen, which had put in by stress of weather into Portsmouth. To demand restitution, the states sent an ambassador to the court of London; and, to give weight to their negociations, ordered a strong fleet to be speedily equipped, under the conduct of admiral Orbel. This measure produced the effect; a promise was given of making immediate restitution; and a plan projected for uniting the two nations by a more close and intimate connection. The intention was to secure themselves against the depredations of the Dunkirkers, who incredibly annoyed the commerce of the Channel. The allies agreed to fit out a joint fleet of a hundred cruisers; but the terrible storms that came on in the month of October, and continued for several weeks, prevented the fleet from putting to sea, damaged them in the harbours, and frustrated the whole scheme, from which so much was expected. The French king

*Treaties
with
France and
England.*

^a Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 187.

laboured to dissolve this union between the crown of England and the United Provinces, for he was then busied in reducing his protestant subjects, who were powerfully assisted by Great Britain. The most expeditious method of effecting his purpose was to renew the treaty whereby the states engaged not to unite themselves with the enemies of France; nor was it difficult to gain this point, as the Dutch had now effectually answered the intention of uniting with England, having had restitution made of the East Indiamen, and relinquished the project against the Dunkirkers. The king readily allowed that the states should not commit hostilities against the English, notwithstanding they were his enemies; and they, in return, engaged not to afford them any assistance, and even to refrain from supplying the protestants of France with military stores.

While Spinola remained at Dunkirk, he continued to direct the operations in the Netherlands. Already the Dutch had found the happy effects of his not executing his schemes in person: and now they entertained the most sanguine hope of a fortunate issue to the war, as that celebrated officer was recalled to Spain, and his authority distributed among a variety of persons, all unequal to him in point of genius and application. The government, and civil affairs, were entrusted to the cardinal de Cueva and Don Carlos Colonna; the count de Berg had the command of the army. But while the states were felicitating themselves on the prospect this change presented, they were alarmed by disturbances from another quarter, and the approach of count Tilly to East Friseland, Oldenburgh, and the bishoprick of Munster. Sensible of the inconveniences that would result from the vicinity of so troublesome an enemy, the states directed that the chief posts on the frontiers should be well secured. To ward off the impending blow with greater certainty, a new army of twelve thousand foot and five thousand horse was raised, with which count Ernest was sent to oppose the count of Anhalt, lieutenant-general of the imperial army, and commander in chief of the troops of Cologne; but all this diligence and vigour could not prevent the enemy from gaining some considerable advantages. The young count of East Friseland, in order to pay his court to the emperor, found means to introduce an imperial garrison into Shikufen, and some other places, where the states had formed considerable magazines. This success elated Anhalt to such a pitch, that he summoned all the towns of West Friseland to submit; he levied contributions in Groningen, and exhorted the people to receive the imperial army; he made an attempt to surprise

Count Tilly advances towards the frontiers of the provinces.

surprise Embden, in which the states kept a strong garrison, but was disappointed. Tilly marched another body of troops towards Westphalia, and the duchies of Berg and Juliers. The count de Berg availed himself of this favourable conjuncture, and threw in a strong reinforcement into Linghen, which was threatened with a siege by prince Henry.

The states imagining that the imperial army had some other object than that of renewing the dispute about the duchies of Juliers and Cleves, ordered a part of the army to file off towards the Rhine, for the security of Rees and Emmeric. While the count de Berg was employed in Westphalia they likewise made an attempt to surprise Strasburg fort, which had been built for the defence of the new canal at Venlo; but they met with so warm a reception from the Spaniards, that they retreated with precipitation. This enterprize, though unsuccessful, hurried the return of the count de Berg to Guelderland, where he applied with diligence to put the canal in such a posture of defence, by redoubts and forts, as would deter the enemy from any future attempts. He also began two other canals towards the extremities of Brabant and Flanders, in order to prevent the incursions of the Hollanders, and particularly the garrison of Bergen op Zoom, whose perpetual attacks greatly retarded the fortifications which the archduchess was erecting at Saint Vliet. But what chiefly incommoded the Spaniards was the presence of the prince of Orange, who continually passed from Lillo to Bergen op Zoom, to cut off the communication betwixt Saint Vliet and Antwerp. With this view Henry constructed three considerable forts beyond Lillo, whence he often set fire to the new fortifications, and destroyed several valuable convoys of provision coming by water from Antwerp.

In all these expeditions and operations the Hollanders were successful; but fortune seemed to abandon them in Marstrand, where their forces were defeated by the count de Berg; nor did they succeed better by sea, the Dunkirk cruizers having taken above forty rich prizes since the commencement of the season. At the Hague these losses were attributed to the wretched situation of the finances, which prevented the states from keeping on foot a sufficient land-force, and equipping the necessary number of cruizers. This deficiency obliged them to make certain exactions in Juliers and Cleves, under pretence of procuring payment of a sum of money due to them from the elector of Bran-

denburgh. On the other hand the Spaniards, who supported the claim of the duke of Newburgh, oppressed the miserable inhabitants with heavy contributions, under the name of taxes and the usual revenue, which they said they had a right to receive, while the war was supported at their expence. The people, equally oppressed by their friends and enemies, had recourse to the emperor's protection; and the court of Vienna was delighted with this fair opportunity of keeping the whole succession in sequestration, and of using Cleves and Juliers as their own property, until one of the claimants should be reduced to cede his pretensions. Mandates were immediately published, declaring his imperial majesty's intention, forbidding all hostilities in the duchies, and requiring all foreign troops to quit the duchies of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, with all their dependencies. This declaration was followed by instructions to count Tilly to advance with his army to support the emperor's intention. The first act of imperial authority exerted, was the banishing the Dutch Protestant ministers out of Dortmonde, and restoring the Catholic religion. The same step was taken in all the other places possessed by the states, in trust for the elector of Brandenburg; where the imperialists found themselves superior in power. Ravensburg alone held out against the imperial commissaries, and protested against their authority, the magistrates declaring they would stand the consequences of a siege rather than submit. Tilly, perceiving their resolution, retired without attempting any thing against a little place which had shewn so obstinate an attachment to liberty. Emmeric and Rees were summoned. Tilly threatening them with all the horrors of war unless the catholic religion should be immediately restored; but the garrison set him at defiance, and laughed at his menaces, perceiving that the prince of Orange and Stirum were both ready to succour them on the first motion of the imperialists. To shew the equity of their proceedings, the commissaries did not exempt the places in possession of the Spaniards from their visitations. Wherever there were protestant magistrates they were deposed, without regard to the capitulation with Spinola; the catholic schools and preachers were restored; and the utmost violences committed in Wessel before the people could be brought to submission. The duke of Newburg lent his authority to those measures; but he perceived they were pushed too far, and that the people were more oppressed by the imperialists than they before were by the Hollanders and Brandenburgers. He complained to the court of Vienna, but obtained no satisfaction; and

Fresh differences about Cleves and Juliers.

Protestants

Protestants and Papists were left to bleed under the scourge of the most cruel tyranny.

A.D. 1628.

The elector of Brandenburg equally suspected the designs of the court of Vienna, and resented her proceedings. To prevent, therefore, the troublesome and dangerous consequences of a sequestration in the hands of an ambitious grasping power, the competitors entered into a provisional agreement for twenty-one years; whereby they stipulated jointly to oppose all who, under the mask of friendship, violated their rights, and to stand by the partition that was made at the last negociation. But, sensible that they could not force the Dutch and Spanish garrisons out of the towns they possessed, ambassadors were sent by both princes to Brussels and the Hague, requesting that the archduchess and the states would withdraw their troops; a measure which would cut off all shadow of excuse from the emperor for continuing his oppressions. The states and the archduchess had too long tasted the sweets of those possessions, to renounce them merely from a principle of equity; they therefore returned equivocal answers; and thus, a second time, frustrated the effects of a treaty between the candidates, and deprived the inhabitants of the felicity they had reason to expect from so reasonable a partition¹.

*Several
advan-
tages ob-
tained by
the Dutch
garrisons.*

While this affair was in agitation, the governors of Groll, Bredford, Rees, Emmeric, and Soest, entered La Marc with a body of troops to oppose the joint forces of the emperor and king of Spain. Having thrown succours into Ravensperg, they attempted to surprise Ham, relying upon a correspondence which they maintained with some of the inhabitants; but a reinforcement expected from Stirum not arriving at the place of rendezvous, the scheme miscarried, and their friends in the town fell a prey to the enemy, who put them to the torture, and, on their confession, caused them to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as traitors. The garrison of Groll had better fortune; they surprised Rattingen, pillaged the town, and carried off some prisoners of distinction, and a considerable booty. The garrison of Grave likewise seized upon a large convoy going from Brussels to Maastricht, in which were rich presents from the archduchess to the duke of Modena. Several other garrisons, encouraged by the example and success of Groll and Grave, made inroads into the Spanish territories, where they levied heavy contributions. A detachment from Emmeric fell into an ambuscade laid by the count de Berg, but, determined to perish rather than sur-

¹ Neuville, lib. vi cap. 22.

render,

render, the soldiers fought with the utmost fury, and, after an obstinate conflict, totally defeated and dispersed the Spaniards. The states had licensed these depredations; the scarcity of money obliging them to declare all the plunder the legal property of the captors; yet they could not avoid giving ear to the duke of Modena's complaints for the loss of his valuable presents. It was ordered that all which belonged to the duke should be restored; and, to gratify the garrison, the sum of twenty-seven thousand florins was given them as an equivalent.

Mean while the new admiralty at Dunkirk, strictly observing the directions given by Spinola, became every day more formidable to Holland. The harbour was filled with rich prizes, and every day produced bankruptcies in Amsterdam. Their losses drove the Dutch merchants and seamen to despair; which made them enter into a league never to strike, but, if they found themselves overpowered, to blow up their vessels. To oppose the descents of the Dunkirkers, the states ordered all the coasts of Zealand and Holland to be carefully defended, for which purpose the boors were armed. Four thousand seamen were taken into the service, and all the natives of the provinces prohibited, under severe penalties, to enter into foreign fleets. A squadron of thirty ships was equipped, with orders to cruize along the French coast, and block up the harbour, while general Van Dort laid siege to the town of Dunkirk. A division of eight ships from this fleet having fallen in with a squadron of six Dunkirkers, a bloody engagement began, and, after an obstinate conflict, the Hollanders obtained a complete victory. One ship of the enemy was taken, and the rest were so miserably shattered, that with the utmost difficulty they escaped. This success cleared the way for a fleet of rich homeward-bound Indiamen, which otherwise would probably have been taken. The siege of Dunkirk, however, went on but slowly; and it was at last proposed to block up the harbour by a chain of vessels faced with stone; but, on trial, the project failed, and the projector was rewarded with ridicule. The East India company, however, lent their assistance to the government to check the presumption of the Dunkirkers; and joined to the fleet already stationed before that harbour, a squadron of twelve ships of war, which did not diminish the number of ships sent the following year to Asia; from whence we may judge of the great opulence of the company at this period.

*Dunkirk
blocked up.*

The measures of the West India company were not less *Naval* vigorous, and they proved more fortunate. They had *affairs* taken

taken a great number of rich Spanish and Portuguese merchant ships; they had destroyed whole fleets in the ports of Lisbon, Corunna, and Cadiz; and now their admiral, Peter Adrien, with a squadron of twelve ships, fell in with a Spanish fleet in the gulph of Honduras. He attacked the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, drove their ships upon the sand-banks, obliged them to strike, took out their valuable cargoes and the prisoners, set fire to the prizes, and arrived safe with his booty in Holland, to the great joy and emolument of the company. But the instrument destined by Providence to remove the great disorders in the finances, to enable the states to prosecute the war with redoubled vigour, and to raise the west India company to a rivalship with the company trading to the East Indies, was admiral Peter Heine. This bold and active officer defeated and destroyed a fleet of Spanish merchantmen and men of war in the bay of All Saints, bringing home so prodigious a cargo of sugar as lessened the price of that commodity at every market in Europe. Encouraged by this success, the company equipped a squadron of thirty-one ships, with design to intercept the plate-fleet. Heine was appointed the commander in chief; nor did his good fortune once desert him through the whole course of the expedition. In the month of May he set sail for Mexico, desolating as he went along the coasts of Spain and Portugal. He arrived at the Havannah, in the island of Cuba, where he expected to fall in with the flota; part of which was driven off by a storm to the coast of Florida just as the ships were ready to put into the Havannah. As to the flota from New Spain, it fell entirely into the hands of the Dutch admiral, after a faint resistance, and was valued worth fifteen millions of livres, in chests of silver and rich merchandize. This was the richest prize ever made by the Hollanders; the admiral, therefore, thought he could not be too cautious in an affair which so nearly concerned the republic; for this reason he set sail directly for Europe, and arrived in Holland with the loss only of one prize and two of his own ships, that foundered in a storm which rose just as he had entered the chops of the channel. Heine was received with as much honour as the princes of Orange had been after the most signal victories. Bonfires were kindled in every town throughout the Seven Provinces, and the people flocked from all quarters to behold him as a prodigy. Nothing was to be heard but the ringing of bells, the roaring of cannon, and the shouts of the multitude. Peter Heine was publicly entertained by the prince of Orange, in company with the king of Bohemia, the elector Palatine,

The Spanish flota taken.

Palatine, and the ambassadors of crowned heads. He had the honour of knighthood conferred on him; a civic crown of gold was conferred upon him by the magistrates of Amsterdam, and he was raised to the dignity of admiral of Holland, in the room of William of Nassau, killed at the siege of Groll, and with fuller powers than any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed.

When the whole wealth of the fleet was landed, an infinity of persons of fashion crowded to see the curiosity; which proved fatal to the prince Palatine, and had almost been so to the elector, the barge in which they were being overset, and the young prince drowned. After a minute calculation of the value of the cargo, the directors of the company divided fifty per cent. among the proprietors; a measure that was most bitterly censured by all judicious persons, who wished well to the establishment. The money would have been better employed, as they thought, in establishing such a head colony in America, as the East India company possessed at Batavia; and this was the more necessary, as the society was now engaged in a bloody war with the Spaniards and Portuguese, without enjoying a foot of land in the Brasils since the loss of St. Salvador¹.

The public rejoicings, which continued at Amsterdam during the whole month of January, were at last interrupted by a tumult that arose, because certain burghers refused to obey the magistrates, who happened to be Arminians. The prince of Orange, who perceived the consequences to the state of keeping up the old factions, resolved to abolish all party distinction, by supporting merit indiscriminately in the pursuit of public offices; and it was supposed that by his interest the present magistrates had gained their election. This moderation gave great umbrage to the Gomarists, who resented to see a proscribed set of men, the old and implacable enemies of the prince's family, now taken into his favour, and placed upon an equality with those who had always supported his interest. The whole mob of Amsterdam assembled to espouse the cause of the citizens who had refused to obey the Arminian magistrates; and Henry detached a party of twelve hundred soldiers to quell the tumult, and take the chief mutineers into custody. At the next assembly of the states an ordonnance passed, whereby the people were required to obey the magistrates, of whatever sect or religion they happened to profess themselves. The most riotous in the late tumult were confined, or mulcted in proportion to the degree of their guilt; and

A.D. 1629.

*Civil commo-
tions at
Amster-
dam.*

¹ Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 162. 167.

this

this severity so irritated the Gomarists, that great numbers retired to Zealand. William Bogwert, one of the most eminent, a person who had been the tool of the Gomarist clergy, when he went into exile, was met by six thousand people, weeping and tearing their hair, all pouring out their benedictions, and regarding him as a martyr to religion.

This sedition was scarcely appeased, when another, of a more dangerous nature, arose among the seamen who had served under admiral Heine in the West Indies. They complained that the company had not only refused to augment their wages, but to admit them to any share of the immense wealth brought to the state by their courage. Filled with resentment at this usage, they began forcing and pillaging the company's warehouses in which all the rich merchandize was lodged. A party of soldiers was immediately sent against them, but this would have proved insufficient, had they not been gratified with a considerable sum of money; after the division of which they retired quietly, and again offered their services to the company, to assist in manning the new squadron which was equipping for a fresh expedition. This fleet was composed of sixty stout vessels, and destined to reduce Peru, Mexico, and the Brasils; in a word, all that was valuable of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in South America. However, the great expences of this armament did not prevent the company from advancing a large sum to the states, to enable them to pursue the war with vigour, and raise an army with which the prince of Orange should be able to make head against the enemy^t.

*State of the
Spanish
affairs.*

There could not be a more terrible stroke to the Spaniards than the loss of the flota. Already their military operations were at a stand for want of money, and the troops in every quarter were ready to mutiny. It was an additional grievance to see the money, with which they hoped to be masters of all the Netherlands, now employed to their destruction. The vast preparations making in Holland, since the month of February, threw the court of Brussels into despair. Many lords, and other persons of distinction and influence, took this opportunity of expressing their dislike of the measures of the administration, and the methods in which the war had been conducted. They threw the whole blame of the present misfortunes upon the Spaniards. To their jealousy they attributed Spinola's resignation, though he was the chief bulwark of

^t Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 162. 167.

the state; they accused them of rapacity, profusion, ignorance, and cowardice. The country, they said, was oppressed, depopulated, and enslaved; their bad policy excited the resentment of the natives, and the contempt of the enemy, and would soon produce the loss of the Netherlands. They complained that all preferments were bestowed on foreigners; to them was committed the defence of the frontiers, and to them ought to be imputed the loss of Groll, and all the insults received during the last campaign, by which the inhabitants were reduced to beggary, the country desolated, and the court disgraced. The Spaniards, they affirmed, refused to obey the prince of Berg, the only person of high condition among them who was capable of conducting an army. It was the business of the prince of Orange to profit by these divisions at the court of Brussels, and the difficulty of putting the troops in motion; nor did he let slip the opportunity. Marching his army towards the frontiers of Brabant, he reviewed his whole force at Nimeguen, including the troops of France and England; he sent his artillery and baggage to the Meuse, and publicly avowed his design of laying siege to Bois le Duc. His army amounted to thirty-two thousand men, divided into forty-three battalions, and three large brigades, besides a reinforcement of six thousand men, sent afterwards by the states, with a train of sixty pieces of cannon. The town was invested in the night of the 30th of April; though the governor, Anthony Schets, could not be persuaded till the next morning, that the enemy would be so rash as to attack a place of such strength and importance. Boisseduc, called the Maid of Brabant, because it had never surrendered, though often besieged, was so regularly fortified as to be deemed impregnable. It was scarce accessible on account of the dykes and marshes with which it was surrounded, and required a large army completely to invest the vast extent of walls, fortified with seven strong bastions, defended by an immense wet ditch with canals and sluices, by means of which the whole country, if necessary, might be laid under water. A variety of strong outworks obstructed the approach of an enemy; and nothing was wanting that art or nature could give to render this the most impregnable town in the Netherlands.

Prince !
Henry
invests
Boisseduc.

All Brabant was overwhelmed with consternation, and the court of Brussels in the utmost perturbation, upon advice that prince Henry had begun his approaches. The

^u Neuville, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. 14.

most pressing messages were dispatched to Spain for money, ammunition, and the requisites for putting the troops in motion. Schets, though labouring under a thousand discouraging circumstances, destitute of officers, and a sufficient garrison, determined to make a vigorous defence; well knowing the importance of his trust. With the prince of Orange's permission he sent away all the women, children, and others, who served only to consume provisions; and placed his whole confidence in a garrison not exceeding two thousand three hundred infantry, and six troops of cavalry; notwithstanding several companies of burghers had formed themselves under his banners. He omitted practising nothing which long experience had taught him was necessary for his defence, resolving to maintain the great reputation he had acquired by a series of faithful important services. A seasonable reinforcement of eight hundred men from Breda, insinuated themselves with much address, on the fifth night of the siege, and greatly animated the garrison and governor. The prince laboured to deprive them of all future succours, and pushed his works with the utmost vigour, assisted by the peasants in the neighbourhood. In ten days his camp was surrounded by a deep ditch, which received the waters of three rivers, whereby the troops were supplied with all manner of provisions with ease and security. He began to build a great number of forts and batteries, in order to cut off the enemy from any communication with the river, in which work he succeeded beyond expectation; turning the waters intended for the defence of the town to the great inconvenience of the garrison. For fifteen days had the besieged regarded the progress of these works without giving any considerable annoyance, from an apprehension of exhausting their ammunition. Great quantities of powder had been damaged by the influx of the waters into the town; so that the first sallies were made sword in hand, without the use of firelocks. The governor, to prevent the soldiers from being dispirited, pretended that this was matter of choice, carefully concealing his great want of ammunition; and the troops, glad of an opportunity of shewing their valour, always behaved with the utmost gallantry. The batteries and trenches being finished, prince Henry played with fury against the forts Isabella and St. Antonio. The marshal Chatillon, at the head of the French, drove the garrison from their outworks on the 1st day of June, and pursued them quite to the gates of the town. Another body of French, commanded by Hauterive, lodged themselves in the counterscarp of fort Isabella. The viscount Turenne, who

who was nephew to the prince of Orange, served at this siege, commanded a company of foot, and signalized himself in so extraordinary a manner as attracted the attention of the whole army. The French and English were rivals on this occasion; the officers, and even the private men, being animated with a desire of particularly distinguishing themselves; yet, as no breach could be effected, no other opportunity offered than when the enemy sallied.

At last fatigue, and repeated sallies, had greatly diminished the number of the garrison, when their spirits were suddenly revived by the approach of count Henry de Berg, with an army of twenty-five thousand men. The count attacked the entrenchments of the besiegers, and met with a warm reception. In three successive attempts upon the camp he was foiled, and driven back with great slaughter; upon which he retired to join Montecuculi, who had entered Cleves with an army of fourteen thousand foot and three thousand horse. Henry found, by intercepted letters, that the design was to make a considerable diversion; for this reason he ordered Grave to be put in a state of defence, and directed the states to secure all the passes and avenues to the provinces. He then pushed his operations with so much spirit, that fort Isabella surrendered on the 18th of July, and fort Antonio submitted next day, after the besieged had made two desperate sallies, in which the trenches were filled with carnage. By the surrender of these two forts, which were reduced to heaps of rubbish, the besiegers were at liberty to approach the town, and to point their cannon directly against the walls *.

In the mean time count Stirum was detached with four thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, to oppose count Berg, who was meditating an invasion of the provinces. Berg crossed the Yssel without resistance, but was vigorously attacked in the rear by Stirum. Not long after Stirum was reinforced by three thousand men, from the camp before Boisseduc, with which he ventured to give battle, on the banks of the Yssel, to a corps of ten thousand Spaniards, under the conduct of Dulkens, late governor of Groll. The action was bloody and obstinate for the space of ten hours, when, most of the Dutch officers being wounded, the count was obliged to retire with great loss. He had, however, the precaution to break down the dykes behind him, by which means he obstructed the enemy's march into the provinces, that were overwhelmed with the terror of an invasion. On advice of Stirum's defeat, the

* *Vie de Prince Henry*, p. 142.

prince of Orange quitted the camp with more than half his army, and was soon joined by several corps of troops drawn from the garrisons and new-levied forces; so that his army amounted to twenty-two thousand men, besides the troops left to carry on the siege. The enemy made excursions almost to the gates of Amsterdam; but they were soon thrown into despondency by the reduction of Wesel, which was surprised by the governor of Emmeric, and the garrison put to the sword, all except the governor, Lozanne, who was set at liberty, and soon after beheaded at Brussels, by order of the archduchess, for having, by his remissness, occasioned the loss of so valuable a city. The reduction of Wesel, in which the enemy had all their magazines, obliged them to raise the siege of Hattem, to abandon Amersford, evacuate the territory of Velaw, and repass the Yssel with precipitation; and it enabled prince Henry to push the siege of Boisseduc without interruption.

*The Dutch
every
where.
victorious.*

Still the garrison of this place, though cut off from all hope of relief, continued to make a vigorous defence; but the burghers and clergy, terrified with the effects of bombs and mines, besought the magistrates, with tears in their eyes, to avoid being pillaged, by requiring a capitulation. Moved with their distress, the magistrates resolved to grant their request, should the governor remain obstinate in refusing honourable conditions. Schefs paid little regard to the safety of the town; his whole aim was to gain reputation, and make such a defence as should deserve to be recorded to future ages. Though he had powder but for a few rounds, notwithstanding his garrison was quite spent, emaciated, and diminished to a third of their original number, he would have stood the consequences of an assault, after several practicable breaches had been made, but the magistrates were resolute to surrender the city. This obstinacy obliged him to accept the advantageous proposals, and the military honours offered by the prince. Accordingly the garrison marched out, and was conducted to Diest; and as to the inhabitants, they were confirmed in all their privileges, and liberty of conscience was permitted. Thus ended the siege of Boisseduc; by which the reputation of prince Henry was raised to an equality with that of prince Maurice, and of the first generals of the age. His camp was filled with volunteers of the highest distinction; by whom his perseverance, steadiness, prudence, valour, and conduct, were published in every quarter of Europe. The conquest cost the states an immense sum of money; but the advantages flowing from it were so great, as to absorb every other consideration.

*Boisseduc
surrenders.*

Prince

Prince Henry was no sooner in possession of Boisseduc, than he detached count Ernest Casimir, with one hundred and fifty companies of foot and thirty troops of horse, to oppose count John de Nassau and Dulkens; who, in consequence of a reinforcement from Tilly, were preparing to make a fresh irruption into the provinces. Ernest acquitted himself with such diligence, that, having thrown a bridge over the Yssel, he was encamped on the opposite side before the enemy had an idea they should meet with any obstruction. Reinforcing the garrisons of Doesburg and Keppel, he cut off the enemy's convoys, and their communication with count Tilly's army; insomuch, that, to avoid perishing by famine, they were forced to retire precipitately to the bishoprick of Munster, and petition Ernest for a safe conduct. Colonel Hauterive likewise passed the Rhine with forty companies of infantry and fourteen troops of dragoons; and, laying siege to the strong fortrefs of Ringelburgh, took it by assault in the space of ten hours, putting the garrison to the sword. Thence he marched to Ysselburgh, which he reduced in four days. With the same rapidity he subdued all the towns and forts which, from their situation, had proved extremely troublesome to the Dutch garrison in Wesel, and filled the whole country with terror and desolation. The new garrison of Wesel were no less eager to distinguish their zeal and valour. Dividing themselves into three corps, one of which remained for the defence of the town, they sallied out in quest of plunder and glory. One division attacked Rhimberg, and was roughly handled by the Spanish garrison. The other was more fortunate: having attacked Duisburgh in the night, it surrendered before the morning to the Hollanders. All the other places possessed by the Spaniards, on the hither side the Rhine and in the duchy of Cleves, soon yielded to the good fortune of this little party. In a word, the Spaniards were every where defeated and dispirited; since the sieges of Boisseduc and Wesel they scarce ventured to face the enemy in the field, or refused complying with a summons, though secured behind walls. It was matter of surprize to see the strong fortrefs of Roeborte, defended by a garrison more numerous than the besiegers, surrendering at discretion, after having exchanged a few shot. This success could only be accounted for from the universal panic that prevailed*.

Count William of Nassau was the soul of these spirited expeditions. On advice that the elector of Cologne, and

*William of
Nassau's
expeditions.*

* Neuville, tom. ii. p. 64.

the bishops of Munster and Paderborn were taking measures to assist the enemy, he sent them a peremptory order to desist, otherwise they would oblige him to lay their territories desolate. This menace produced the desired effect; they dropped their project, and suffered the count to go on with his expeditions without interruption. He reduced Berg, attacked Solingen, and carried the place sword-in-hand, giving the town up to be pillaged by his soldiers. A variety of other places submitted to him; he was weakened with leaving garrisons in his conquests; but this circumstance did not prevent his reducing the town of Onger-munde, the magistrates of which capitulated. William's soldiers, insolent with success, and excited by their late plunder to desire more, fell to pillaging the town without regard to the capitulation; an outrage which so incensed the burghers, that they took arms, attacked the Hollanders, and were on the point of driving the conquerors out of the town, when count William arrived with the troops encamped without the walls, and put an end to the combat, by obliging both parties to submit to the capitulation. In consequence of those conquests, the whole duchy of Juliers was, in a manner, depopulated; the people deserting their habitations in the country, and flocking in crowds to all the fortified cities. Cologne, Munster, Cleves, and Berg, were much in the same situation: but the Hollanders published an edict, whereby they declared their sole intention was to oblige the Spaniards to evacuate the succession of Juliers, and promised the natives all the protection in their power. This declaration restored, in some measure, the peace of the country; the people returned to their usual occupations, and were not alarmed at the progress of the Dutch conquests, considering they could not suffer by a mere change of masters, the Spaniards having treated them with great insolence and tyranny.

*Naval
affairs.*

To this rapid course of good fortune in the Netherlands, the Dutch added a variety of successes in Asia and America. Notwithstanding the East India company were engaged in a bloody war with the emperor of Java, during which Batavia was twice besieged, their returns were immense. The West India company, determining to pursue their late good fortune, and to establish a head-settlement in South America, which might vie with Batavia, sent a powerful squadron to those seas, under the conduct of admiral Loncke, the companion and the friend of Heine in all his expeditions. In the month of February he arrived on the coast of Fernambuco, the largest division of Brasil, and detached Vardenburch with sixteen men of war, and three

A.D. 1630.

three thousand land-forces, to invest Olinda, the capital; but the resistance made by the out-forts obliged the fleet to re-unite, and determined the admiral to attack the city with his whole strength. Vardenburch retained the command of the army, which was immediately debarked in three divisions, under the conduct of the generals Elts, Honcks, and Steincallefeld, who repulsed the Portuguese in three successive attacks they made to obstruct their landing. The Hollanders began their approaches towards the Jesuits quarter of the city, and soon took their college by assault, though strongly fortified. In consequence of this success Olinda surrendered; and the reduction of the capital was followed by the submission of the whole district of Fernambuco, quite to cape St. Augustine. Leaving a strong garrison in Olinda, the admiral repassed the line, fell upon the town of St. Martha, and pillaged the inhabitants. Soon after he engaged Frederic de Toledo, sent with a strong squadron and five thousand troops to the succour of the Spanish settlements, whom he defeated, after an obstinate and exceeding bloody conflict, in which the Spanish admiral was, for several months, supposed to have perished. His ship being separated from the rest of the squadron in the engagement, foundered at sea; and Toledo, with a few of his crew, were saved by accident. Such a flow of success encouraged the company to fit out another fleet, which set sail, towards the close of the year, to complete their conquests.

As soon as the season permitted, William of Nassau renewed his expeditions against the Spaniards, who still possessed some considerable places on the frontiers of the succession of Juliers. He defeated divers parties of the enemy, took their convoys, and was attended with all the good fortune of the preceding campaign. The first project that failed was one he formed against Duffeldorp. A party of soldiers was sent in the habits of women to seize upon that town, but they were discovered and disappointed. Next he failed in an attempt to surprize Mulheim, which was garrisoned by a body of imperialists. The detachment of five thousand men, which he had sent upon that business, was surprized and repulsed. William was successful on the opposite side of the Rhine, though all his projects against Duffeldorp and Mulheim had been baffled. The town of Sichtelen, and a variety of other places held by Spanish or Austrian garrisons, submitted to the Hollanders. These rapid victories, and so long a series of prosperity, however, raised a powerful confederacy against the count of Nassau.

*Farther
operations
in Juliers
and Cleves,*

All the Catholic princes on the frontiers of the provinces were alarmed. They gave out that the Dutch wanted to penetrate as far as Francfort, and to throw themselves into the palatinate, there to revive all the horrors of a war which had for ages desolated that country. It was affirmed their intention was to restore Frederic V. who had been deposed of his electorate and dignities; a project which the emperor thought himself particularly interested to obstruct. The elector of Cologne, and the bishops of Munster and Paderborn privately solicited the emperor to oppose the states of the United Provinces, and protect the Catholic religion and the dignity of the empire, which suffered extremely by permitting a handful of rebellious heretics to pursue, unmolested, a course of the most cruel tyranny and oppression. His imperial majesty lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the Catholic princes; and fearing that the count de Hanau would declare for the Dutch, because he refused admitting an imperial garrison into his city, he ordered all the avenues to be blocked up, and Hanau to be in a manner besieged by the imperial army. These measures obliged the count to admit the emperor's troops, who were a few months after driven out by the Swedes.

All this time the Dutch were employed in the entire reduction of the succession of Juliers. On advice that the Spaniards were building a new fort on the canal between the Rhine and the Meuse, the governor of Wessel, making draughts out of his own and the nearest garrisons, detached colonel Iselstein to disturb the works, and if possible ruin the fort. His detachment amounted to nine hundred men, with which he ventured to attack count John of Nassau with a body of fifteen hundred foot and horse, whom he defeated and took prisoner after an obstinate engagement. This and other advantages gained by the Hollanders, determined the duke of Newburg to repair in person to the Hague, to solicit the consent of the states to the partition-treaty lately concluded between him and the elector of Brandenburg. The states, perceiving that the Spaniards refused to evacuate Orsoy and Sittert, could not be prevailed upon to surrender Emmeric, Rees, and Wessel, with their dependent towns and territories. At last the archduchess consented to withdraw her troops entirely from the duchies of Cleves and Juliers; upon which the states began to relax a little from their former rigour, condescending to cede all their conquests, except the three towns just mentioned².

² Neuville, tom. ii. p. 64.

With this concession the duke of Newburg was forced to rest satisfied ; accordingly he took his leave, and returned to Germany.

It was immediately after this negotiation that the court of Brussels made proposals for a truce between the archduchess and the states, for the space of thirty-four years, upon the same conditions that had been offered twenty-one years before. The remittances necessary for the support of the war were entirely stopped at Madrid, and the catholic king seemed to take little concern in the event of the war carried on in the Netherlands. A treaty of commerce between the catholic and protestant provinces, about this time, had somewhat diminished that implacable animosity which had for so long time subsisted between them. This, with a variety of other circumstances, the archduchess hoped would dispose both parties to listen to the means of establishing the tranquillity of the seventeen provinces, after a bloody war of sixty years duration. It was well known at the Hague that necessity dictated the proposals to the archduchess ; however, they did not chuse absolutely to reject propositions, which might turn out more to the advantage of the provinces than even a successful war. After the conferences held at Rosendal, for the exchange of prisoners, the archduchess's deputies proceeded to the Hague, because the Dutch deputies had no instructions to enter upon the business of a truce. Opinions were divided in the assembly of the states general. Some persuaded themselves that an accommodation with Spain would expose them to the resentment of France ; they urged, that while the republic had nothing to fear, it was absurd to consent to a truce, which was only giving the enemy time to recover their exhausted strength and spirits ; and that Holland being now opulent by the wealth of the Indies, and powerful by the reduction of Boissleduc and Wesfel, the two ramparts of the United Provinces, ought in her turn to treat the Spaniards with that haughtiness and insolence, of which they were so profuse in their prosperity. Those of a contrary opinion supported their sentiments by a variety of arguments, tending to evince, that a suppliant, humbled enemy, ought not to be despised ; that the chance of war was uncertain ; and that those who were this year at the very pinnacle of fortune, might next season be reduced to the lowest abysses of distress. These general reflections they corroborated by the sentiments of the late excellent patriot Barneveldt, who, with the consent of the French king, had urged pacific measures in 1609. They might possibly have carried their point, had not cardinal Richelieu, who was bent upon retrenching

*Treaty with
France.*

retrenching the power of the house of Austria, traversed the negociation, by means of the sieur de Bouguy, sent in quality of ambassador to the Hague^a. This artful minister, practised so artfully on the temper of the states, that, instead of concluding a truce with Spain, they renewed the alliance with France, which was then at war with the catholic monarch. In this treaty the states declared they would enter upon no truce, peace, engagement, or alliance, without the consent of his most christian majesty. They likewise promised to assist him with troops, ammunition, and artillery, as soon as his army should commence hostilities in Artois, Hainault, and the other countries belonging to the Spaniards: the king, on his part, stipulating to pay a considerable subsidy to the states, and to employ the same number of forces in the Netherlands, which he had hitherto maintained. All the measures taken by Spain and the court of Brussels, to promote a truce, were disconcerted. No regard was paid to the Flemish deputies at the Hague; they were treated with the utmost contempt, and in danger of being openly insulted. An answer to their proposals was published, under the title of the Anti-truce; in which the courts of Spain and Brussels were lashed with great severity, and indeed very little decency. Yet did not this repulse discourage the archduchess from proceeding in her pacific designs. She had recourse to the mediation of England, and hoped to gain an influence with the mediator, by procuring the restoration of the elector Palatine, brother-in-law to Charles, and nephew to the prince of Orange. The states themselves were likewise interested in seeing this unhappy prince re-established in the electoral dignity and his dominions; however, regard for the prince did not operate so powerfully as was expected. They suffered themselves to be solicited for the space of four months by the British ambassador, and at last returned for answer, that when they had any thoughts of concluding a truce, they would acquaint their ally the king of Great Britain with their intentions. This declaration put an end to the negociation, and obliged the Spaniards to make the best preparations in their power for the renewal of hostilities.

*Conferences
for a truce
broken off.*

Early this season a powerful squadron put to sea, under the conduct of the new admiral of Holland, Peter Heine, and next day fell in with three Spanish men of war on the coast of Flanders. An action ensued, and Heine was killed by a cannon-bullet at the first broadside; but his lieutenant concealing his death, the mariners continued to fight with

^a Id. *ibid.* Le Clerc, tom. ii. *ibid.*

spirit, and the three Spanish ships were taken, and carried into Rotterdam, where the admiral's death was first divulged. This last defeat gave a considerable check to the Dunkirkers, and diffused a spirit of discontent and mutiny through the Spanish army and garrisons, who could not but attribute to misconduct, that the wealth intended for their maintenance should be the means of their destruction; that those very sums destined for their pay, should enrich their enemies, and purchase them all the conveniencies of life, while they were pining under all the miseries of hunger and nakedness. Crouds of deserters came over every day from Breda, and the other Spanish garrisons. Even the officers in the count de Berg's army quitted the service, and enlisted with the states. The peasants were oppressed with contributions, and the nobility incensed at the insolence of the Spaniards, and the preference given to foreigners. Even the clergy declaimed against the remissness of the government, and lamented the danger that threatened religion. All these disorders were charged by the natives on the proud foreigners, who enjoyed every emolument arising from places, pensions, and preferments, without contributing at all to the relief, and security of the people. The states of the clergy and nobility assembled, to deliberate on the present situation of affairs, and the means of applying remedies to oppressions altogether unsupportable. Many persons were for submitting to the Hollanders, without regard to the protestant religion, which they had established, and their declared opposition to the catholic faith; but others, strongly attached to the religion of their ancestors, proposed deputing the archbishop of Mechlin and the duke d'Arſchot to the archduchess, to represent to her the grievances of which the people complained. They gave her to understand, that, on condition they were not saddled with the ministers and officers of the Spanish court, they would willingly give up all the assistance in troops, and remittances in money, expected from that kingdom; not doubting but they should be able to defend their religion and liberty, under the general authority of his catholic majesty and the archduchess. The good princess heard their complaints, felt for their misfortunes, and promised to do all in her power to redress them. With this view she sent the count de Solre into Spain; but the duke de Olivarez destroyed the effects of her remonstrances. Disappointed in this hope, the archduchess endeavoured to ease her subjects, by opening a free intercourse of trade between them and the states of the United Provinces^b; and as the Hollanders and the prince

The miserable situation of the Spanish Netherlands.

^b Neuville, tom. ii. cap. viii.

of Orange shewed no dislike to this project, she mistook their attachment to commerce for an inclination to renew the conferences for a truce; but soon perceived that they were resolved to pursue their good fortune, until a proper barrier, and firmer security, should be procured for the republic.

Richelieu makes an attempt to seize upon the city of Orange.

Since the late treaty with France, cardinal Richelieu directed the counsels of the states general, and soon demonstrated that all his good offices towards the republic, had their source in self-interest. While he was caressing the states, and cajoling the people with the hope of powerful succours from the French king, he was secretly contriving the means of seizing on the town of Orange, and the patrimony of prince Henry. For some time he had maintained a clandestine correspondence with the sieur de Walkemburg, governor of the city, who, notwithstanding he was the great favourite of the prince his master, could not avoid lending an ear to the bewitching solicitations of Richelieu, who of all men best understood the human heart, and most successfully employed the talent of seduction. Walkemburg consented to surrender the place to the cardinal for the sum of four hundred thousand livres in money, and an estate in Provence of twenty thousand livres in value; but insisting upon being put in possession of the whole, before he admitted a French garrison, the negotiation was protracted, and the prince had some intimation of his infidelity. The government of the town and citadel was triennial; but the prince, out of regard for Walkemburg, had broke through the rule, and continued him in the government beyond the usual time. Immediately, on advice of his treachery, the office was bestowed on Knuyth, a Zealander, who pursued his instructions with great address, assembled a body of troops with the utmost expedition and privacy, got possession of the city, blocked up Walkemburg in the house of a burgher where he had dined, killed him in a scuffle that ensued on his refusing to surrender, and then laid siege to the citadel, which the lieutenant-governor gave up, on being informed of Walkemburg's death, and Knuyth's commission. This transaction laid the foundation of that rivetted aversion which the prince ever afterwards entertained for the cardinal; and of that opposition to the grandeur of the house of Bourbon, constantly shewn upon all occasions by the succeeding princes of the family of Orange.

The prudence, the valour, and the great moderation of prince Henry had raised him to a higher degree of credit with the states and the people than even his brother or father had acquired. Perceiving that he had no intention to abuse his authority, or encroach on the liberties of his country, they resolved to testify their gratitude, by rendering the stadtholdership hereditary in his family, and raising his son to the office of general of the cavalry, though then only in the fifth year of his age. These acts of acknowledgement were accompanied by particular demonstrations of the joy of the people; and a solemn deputation from the states general waited upon the prince with the strongest assurances of their esteem and gratitude. The young prince's commission was presented in a gold casket, and compliments were poured in daily from the states of all the provinces. But the attention required to these ceremonials did not divert Henry from the business of the state; he resolved to shew himself worthy of his new honours by a double portion of diligence. Assembling his army near Emmeric, where he had formed vast magazines of corn imported from Dantzic, his great preparations alarmed the courts of Brussels and Madrid, as they still entertained remote hopes that the truce might yet take place. The archduchess, sensible that it was vain to flatter herself longer with this prospect, exerted herself to put the army in a condition to take the field, and for that purpose laid additional taxes on the clergy and people. A step which, though necessary, excited the clamours of the Flemings; and the ill-judged policy of the court of Madrid increased their discontent, by appointing the marquis de Santa Cruz to succeed Spinola in the command of the forces, an employment which the people hoped would be conferred upon a native of the Netherlands. To sweeten the draught, which it was well known would prove unpalatable to the Flemings, a report was spread, that the marquis was to serve under the cardinal Ferdinand of Austria, brother to the catholic king, and nephew to the archduchess, who was to succeed her in the government. Count Henry de Berg was made marshal-general of all the troops in Flanders, and Carlo Colonna was raised to the rank of camp-master-general. A corps of six thousand men were destined to cover Antwerp and Mechlin, under the conduct of Zapeta; the care of all the convoys was committed to Lucas Cayro, who had four thousand foot, and thirty troops of horse under his command. As to the count de Berg, he took post near Rhimberg, for the defence of the new canal, and of Spanish Guelderland, of which he was governor.

The stadtholdership made hereditary.

Such

A.D. 1637.

Such were the measures taken by the enemy, while the prince of Orange, dividing his army into three corps, took post upon the Rhine, at Boissleduc and Sluys. Leaving count Stirum with a flying camp of ten thousand men at Rees, he embarked his troops at Emmeric, and, attended by the duke of Vendosme, made a descent in the neighbourhood of Bruges, passed the rivers and canals on rope-bridges, constructed upon a new plan, surprised three Spanish forts, and advanced to Ghent; but finding that a body of the enemy's cavalry was formed at the skirts of the wood in his way, he dropped his design, and returned, from an apprehension of falling into an ambuscade. The Spanish army multiplied daily, troops were pouring in from Germany and Italy, and already a body of twenty-nine thousand foot, with twenty-seven companies of horse, had advanced to the canal between Ghent and Bruges, on a supposition that the prince harboured designs upon one of those cities. The archduchess perceived that the vigilance of the prince of Orange would baffle all her endeavours, in the usual method of carrying on the campaign; she therefore resumed a scheme which had been proposed two years before, of cutting off the communication between the provinces of Holland and Zeeland. For this purpose a great number of barges and flat-bottomed boats had been constructed, but laid aside chiefly for the want of troops or money to carry the project into execution. At the persuasion of a Capuchin, and the son of the advocate-general Barneveldt, who lived in banishment at Brussels, the boats were again taken into commission, a body of forces was appointed to serve in the expedition, and the direction of the whole committed to John, count de Nassau. The count set sail from Antwerp with a fleet of ninety boats, having on board five thousand land-forces, and one thousand three hundred marines; but part of the priest's intelligence proving false, he was forced to alter the course prescribed, re-enter the Scheld, pass by Remerswall, and coast along the isle of Tolen, into which the prince of Orange had thrown a reinforcement of nine thousand men. The barks, loaded with his ammunition, provision, and cannon, having run on the sand-banks, a whole tide was lost before they were got afloat, which delay afforded the Hollanders time to collect a small fleet of boats at Bergen op Zoom; with these they attacked the enemy, and took several boats, and three hundred prisoners. At the same instant the fleet of Zeeland, commanded by admiral Hollart, fell upon the Spaniards in the night. Count John sustained the attack with great intrepidity, and the Capuchin performed wonders; but, after an action of

*A grand
expedition
prepared
by the Spaniards.*

fix

fix hours, the Spaniards were totally defeated; and of the whole armament, only eleven officers escaped, in which number were count John, the baron Balançon, governor of Breda, and the Capuchin. Seventy-six boats and barks were taken; the rest had been either sunk or burned, and the number of prisoners exceeded five thousand men, most of whom enlisted in the prince's army, and were incorporated in different régiments. The victory was deemed in Holland among the most glorious with which it had pleased the Almighty to bless the arms of the republic; and indeed the consequences were very important, as it entirely broke the scheme planned at the court of Bruffels, of seizing all the Dutch islands quite to the Briel, and Dordrecht, while the marquis de Santa Cruz should subdue the whole country along the Meuse, as far as Gertruydenberg^a.

*The Spaniards
defeated.*

The defeat of this expedition threw the court of Bruffels into consternation. Equipping the armament had cost the government large sums, which were now entirely lost, together with great part of the army. The archduchess supported the misfortune with infinite spirit and moderation, exerting her utmost influence to appease the clamours raised against the marquis de Santa Cruz, upon whom the blame of so ideal a project was thrown by the multitude, and even by the Flemish nobility. It being thought absolutely necessary to do something to satisfy the people, the count offered the admiral Jacob Janse a victim to their discontent, and sent him prisoner to Breda; but Janse was an Italian, and this measure served only to increase the public murmurs. Happily, however, a large fleet of Dutchmen, loaded with corn, seized by the Dunkirkers, brought the Flemings into better temper. Advice coming to the court of Madrid of the fate of the late expedition, the ministry had recourse to their usual artifices. They greatly diminished the loss, and magnified some petty advantages gained in the East and West Indies. They had little indeed to boast with respect to the latter, for the great armament destined for the recovery of Olinda was dispersed in a storm, and the greatest part of the troops died of a malignant fever. D'Oquendo at last set sail, with a numerous fleet, for Brasil, and in his voyage encountered the Dutch admiral Pater, with seventeen ships, ten of which sheered off before the engagement begun. Peter was too far advanced to retire with safety or honour; he deter-

^a Le Clerc, tom. ii. ubi supra.

mined

mined therefore to supply the want of numbers by courage, fell upon the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, sunk four and burned six of their ships, before he could be furrounded. After having long kept victory in suspense by dint of skill and intrepidity, he saw one of his finest vessels blown up, with the crew, consisting of three hundred men. This loss was succeeded by another accident, which all his prudence and valour could not remedy; the powder-room of his own ship took fire, the flames spread in despite of his utmost endeavours, and Pater, with above four hundred brave seamen, perished in the flames. Five ships now only remained, and they fought with redoubled vigour, determining to revenge the death of their valiant admiral. Nothing could exceed their fury; they cleared their decks, crowded with Spaniards who had boarded them, dyed the sea with blood, and covered it with floating carcases. At last, they made one desperate push, broke through the enemy's line, and, after having destroyed four ships, got clear, and steered their course unpursued to Olinda. The honour of victory remained with the Spaniards; but they had purchased it so dear, that d'Oquendo was disabled for that year from acting offensively. Returning to Europe some time after, he was attacked by four Dutch men of war, and defeated with the loss of seven hundred men, twenty-two officers, three ships, and his vice-admiral. Such were the exploits of which the court of Madrid boasted; but a false relation of facts served for a time to blind the public, and appease the clamours of the people^b.

A.D. 1632. While Spain was busied in preparing for the defence of the Netherlands; and the recovery of her losses in Brasil, the eyes of all Europe were turned upon the king of Sweden, whose irruption into Germany threw the whole empire into consternation. In the space of one year he had conquered whole provinces, restored the dukes of Mecklenburg, to the dominions of which they were despoiled by the victorious imperial general Walsstein, defeated the emperor's troops in divers rencounters, obtained the glorious victory of Leipzig over Tilly, the most celebrated commander of his age, crossed the Rhine and the Danube; reduced above sixty towns, fortresses, and cities, and was on the brink of overthrowing the whole power, and subjecting the grandeur of the ancient house of Austria, which had long given law to Christendom. Covered with

^b Neuville, tom. ii. cap. 10.

laurels, this glorious monarch did not think the states of the United Provinces unworthy of his alliance. They had long laboured in the same cause, and with equal perseverance and courage fought in defence of liberty and the protestant religion. With this view he sent his chancellor Oxenstiern to the Hague, where he was received with all the honours due to his own merit, and the minister of so great a prince and hero. A treaty was concluded between the king and the republic, whereby they stipulated to attack the Spaniards on the Rhine, with all their forces, and thus divide the Austrian army. The pensionary Pauw was sent to the king, to adjust farther particulars.

*Treaty with
Sweden.*

To fulfil the treaty with Sweden, the prince of Orange took the field at the head of two hundred and fifty-three companies of infantry, and fifty-eight troops of cavalry. Several detachments were sent out to reconnoitre the enemy; and the prince entering Spanish Guelderland, directed his march towards Venlo, seizing upon Arsen, a little fortress upon the Meuse. Next day he summoned the garrison of Venlo. The magistrates desired him to consult the count de Berg; but Henry marched his troops by two avenues, amidst the furious discharge of the artillery on the ramparts, and a sharp sally made by the garrison. Before morning, the trenches were advanced three hundred yards, notwithstanding the besieged gave all possible obstruction. A battery of six pieces of cannon was erected, which played so furiously with ignited balls, that one side of the town was set on fire. By the 3d of June, the inhabitants, seeing the enemy approach the ditch, desired to capitulate, on condition that their privileges should be preserved, liberty of conscience permitted, and a church allowed for the public exercise of the catholic religion. The garrison, scrupling to submit on the same terms with the burghers, defended themselves for a day, and then capitulated, retiring to the city of Juliers. This siege, though the firing was extremely fierce, cost the besiegers only two lives, a circumstance attributed to the prudent conduct of prince Henry, imitating the example of his brother Maurice, in exposing his troops to danger only in cases of extreme necessity.

Henry was no sooner in possession of Venlo than he detached count Ernest, with six thousand men, towards Stralen and Ruremonde, the former of which surrendered without resistance. Ruremonde, an episcopal town in Guelderland, was besieged by Ernest in person. Batteries were immediately erected, but before they began to play, the prince

*The Prince
of Orange
gains several
advantages.*

of Orange arrived in the camp. His presence wrought such an effect on the inhabitants, that they surrendered next day, on the same conditions that were granted to the magistrates of Venlo. The prince's moderation contributed no less to the sudden reduction of towns than his valour. He generally granted all their privileges, and liberty of conscience to the conquered, who experienced no other hardship than what is consequent on a mere change of masters and of government. The siege of Ruremonde proved however extremely unfortunate to the provinces of Groningen and Friesland, who, by a musket-ball, the last shot fired by the garrison, lost their excellent governor, count Ernest Casimir of Nassau. He was succeeded in his dignities by his son Henry Ernest, and the states general acknowledged their esteem for the deceased by making the stadtholdership of the two provinces hereditary in his family.

In the mean time William of Nassau gained very considerable advantages over the enemy. He was detached with a corps of three thousand men by the prince of Orange, to harass the enemy on the banks of the Scheld. Embarking his troops in a number of small boats at Ramekins, he pushed up the river to Lillo, made himself master of the important post and dyke at Cowestein, and of two forts at the extremities of the dykes, from the Scheld to the territory of Ryen. Afterwards he took Peckgat, fort St. Martin, and all the works which covered St. Vliet. To oppose his progress, the Spaniards detached a body of five thousand men, composed of the garrison of Antwerp, and the militia of the country, under the generals Colonna and Feria. A battle was fought near Callo, in which both sides behaved with great valour; but the Scotch and Irish auxiliaries at last broke the enemy, defeated them, and took a great number of prisoners, killed four hundred men, among whom was the brave Spinelli, and obtained a complete victory. So many advantages gained by the Hollanders determined the count de Berg to resign his commission, after he had faithfully served the court of Spain for a great number of years, notwithstanding he was nearly related to the prince of Orange, connected by strong ties with count Stirum, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage, attached to liberty, but so zealous a catholic that his conscience would not suffer him to submit to the protestant government established in the Seven Provinces. He retired to Liege, under pretence that it was a neutral city, and that he was deserted, and denied a body of forces sufficient for the defence of Guelderland; but it was generally supposed, he had concerted matters with the prince of Orange, being disgusted with the preference

*The count
de Berg
resigns.*

shewn

shown to foreigners. The sudden retreat of so important a personage alarmed the court of Brussels. The archduchess feared that so dangerous an example would be imitated by others of the nobility, dissatisfied with the conduct of the Spanish ministry, and ready to enter into a league for the expulsion of all foreigners out of the Netherlands. Filled with these apprehensions, she dispatched a letter to the count, written with her own hand, inviting him back to Brussels, and promising to redress all his grievances; but the count excused himself in an answer couched in the most respectful terms, for the princess. He was sensible of her goodness, but he knew her power was limited by Olivarez, and that her favour to himself would be matter of discontent to all the Spaniards. He hoped, he said, that his faithful personal services of forty years, and the death of six brothers slain in the war, would give sufficient testimony of his zeal for the house of Austria, and the catholic religion. He touched upon the sufferings of the country, and the ruin of the catholic cause, from the pride and avarice of the Spaniards, and that contempt which they affected to entertain for the natives. He wrote, at the same time, a circular letter, in form of a manifesto, to the clergy, nobility, and towns of the ten provinces, to justify his conduct with respect to the marquis de Leganez, and other Spaniards, with whom he was at variance. Finally, he entirely threw off the mask, and declared his intention of levying an army for the defence of the country, against the opposition and tyranny of the Spaniards.

On the 18th of June, the prince of Orange wrote a letter to the count de Berg, applauding his resolution, and declaring that he should not have seized upon the towns in Spanish Guelderland, of which he was governor, but that they were left defenceless, the magistrates refusing to furnish the Spanish garrisons with money, a refusal which he feared might produce tumults and the ruin of the places. He offered him all manner of assistance and consolation, in his own name, and that of the states general, and requested he would rely upon their friendship and protection, against all his enemies. With respect to the catholic religion, in which he was so zealous, he might rest satisfied, as the states were determined to permit liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of the Romish religion in all their conquests, as was obvious from their conduct at Venlo, Stralen, and Ruremonde. The states of Liege, apprehensive that the declaration published by the count de Berg might be regarded as a breach of their neutrality, published a protest of their having no share in the count's designs; while he, on his part, confirmed their asseveration by a solemn

*He declares
against the
Spaniards.*

act, acquitting the chapter and states of all communication, interest, or connection, with his affairs. Measures so deliberate and well laid, convinced the court of Brussels, that the count's resolution had not been formed in a sudden fit of disgust; the Spaniards insinuated to the archduchess, that the invasion of Spanish Guelderland was in consequence of secret intelligence between him and the prince of Orange. This hint first determined her to prevent the consequences of his desertion by letters written to the three estates of the provinces, and then, by a personal declaration against the count, with an order to seize his person. So vigorous a resolution terrified the count's party, and obliged him to return to Aix, in Holland, upon which he was declared a traitor by the court of Brussels, and condemned to lose his head upon a scaffold.

The revolt, however, of the count de Berg did not produce all the expected consequences. It was supposed that the Flemish troops would desert, by which means the archduchess would be deprived of her greatest strength, and disabled from opposing the conquests of the prince of Orange; but that princess had taken her measures so prudently, and was so universally beloved, that scarce any more than the usual desertion happened. It was, notwithstanding, a terrible blow to the court of Spain, as she was now deprived of a general whose popularity in Guelderland might greatly assist the operations of the army. Four towns and three forts, situated on the Meuse, were reduced in the space of eight days. By the 10th of June the Dutch had pushed their conquests quite to Maastricht, and penetrated to the farthest extremity of the duchy of Limburgh. Maastricht itself, the most commodious passage of the Meuse, was now invested, after it had quietly remained in the hands of the Spaniards since the year 1579, when it was taken by the duke of Parma. The city was defended only by a garrison of twenty-five hundred men, under the command of the baron de Leda, nephew to the count de Motery, an officer of great experience, who chanced to be absent when the prince of Orange formed the siege. That prince carried on his approaches with his usual caution, while the baron performed all that youth, fire, and an eager thirst of glory could inspire. With his only troop of cavalry he reconnoitred the disposition of the Dutch trenches, maintained a sharp conflict, and returned with a number of prisoners superior to his whole party; an advantage which so elated the inhabitants, that the whole, without distinction, even the clergy and women, determined to second the vigorous efforts of their intrepid governor, and labour in repairing the fortifications. A sally was made to burn all

all the surrounding houses, which could any way assist the approach of the besieged; but the garrison was repulsed with great slaughter. All the batteries being finished by the 14th of June, the rest of the month was employed in battering the walls, and advancing the works, which the besieged endeavoured to obstruct by a great number of vigorous sallies. Sometimes they proved successful; and in one sally they destroyed two batteries, filled up part of the trenches, and made prodigious carnage^d.

Mean time the Spaniards, sensible that Maestricht was *Maestricht besieged.* a town of the last importance, were collecting all their strength for its relief, and, not satisfied with their own forces, had recourse to the assistance of their allies. Gonzales de Cordova, with a body of forces drawn from the Palatinate, presented himself before the trenches, upon which he played with twenty-four pieces of heavy cannon; but endeavouring to force his way into the town, was vigorously repulsed by the French and English auxiliaries. The sieur d'Estiaux particularly distinguished himself in this affair, pursuing the enemy across the river with such impetuosity that he penetrated the Spanish camp, threw it in great confusion, and retired with a considerable number of prisoners. Gonzales collecting his dispersed troops, attempted to seize all the avenues leading to the Dutch camp, and thereby cut off their provisions; but the prince of Orange took such measures as effectually baffled the project of the Spaniard. Six weeks had now been consumed in this siege, during which a variety of sallies and assaults were made, which gave it so much reputation, that volunteers flocked from all quarters of Europe, to learn the art of war under prince Henry. On the 22d of July the marquis de Santa Cruz arrived with his whole army before the trenches, and attempted to force a passage over the Meuse at Stocken; but his troops were so roughly handled, that he was forced to wait patiently for the arrival of his artillery, and the German auxiliaries under Pappenheim, one of the best officers in the emperor's service. When the prince of Orange understood that this reinforcement had joined the Spanish general, he redoubled his vigilance, placed stronger guards at all the posts, and ordered William of Nassau to join the camp with the troops he had levied in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen. Nor had Pappenheim reason to be satisfied with the reception given him by the marquis de Santa Cruz and the Spanish officers, who were jealous of his reputation, and afraid he would arrogate to himself the whole honour of relieving Maest-

^d Neuville, tom. ii. cap. 14.

tricht. To prevent this disgrace, he sent the duke of Newburg with proposals to the prince of Orange, for changing hostilities into a negociation. Pappenheim, incensed at the usage, declared by a trumpet that he was come with the imperial army to oppose the Dutch, and immediately advanced to force the prince's entrenchments. The Hollanders sustained the attack with great firmness, and at last drove back the imperialists with prodigious slaughter. Pappenheim then entrenched himself opposite to count Stirum's quarters, with intention to seize the first opportunity of throwing succours into the town. To second his design, the besieged made a sally, furiously attacked the English quarters, and filled the trenches with blood. Above four thousand British soldiers perished in this action, including the lord Oxford and colonel Williams^e.

After Pappenheim had fully examined the posts, the strength and situation of the besiegers, he disposed every thing for a second attack, on the 18th of August planted his cannon, and drew up his army in order of battle. Two regiments of carbineers composed the van, followed by all the infantry, with fascines to fill up the trenches; the cavalry supported both wings. The attack was so impetuous, that, notwithstanding the trenches were choaked up with their dead, the Germans still pressed on, and obliged the Dutch to abandon their advanced works. The fight was obstinately maintained for three hours, when the prince of Orange arrived with fresh troops, conducted by the dukes de Candale and Bouillon, and a body of volunteers formed out of the flower of the French nobility. They attacked the Germans in flank with irresistible fury: the scale of fortune was now changed, and the imperialists in their turn put in disorder, defeated, and driven from the entrenchments. The brave imperialist was shocked to see the Spaniards cool spectators of the slaughter of his troops; he complained to the marquis de Santa Cruz; but his application meeting only with ridicule, he determined once more to exert his valour, and demonstrate that he could finish his business without their assistance. A second time he returned to the charge; both sides of the Dutch camp were attacked, and he actually forced the trenches with his cavalry. He sustained the attack from one till seven in the evening, the Spaniards all the while remaining quiet spectators of his extraordinary efforts of gallantry and conduct. The artillery, musketry, grenades, bombs, and carbines, continued an unremitting discharge, and the clouds of smoke obscured the light, and made it impossible for the

combatants to distinguish each other. Prince Henry, the dukes de Condale and Bouillon, count John Maurice of Nassau, and the French volunteers, opposed their utmost vigour to the fury of Pappenheim, who performed every duty of a soldier and great general. Perceiving his troops gave way, he erected gibbets behind, and forced them in despair to return to the attack, to avoid a more ignominious death. The garrison finding such astonishingly brave efforts made for their relief, resolved to contribute their endeavours, and falling out vigorously upon the English quarters, made a considerable diversion, but were at last repulsed with loss, after an obstinate engagement. The Germans were discouraged by the defeat of the besieged. They had repeatedly come back to the charge, and were as often repulsed. Now they were fatigued, exhausted, and broken, while the Dutch poured in fresh to the attack, and relieved the troops that had suffered. After one furious unsuccessful attempt, Pappenheim retired in tolerable order, leaving two thousand killed on the field, and nine hundred wounded prisoners.

Prince Henry finding himself disengaged from so formidable an opponent as the imperial general, and having nothing to apprehend from the Spaniards, who seemed to lie encamped at a little distance, only to give testimony to his valiant exploits, pushed the siege with redoubled vigour. The British troops sprung a mine on the 20th of August, which destroyed great part of the ravelin; the garrison and burghers flew in crowds to the breach, where the baron de Leda fought in person with amazing intrepidity, and after a bloody action drove the besiegers back to their camp. Several women, mixed with the men, distinguished themselves, and extremely galled the assailants with their hand-grenades. Above three hundred British soldiers, and about eighty of the besieged, perished; several women likewise were slain and wounded. But this success served only to protract the siege; it could not determine the fate of the garrison. The breach was stormed a second time, and carried sword-in-hand; an incident which so alarmed the burghers, that in a body they besought the baron to save their lives and effects by a capitulation. After having used some fruitless arguments to persuade them to continue their defence a few days longer, he signed a capitulation, and obtained the most honourable conditions; those respecting the town differing but little from the terms granted to the magistrates of Venlo and Ruremonde. Thus was the important city of Maestricht, in despite of the utmost efforts of three armies, that of Spain, under the marquis de Santa Cruz; of the Palatinate, commanded by Cordova; and

*Maestricht
surrendered.*

the imperial army, led on by the brave and experienced Pappenheim, obliged to surrender. The states lost six thousand men in the siege; but the importance and glory of the conquest obliterated every other consideration, and the reduction of Maestricht was regarded as one of the most memorable events of a war abounding in battles and sieges.

Henry having bestowed the government of Maestricht on the duke de Bouillon, left a strong garrison in the town; and being secured from all attempts from the imperialists on the side of the Rhine, sent seventy large barks filled with troops to the mouth of the Scheld, to spread terror along the coasts of Flanders. William of Nassau advanced likewise with eight thousand men to Lillo and Safflingen, by which means the Catholic provinces were beset by sea and land. Count Stirum was likewise detached to reduce the few remaining towns of Spanish Guelderland, most of which submitted rather to the influence of the count de Berg than to the arms of the Hollanders. The archduchess apprehended that the prince would next point his vengeance against the few towns held by the Spaniards in the duchy of Cleves. Unable to protect them with her own forces, she wrote to Pappenheim, requesting he would claim them as imperial towns, or rather as places sequestered in the hands of the emperor. Glad of an opportunity of extending the influence of the court of Vienna, Pappenheim wrote to the prince of Orange, exhorting him to distinguish between the places in the duchy of Cleves, under the protection of the emperor, and those held by Spain; but Henry, perceiving the artifice, returned for answer, that, provided his imperial majesty would observe an exact neutrality, and prevail on the Spaniards to withdraw their garrisons, he was ready to comply.

While this affair was negotiating, prince Henry detached lieutenant-general Stakembroek and colonel Pinfen to invest Limburgh, the capital of the duchy of that name. As the town was but indifferently fortified, it surrendered upon the first summons. Stakembroek then penetrated to Namur, and laid the whole surrounding country under contribution. In the month of October, Orfoy, a town in the duchy of Cleves, was surprised by a Dutch party; but the avarice of the soldiers, and their eagerness after plunder, occasioned the loss of their conquest. They were attacked, and driven out of the town, by a detachment of the garrison of Rhimberg. William of Nassau, however, soon after recovered the place; which conquest concluded the campaign, so glorious to the prince of Orange, and advantageous to the republic.

S E C T.

S E C T. IX.

Containing Proposals for a Truce between Spain and Holland; Propositions concerning the Re-union of the Seventeen Provinces; the Siege of Breda; and a Variety of other military Operations, to the Death of the Prince of Orange, and the Treaty of Munster.

CONFOUNDED with the rapid conquests of prince Henry, and the progress of the Dutch conquests, the court of Brussels had no other resource than the renewal of their negotiations for a truce with the states general. Necessity, rather than the love of peace, dictated this measure. The Spaniards were not yet sufficiently humbled to grant what the United Provinces required; but they were forced to temporise, and gain a little respite, by establishing conferences, the sole object of which was to procrastinate. It had been the policy of Philip II. to set negotiations on foot whenever he found his treasury exhausted, and his arms unfortunate, with no other view than to break them off as soon as the fleet arrived from the Indies, and he had recovered himself; this policy was imitated by his successors. The archduchess now dispatched a deputation to Maestricht, with proposals to the prince of Orange, which he transmitted and referred to the states general. The states declared they could enter upon no conferences with the Spanish ministry; but that they were willing to begin a negotiation with the catholic provinces, on condition they would detach themselves from the Spaniards. This proposal was accepted by the archduchess, who accordingly sent the archbishop of Mechlin, and the duke d'Arschot, to the Hague, to open the conferences. Seven other deputies from Brabant, Hainault, and Flanders, assisted. They were acknowledged as the ambassadors of the court of Brussels by the states, and they declared they were come entirely in the name of the states of the catholic provinces. As the states general were bound, by the treaties with France and Sweden, to enter upon no negotiations without the consent and participation of their allies, they drew up a scheme of preliminaries so unreasonable, that the deputies declared it exceeded their instructions to give any answer. It is, however, supposed, that had the proposals been more favourable, they must have made the same declaration*. The deputies returned with more

A.D. 1633.

Proposals made by the court of Brussels for a truce.

* Le Clerc, tom. iii p. 174.

*Rhimberg
taken by
the prince
of Orange.*

ample powers; but the prince of Orange, unwilling to be diverted from his military operations by conferences, the fruitless issue of which he foresaw, marched at the head of his army, and laid siege to Rhimberg. This town, standing upon the Rhine, between Wessel and Orsoy, was regarded as a place of great importance to the Hollanders. It commanded the whole navigation and commerce of the Rhine; was a key to the Spaniards into Friesland, and enabled them to levy contributions in the Dutch territories on the hither side the Rhine. This important town the prince of Orange invested on the 11th of May. Diefsdorff, an officer of reputation, commanded in the town, having under him a garrison of two thousand men. He defended himself with so much judgment, that, notwithstanding the prince carried on his approaches with the utmost vigour, only nine soldiers of the garrison were killed at the end of the month, but the fortifications were considerably damaged. His spirits were kept up by the prospect of relief from Moncada, who was marching to his assistance with an army of twenty thousand men; hopes that were soon cut off by the judicious measures of prince Henry, who detached a body of horse and foot to oppose the enemy, to cut off their convoys, and harraßs them in their march. The duke de Bouillon and colonel Pinsen commanded this detachment, and effectually executed their commission; Moncada was unable to advance, and Diefsdorff, destitute of all resource, his garrison being fatigued, and his provision and ammunition consumed, surrendered the town upon obtaining the honours of war, and certain favourable conditions for the inhabitants.

The reduction of Rhimberg was the most important service that could have been performed, relative to the provinces of Friesland and Groningen; because they were obliged, while this place remained in the hands of the Spaniards, to maintain large garrisons at a vast expence. It procured, likewise, another advantage to the United Provinces, by diminishing the duties upon all merchandize going up or down the river. In a word, the place was deemed of such consequence by the court of Brussels, that Diefsdorff was sent prisoner to the citadel of Antwerp, and afterwards cashiered, for not having defended himself to the last extremity. Henry's expedition to Cleves diminished greatly the public expectation from the conferences, which still were pursued. Though the Flemish deputies continued at the Hague, the archduchess thought herself authorized, by the example of the states general, to continue her hostile preparations. Levies were accordingly made

made in all the territories subject to the government; a considerable army took the field in three divisions; and every thing promised that the campaign would be conducted with the utmost vigour. The count de Mottery, with one division, marched into the district of Liege, to revenge the breach of the neutrality, and that partiality of the chapter and states, shewn for the Hollanders during the siege of Maestricht; but he was twice defeated by the duke de Bouillon, and forced to abandon the enterprize. Prince Henry marched to Brabant, and encamping at Botel, was joined by twelve thousand Swedes, under general Melander. Now was the most formidable army in the field, which the states general had beheld since the origin of the republic; it was composed of fifty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. Spanish Brabant looked upon itself as already conquered; and the terror of the allied army had spread to the remotest extremities of the catholic Netherlands. The prince of Orange began his march, at the head of all his forces, towards Endyhoove, in the month of September. A deluge of rain, which poured incessantly during the whole month, and the excellent disposition made by the Spanish general Moncada, frustrated, however, all his designs. The country was destitute of forage; the lands were overflowed; sickness appeared in the army; the peasants deserted their habitations, to avoid bringing provision to the Dutch troops; and every thing contributed to disappoint the great projects of the prince of Orange, and the vast expectations of the states general from so formidable an army^b. Unable to penetrate farther, he retired, and distributed his troops in winter-quarters.

Twelve thousand Swedes join the prince of Orange.

The naval armament, under count William of Nassau, was somewhat more fortunate, though greatly short of expectation in point of success. After having alarmed the Spaniards in different quarters, by keeping them in suspense where the stroke would fall, he at last made a descent on the coast of Flanders, near Cadfant, and took a little fort in the neighbourhood of Sluys, which he garrisoned. Perceiving that his progress was vigorously opposed by Fontaine, governor of Bruges, he reembarked his troops, and fell suddenly upon fort Philippine, near Sas Van Ghent, where he found abundance of ammunition, provision, and several pieces of beautiful cannon. To the fortifications of this place he made vast additions, strengthening the counterescarp, in particular, with seven great bastions, and a variety of out-works, that rendered it almost impregnable,

^b Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 179.

and

and formed a convenient inlet to the Hollanders into Flanders. While he was thus employed, his other conquest was lost, by the misconduct and cowardice of the garrison. They surrendered, after a faint resistance, and upon their return to Holland were broke, and rendered incapable of farther service. Some of the officers were banished, and the name of Cut Head was given to the fort, because it proved fatal to a variety of governors, Spanish and Dutch, who lost their heads for not defending it with more vigour and obstinacy. The Spaniards perceiving the effects of losing fort Philippine, that, instead of laying waste the territories of the states, as usual, their own dominions were now subjected to contributions to the very gates of Ghent, exerted their utmost endeavours once more to gain possession of a place so important. The governor of Antwerp made draughts from his own and the neighbouring garrisons; Colonna joined him with a body of cavalry, and Gonzales with several companies of infantry. In a short time such a force was assembled, as extremely pressed William de Nassau, and obliged him to apply for a considerable reinforcement. However, by a stratagem, he forced the enemy to drop their design of attacking him, of retaking fort Philippine, and of returning the insults they had lately sustained. Ordering several boats, with a trumpeter in each, to land in the night, sounding their warlike instruments, he persuaded the enemy that a strong reinforcement was arrived, and obliged them to decamp with great precipitation, leaving behind their baggage, provisions, the utensils brought for carrying on the siege, and several pieces of artillery.

With this transaction the campaign ended, upon which the negociations for a truce were again resumed. The conferences at the Hague had been interrupted by hostilities committed in the field, and by a variety of difficulties started by the Hollanders, but not wholly broke off; for some of the deputies constantly resided in Holland, while others went to Brussels for farther instructions. It was the intention both of the court of Spain and the states general to amuse; the archduchess alone was serious in her endeavours to restore tranquillity and the blessings of repose to the Netherlands. Possibly she might have effected this aim sooner, had she not been curbed, traversed, and disappointed by the intrigues of Olivarez and the Spanish ministry, who were too weak to execute their designs upon the United Provinces, and too proud to grant them peace on the only conditions they were resolved to accept. Her wise conduct broke all the measures concerted by the Hollanders for procuring

curing the reunion of the Seventeen Provinces, upon such a footing as would entirely exclude the Spaniards. The count de Berg's desertion first suggested the idea of this reunion, to which great numbers of the Flemish nobility seemed well-disposed. Indeed the people in general were not averse to the scheme of a new republic, under the same laws and government, except in matters of religion, where perfect liberty of conscience should be tolerated. The design was noble, but it was too vast for practice; so many persons were interested to oppose it, that it was impossible it should ever be carried into execution. The archduchess was to be maintained in all her dignity and authority during her life, out of respect to her wisdom, and that general esteem which she had acquired by her sweet and amiable disposition; but unfortunately she could not accept the offer, without betraying the confidence reposed in her by the court of Madrid. Some writers ascribe the ruin of the project to the duke d' Arschot, who betrayed the negotiation between the Flemish nobility and the count de Berg. The states general perceived, that it was not with the court of Brussels they had to treat, but with that of Madrid; they altered their tone, spoke a different language, seemed more indifferent about the truce, but, however, did not positively refuse to listen to the proposals, with which the deputies returned to the Hague. Cardinal Richelieu now interposed, and omitted nothing to keep open the breach between Spain and the United Provinces, so necessary to the designs he had formed. With this view he sent the baron de Charneisse to the Hague, who acquitted himself with so much address, promised so largely, and flattered the states with such agreeable prospects, that they precipitately broke off the conferences, and intimated to the deputies the necessity of their immediate departure.

Negotiations for a truce broke off.

It must be confessed that this measure was by no means agreeable to the majority of the people, who ardently wished for a solid pacification, whereby they might be at full liberty to give their whole attention to commerce; but the states of Zealand, and the prince of Orange in particular, entered so warmly into the interests of the French ambassador, and represented so strongly the utility of continuing the war, that the states general declared in their favour, in despite of all the remonstrances made by Holland and West Friesland, which of all the provinces were the most burthened by the expences of the war. Charneisse surmounted all difficulties by the gold which he promised to

A. D. 1634. shower down from France, and the powerful diversion which, he said, the king's troops would make, by an irruption into Lorraine and Alsace. The states relied on the effects of these promises, the people were brought into good humour, and all coincided in the resolution to prosecute the war with such vigour as should compel Spain to sue for peace, upon such terms as France and the republic should think fit to prescribe. This determination was scarce formed when the Netherlands were deprived of the princess Isabella Clara Eugenia, archduchess of Austria, daughter to Philip II. of Spain, grand-daughter of Henry II. of France, more illustrious by her extraordinary merit than by her elevated birth and connections. She died at Brussels, on the 1st day of September, lamented by all degrees of men, and equally esteemed by the Spaniards, Flemings, and Dutch, for her prudence, moderation, humanity, piety, and every other quality which could adorn her sex, and reflect lustre upon her high dignity. In her religion, even the Hollanders, the enemies of her faith and person, believed she was sincere; though the Catholics blamed that moderation; which she recommended, and always observed, in regard to the reformed religion.

*Death of
the arch-
duchess.*

The death of Isabella was an irrecoverable loss to Spain; it furnished an opportunity of displaying those ideal strokes of policy which seldom succeed, on account of their excessive refinement. We have seen Philip the Second's views in marrying the princess to the cardinal archduke, brother to the emperor Rodolph. The Netherlands and Franche Comté were her dowry; and the contract of marriage stipulated, that the elder male issue should succeed; and in case of failure of such issue, the oldest of the female line; but that the provinces on no account should be divided or alienated. Now the whole scheme of Philip was frustrated, and the Netherlands again reverted to the Spanish monarchy, without producing any of the effects proposed. Among the papers in the cabinet of the archduchess was found a commission, signed in 1630, appointing the archbishop of Mechlin, and the duke d'Arichot, Don Carlo Colonna, and the marquis d'Ayestone, regents, during the absence of Ferdinand of Austria; brother to the catholic king, destined to succeed the archduchess, not in the property, but the government of the Netherlands. The death of some, the absence of others, and the contempt into which the duke d'Arichot was fallen, so changed the regency, that the whole management devolved on the mar-

quis d'Ayetone. As the cardinal infant was deeply engaged in Germany, a new commission was granted to the marquis, constituting him governor of the provinces, and captain-general of all the Spanish forces acting in the Netherlands. He began his government with seizing upon the persons of the nobility suspected of holding any correspondence with count Henry de Berg and the states general of the United Provinces. The prince de Barbançon was committed prisoner to the citadel of Antwerp; the duke de Bournonville, called likewise count Hennin, and the prince d'Espinoi, saved themselves in France: an attempt was made to seize upon divers other noblemen; but they had notice of the intention of the governor, and made their escape. Some, however, were carried prisoners to Antwerp, while others took refuge in the United Provinces and Brabant, with the counts de Berg and Warfuse. As to the duke d'Arschot, he fell under suspicion, and was detained prisoner at the court of Madrid. Sentence of death was pronounced against the count de Berg, which greatly alarmed all the Flemish nobility, who had any way connived at his desertion. The consternation became so general, that, dreading a revolt and an immediate insurrection, the marquis d'Ayetone found himself obliged to quiet the fears of the people, by publishing an amnesty of all that had passed before the 16th of April.

*Conduct of
the marquis
d'Ayetone,
the new go-
vernor of
the Nether-
lands.*

Next he visited the coasts of Flanders, reinforced the garrisons of the frontier towns, built several forts, to restrain the incursions of the Hollanders, and concluded a treaty, on the 12th of May, with Gaston de France, duke of Orleans, and brother to Lewis XIII. in the name of his catholic majesty; whereby the duke engaged to declare war against the French monarch. This treaty was opposed to the new alliance formed between the king and the republic, by which the king stipulated to augment his forces in the service of the states, to pay two millions yearly, and to declare war against the king of Spain, should he attack the United Provinces. After his negotiation with the duke of Orleans, the marquis d'Ayetone ordered his army to file off towards the Meuse, leaving the counts de Fontaine and Penia, governors of Bruges and Antwerp, to oppose William de Nassau's designs upon Flanders; to effect which aim, they had a corps of six thousand foot, besides a considerable body of cavalry. Immediately the duke de Lerna and the marquis de Leda were detached to lay siege to Argenta, a place of strength and importance, situated between Maestricht and Liege, and founded upon a rock washed by the waters of the Meuse. Notwithstanding its great

great strength, Argentau surrendered after the exchange of a few shot; the garrison, consisting of twenty-five soldiers, not chusing to wait for the expected succours from the prince of Orange. The governor, who was son to Junius, the prince's secretary, was committed prisoner to Maestricht, by order of the states; but the chief blame fell on the prince of Orange, who was justly censured for leaving a fortress so important in a condition so defenceless.

*Maestricht
in vain be-
sieged by the
Spaniards.*

From Argentau the Spaniards marched to Limburgh, a city of which they made sure, in consequence of a secret treaty with the governor. He had agreed to admit the enemy upon receiving thirty thousand pistoles; but his treacherous design was discovered, and frustrated by the lieutenant-governor, who obliged him to take refuge among the Spaniards. The disappointment did not hinder the marquis from investing Maestricht in the month of July. This step alarmed the prince of Orange, who had hitherto been seduced into a state of inactivity, by the negotiations carried on by the states with the French king, the Swedish queen, the German Protestants, the duke of Newburg, and the malcontents in Flanders. Now he advanced to the frontiers of Brabant and Guelderland, in such a manner as to be able to penetrate into either, as circumstances might require. The duke de Bouillon, governor of Maestricht, had thrown himself with four thousand men into the place, and made so furious a sally upon the besiegers, that they were constrained to convert the siege into a blockade. Upon receiving a strong reinforcement, the marquis again began to make his approaches. He battered the town with the utmost fury; but all his efforts gave no inquietude to the prince of Orange, who relied upon the courage of the garrison, and the intrepidity and skill of the duke de Bouillon. Perfectly secure in this well reposed confidence, Henry did not quit the Hague before the month of August, contenting himself with sufficiently reinforcing the garrisons of Ruremonde and Venlo. Now, indeed, he resolved to invest Breda, rather to make a diversion in favour of Maestricht, than with hopes of succeeding in the reduction of so well-garrisoned and strong a city*. It answered his expectation: he had scarce begun to work upon the trenches, when d'Ayestone raised the siege of Maestricht, and marched with all his forces to Breda, upon which the prince retired on the 8th of September, leading his army in good order along the Meuse, and closing the campaign with this transaction.

* Neuville, tom. ii, *ibid.*

Though

Though the marquis d'Ayeton had been fairly overreached by Henry's feint upon Breda, yet he assumed the airs of a conqueror, and entered the place in triumph, as if he had defeated the enemy, and delivered the city from the pressure of a close siege. This policy was necessary to quiet the minds of the people, who murmured at the expense which had been unnecessarily incurred by the siege of Maestricht. Henry's prudence had cut off all possibility of gaining any real advantage, the garrisons being all put in a state of defence, and the troops so judiciously cantoned, as effectually to cover the whole frontier. This security of the provinces was matter of great chagrin to Ayeton, who hoped to signalize his government by some very important blow; and his uneasiness was augmented by the motions of the French army, under the marshal de la Force, on the side of Luxemburgh. The duke of Orleans likewise broke his engagements with the court of Spain, and was reconciled to the king his brother. All these circumstances involved the court of Brussels in the utmost confusion, when the cardinal infant Alibert arrived, to take upon him the government. At Brussels he was received as a conqueror, with all the pomp, magnificence, and honours, formerly shewn to Charles V. and Philip II. It was immediately published, that he meditated nothing less than the reunion of the seventeen provinces under his government, and the greatest hopes were entertained from a prince known to be of a warlike disposition, and confessed by all to possess the talents of a sound politician.

The cardinal infant arrives in the Netherlands.

The cardinal's arrival announced to the states general the necessity of keeping strict watch, and putting their troops and garrisons into the best posture. They beheld with disquiet and jealousy the compliments that were paid to the cardinal by the neighbouring states and princes; especially the king of England, and the elector of Cologne, who were the earliest in their congratulations. This extraordinary change at the court of Brussels determined the states to send an embassy to the court of France, pressing the execution of the late treaty, and exhorting the king to declare war against the Spaniards. The consequence of this application was the renewal of the same treaty, with this addition, that an offensive alliance was now contracted between the king and the republic, from which the states expected nothing less than the entire conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. A scheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the towns were to preserve their privileges, and the people their religion. The duchy of Luxemburgh, the counties of Namur, Hainault, Courtray, Artois;

A.D. 1635.

An offensive alliance between France and Holland.

tois, and Flanders, as far as Blakemberg, Damme, and Ruppelmonde, were assigned to France; while Brabant, Guelderland, the territory of Waes, the lordship of Mechlin, and all the rest of Flanders, should be annexed to the republic. The vast projects and sanguine hopes of the allies were disappointed chiefly by their own blunders, and by the jealousy which the Hollanders entertained of the growing power of France. The prince of Orange likewise was greatly instrumental in defeating the intention of the league: he could never forgive cardinal Richelieu the attempt made on the principality of Orange; and he sought his revenge by embracing every occasion to mortify that haughty prelate and crafty minister.

Lewis XIII. now wanted a specious pretence for coming to a rupture with the court of Spain, and declaring war against the cardinal governor of the Netherlands, as the first step towards the execution of the treaty with Holland. The seizure of Triers, and the unjust detention of the elector, who had been sent prisoner to Brussels, and thence to Vienna, afforded the opportunity he wished. The elector was under his protection; he demanded his release; and not obtaining it, he solemnly denounced war, by the mouth of a herald sent to Brussels. It was concerted, that the prince of Orange should enter Brabant with his forces, while a French army, of twenty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, advanced to the frontiers of that province, to effect a junction; the combined army to be commanded in chief by the prince of Orange. It was the business of the cardinal infant to prevent this union: he accordingly detached prince Thomas, with the counts Burgoi and Feria, to give battle to the French. On the 20th of May the two armies met near the village of Avein, in Luxemburgh. An engagement ensued, and the Spaniards were totally defeated, after an obstinate engagement that continued for five hours, and was sustained with astonishing intrepidity. They left four thousand dead upon the field, eight hundred prisoners were taken, and several pieces of cannon, with standards, colours, and other military trophies. The conquerors advanced to Maestricht, to join the prince of Orange, who lamented that he was deprived of a share in this glorious victory, and complained to the sieur de Pontis, that the marshals de Brezé and Chatillon should have presumed to give battle without the orders of the generalissimo. This is the insinuation of French writers; we

The Spaniards defeated.

† Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 199. Neuville, tom. ii. lib. viii. cap. 3. — ‡ Idem ibid.

find not the least blame thrown upon the marshals in the prince's own relation of his campaigns; and it is certain he received them with great civility, and bestowed the highest encomiums on their valour, when they met at Maestricht. It must, however, be confessed that no great harmony subsisted, though this want of concord arose from motives more worthy of the prince of Orange: they related chiefly to his country; he seemed to penetrate into futurity, and clearly to predict all the consequences of suffering the French king to establish a footing in the Netherlands.

When the armies of France and Holland were united before Maestricht, they exceeded fifty thousand men, commanded by the best officers in Europe. Such an armament was sufficient to swallow up the Spanish Netherlands, already under the utmost consternation, from the defeat at Avein. Henry passed the Meuse above and below Maestricht, on the 1st of June, and penetrated into Brabant, accompanied by a train composed of a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The cardinal infant was encamped at Demer, having secured all the passes, by throwing up entrenchments, building redoubts, and cutting down great trees; but on the approach of the allies he was forced to retire with precipitation, to desert all his works, and leave a free passage. In consequence of his retreat, St. Tron, Landen, Hallem, and several inconsiderable places fell into their hands; Tillemont was summoned on the 8th of June, and Francisco de Bargas, with a garrison of eleven hundred men, replied, that he would endeavour to merit the prince's esteem by his conduct. He made the most vigorous defence, but the town was at last forced by escalade, the houses were pillaged, the churches destroyed, and the priests murdered with great brutality^b.

*Tillemont
taken by the
Dutch.*

On the 10th of June the two armies separated, the prince of Orange taking the route of Brussels, where the cardinal infant expected the succours which Piccolomini was bringing from Germany, and the French directing their march towards Diest, which surrendered at the first summons. They afterwards joined between Louvain and Brussels, and now that jealousy betwixt the prince and the French marshals, which, say the French writers, had its origin in the victory at Avein, became more open and declared. Disputes took place of action. Instead of profiting by the enemy's consternation, and besieging Louvain at the time proposed, several days were consumed in fruitless altercation, and the provision necessary for the execu-

^b Neuville, tom. ii. p. viii. cap. 6.

*The allies
besiege Lou-
vain.*

tion of the design was exhausted. The garrison had time to repair the fortifications, and the cardinal to throw in a reinforcement of five thousand foot and two hundred horse. He entered the town in person, resolving to defend it to the last extremity; and to draw him to Brussels, the prince of Orange moved towards that capital, as if he intended to besiege it, a motion which effectually answered his purpose. The cardinal flew to Brussels, leaving two thousand men in Louvain, under the conduct of the baron Groobendenck; while the allies, having made a sudden turn, sat down before Louvain, and broke ground on the 25th of June. Next day their batteries played vigorously on different quarters of the town, and all the generals seemed unanimous that the governor would make but a short defence. He had, however, since the reduction of Tillemont, been preparing for a siege, and amassed great store of ammunition and provision. The fate of that place determined him upon making the most obstinate resistance; and his views were seconded by a brave veteran garrison, accustomed to all the hardships and fatigues of a siege. The skill and courage of this garrison, joined to a certain languor and inactivity in the allies, protracted the siege. Henry is accused of an intention to ruin the French army. Provisions grew scarce in the camp; several parties of foragers returned without being able to find grass or corn for their horses; whole convoys came back empty, or were interrupted by the enemy; dissensions arose; the French murmured, and soon complained openly that they were betrayed; disease swept off great numbers of the troops; Piccolomini was advancing to give battle with a fine army, and the result of all was the breaking up of a siege, which gave the first turn to the fortune of the allies, and laid the foundation of numberless disappointments. The armies now separated, and the Dutch went to Brabant, where they found abundance of refreshment; while the French unhappily quartered in the neighbourhood of Ruremonde, in which nothing but hunger, disease, and accumulated misfortunes offered. Above six thousand men died in the space of a few weeks, and the camp was in so wretched a situation that it rather resembled an hospital than the army of a powerful monarch sent to extend his conquests¹.

Already the enemy's affairs began to assume a more benign aspect. Hitherto nothing but ruin and disgrace had succeeded the death of the archduchess; but the want of harmony in the confederate army, afforded the cardinal the

¹ Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 407.

fairest opportunity and the happiest prospects. One army was now wholly destroyed by sickness, and the other was too weak to face the powerful forces drawn from Germany, joined to the army already formed in the Netherlands, composed of Spaniards, and the best troops of the provinces. The reduction of the strong fortress of Schenck was the first fruits of this favourable change in the cardinal's situation. Adolphus d'Emholt, a lieutenant-colonel of the Walloon guards, formed a scheme to surprise the garrison, and succeeded by dint of vigilance, address, and intrepidity. The states general regarded fort Schenck as the key of the United Provinces; they were alarmed at the loss of a place so important, and immediately sent instructions to the prince of Orange to use his utmost art in recovering it. He obeyed the mandate, and thereby left all his conquests a prey to the enemy, who were at liberty now to pursue every method to obstruct the return of the allies. To succeed in the recovery of fort Schenck, it was thought necessary to reunite the French and Dutch armies. Accordingly the prince of Orange pitched his quarters on the side of Betau, while the mareschals Brezè and Chatillon encamped towards Emmerrick and Cleves; however the necessary preliminaries for conducting the siege could not be got ready before the month of August. To shorten matters, and abridge the expedition, prince Henry formed a plan to surprise the garrison; but the vigilance of the governor baffled the attempt, and obliged him to recur to the first scheme of operations. It was settled that the Dutch should carry on the approaches, while the French should cover the siege, and oppose the enemy's succouring the garrison. This service they performed with great intrepidity, obliging the cardinal, after a sharp action, to retire, notwithstanding their numbers were greatly diminished, and the army in general in a wretched condition, owing chiefly to the excessive heat and drought of the summer season, and the deluges of rain that poured down for the whole autumn. So miserable indeed was their situation, that the mareschals were forced to lead back the poor remains of the army to France, while the prince of Orange continued the siege with invincible perseverance, and in despite of all the rigours of a severe winter. The Spaniards were no less obstinate in the defence of Schenck. They exerted their utmost diligence to throw in succours, and the prince was equally vigilant to prevent them, and force the brave garrison to submission. At last the Hollanders took the castle of Billand by assault; they ruined all the outworks of the besieged, except the halfmoon, which was defended with incredible

The Spaniards surprise fort Schenck, which is retaken by the Dutch after a tedious siege.

A.D. 1636.

credible intrepidity; the brave Emholt was slain by a musket-bullet; all communication between the fort and the Spanish territories was cut off, the garrison was greatly reduced and dispirited by the death of their leader, and every thing drawing to a crisis favourable to the besieged, when the cardinal determined to send baron Groobendenck, who had so successfully defended Louvain, to succeed Emholt in the government. The prince of Orange attended the business of the states at the Hague, leaving the conduct of the siege to William of Nassau, who performed all that could be expected from courage combined with conduct, and ardour tempered by prudence and judgment. He took his measures so well, that he greatly augmented his army, and obliged prince Thomas, who was detached with a strong body of forces to raise the siege at the hazard of a battle, to remain a tame spectator of his successful operations, giving a general assault, and becoming master of a place which cost so much blood and treasure, without granting a capitulation to the garrison*. He concluded the campaign with some other advantages obtained in the territory of Cleves, all of which, however, were insufficient to ballance the consequences of the retreat of the French army, and the number of soldiers lost by keeping the field for almost a whole rigorous winter.

The remainder of this year passed in mutual expeditions into each other's territories, which produced nothing decisive. The Spanish arms were chiefly employed in Picardy, under the conduct of prince Thomas and Piccolomini. As to the Hollanders, they struck their most important blows on their own proper element, the ocean, where they defeated a fleet of Dunkirkers in sight of Dieppe. In this engagement the Dutch were commanded by Evertzen, who began already to distinguish himself; the Spaniards had two ships sunk, one burnt, and two taken, with their admiral Antonio Collardo on board. In consequence of this victory, the commerce of the provinces was secured, and trade flourished extremely. The chief advantages, however, were obtained by the East India company, who extended their trade far beyond what it ever before attained, and made such returns as astonished Europe, and enriched the provinces. As to the West India company, it was less fortunate: all its attempts had lately miscarried in Brazil and on the coast of Africa, where the Portuguese were greatly superior in numbers. Chagrined with disappointment, they resolved to commit their affairs to some

* Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 291.

general, whose established reputation, valour, prudence, and experience, might retrieve their losses, and extend their settlements in Brasil and the West Indies. No person appeared more likely to answer all their purposes than count John Maurice de Nassau, who had for many years faithfully and eminently served his country. The offer was made of appointing him governor-general and commander in chief of Brasil and South America; an employment which the count accepted with the consent of the states general and the prince of Orange. His authority was directly the same vested in the governor-general of Batavia, a fleet of thirty-two sail, twelve of which were men of war, with two thousand seven hundred land forces on board, was equipped; and he quitted the Texel on the 25th day of October.

Maurice de Nassau made governor of Brasil.

Of the fourteen provinces into which Brasil was divided, four were subject to the Hollanders, Fernambuco, Temeraca, Paraiba, and Rio Grande. Since the year 1630 the court of Spain had sustained incredible damage by the efforts which the Dutch made to establish settlements in South America. Of eight hundred ships fitted out by the king of Spain for that service, five hundred and forty-three fell into the hands of the enemy, were burnt, or destroyed, the loss amounting to forty-five millions of florins. The Dutch had seized upon the island of Curacao on the northern coast of America; they had pillaged the opulent town of Truxillo, in the gulph of Honduras, with a variety of small settlements on the coast of Mexico; they had defeated in divers engagements, the Spanish generals Albuquerque, Bagniola, and Lewis de Rocca de Bergia; they had by force and fraud gained over to their interest several nations, who ardently wished for the expulsion of the Portuguese; but at the time Maurice was appointed governor, their efforts had been faint and fruitless, and Christopher Artichoffi, a Polish Socinian, was the only officer who had met with any degree of success. When the count arrived at Brasil, his first step was to relieve all the garrisons, and form his army of troops acquainted with the country, and seasoned to the climate. His little corps, amounting in all to three thousand seven hundred men, he led against Porto de Calco, the garrison of which had almost entirely cut off the communication betwixt the Dutch settlements. Bagniola, the Portuguese general, marched with a superior army to oppose him; a battle was fought, and the Portuguese were totally defeated, Bagniola saving himself and a few troops with great difficulty in a city built on the river Porto Calco. Maurice pursued, and immediately invested the fortresses.

The Portuguese general defended himself bravely, but was in a few days forced, for want of provision, to surrender at discretion.

Flushed with conquest, the count marched against Opemada, a town situated upon the same river, within six miles of its opening into the ocean. This place surrendered with little trouble; Maurice strengthened it by a citadel which he erected, and called after his own name. At the mouth of the river he built another fort, which obliged the Spaniards on both sides to take shelter in Seregippa del Rei, and abandon their habitations. Leaving the greater part of the army with Artichoffi, for the defence of the frontiers, he returned to Reciff, to establish the government and religion of the United Provinces in all the country subject to the republic, treating, however, with great moderation the natives and foreigners who had been bred in a different faith, and under a different policy. He also equipped two squadrons, one of which he sent southwards under admiral Lichthart, beyond the bay of All Saints; the other sailed north-east to the coast of Africa, under colonel Coine, who reduced St. George de la Mina.

A.D. 1637. During these operations in Africa and America, the plan of a general pacification was laid in Europe. The pope, as the common father of all Christians, offered his mediation between France, Spain, and the empire. The states general rejected an umpire whom they justly suspected of partiality to the court of Spain; however he still continued to press the other powers to accommodate matters, sensible that the public would not long chuse to support a war singly against the power of the house of Austria. Cardinal Richelieu did not fail to make his advantage of the disposition of the states general, notwithstanding the grudge he bore the prince of Orange. He urged them to continue the alliance with France, and his remonstrances were followed by a renewal of the treaty between the two powers. By this treaty Lewis engaged to supply the states with a yearly sum of five hundred thousand livres, over and above the usual subsidy of two hundred thousand, on account of the great expences of the former year. Two days after the states general renewed their ancient alliance with the elector of Brandenburg.

The prince of Orange and cardinal Richelieu reconciled.

The strong connections between France and Holland convinced cardinal Richelieu of the necessity of suppressing his own personal dislike to the prince of Orange, the better to promote the interests of his sovereign; he therefore laboured to gain the friendship of prince Henry. He knew his influence in the republic, and was sensible that the operations

rations of the field could never prove successful, unless he concurred heartily with the views of the French court. For this reason he directed Charnasse, the ambassador, always to bestow the title of Highness upon the prince, instead of that of Excellence, with which he had been formerly complimented. He perfectly understood the character of Henry, and that though he was superior to corruption, inviolable in his attachment to his country, and invariably fixed in the paths of virtue and honour, yet he was not insensible to the irresistible charms of ambition. He gained his point, and established a perfect harmony, to all appearance, between the king and the states general, as well as between himself and the prince of Orange. Both sides now prepared to execute their engagements with punctuality, and repair the losses consequent on the former discord that subsisted. Henry never lost sight of Breda, in the reduction of which he was especially concerned; and he planned a scheme which he hoped would greatly facilitate the siege. Near four thousand boats of different burthens were collected in the port of Flushing; an armament which gave great disquiet to the Spaniards, who believed it was destined against Bruges, Dunkirk, or some of the maritime towns in Flanders. In this state of uncertainty, and not knowing where the storm would break, the cardinal infant assembled all his troops, and distributed them round the frontiers of Flanders, in all the places which he thought most exposed. This was precisely what Henry desired, who immediately advanced to Breda, when the Spanish army was removed to a convenient distance. By the 23d of July the siege was formed. Omer Fourbin, an officer who had signalized himself at the defence of Schenck, was governor. He had a garrison of three thousand men, whom he so animated by his precepts and example, that they became rivals for glory; and every soldier cheerfully offered to lay down his life in the service of his country. Fourbin possessed the hearts of all his inferiors by his complacency and liberal disposition. He punctually advanced the pay of the troops, carefully inspected their provision, saw them properly clothed, and whenever remittances happened to fail, generously distributed his own money, coined his plate, and even sold his horses and apparel, to supply the wants of his garrison.

The prince of Orange, accompanied by his son, prince William, then but thirteen years of age, and the prince Palatine, afterwards elector, pushed the siege with all imaginable vigour, that they might finish their work before the cardinal should have time to assemble a sufficient army to give battle. That prince, however, had detached count

John

*The prince
lays siege to
Breda.*

John of Nassau, with a body of five thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to throw himself into Breda. He had orders to attack that quarter of the camp commanded by his cousin count William de Nassau; but he found the works so exceedingly strong, that he dropped the attempt, and wrote to the cardinal that the prince's camp was impregnable; at least to force it would require the whole Spanish army. While he lay at some distance waiting the cardinal's orders, he met with an opportunity of throwing three hundred men, with as many sacks of corn, into the city. The garrison had made a vigorous sally, and the count so well managed the occasion, that, in despite of the diligence and courage of the besieged, he introduced such succours as helped to protract the fate of Breda. The whole Spanish army advanced to Rhimberg; but every pass and post was so stoutly guarded, that after fruitless attempts to draw the besiegers out of their lines, the cardinal was forced to retire, and confide solely in the valour of the besieged. However he found means to reduce Venlo and Ruremonde, publishing at the same time a report that Nimeguen was taken by surprise, Knotsemburgh by assault, and that he had forced the prince of Orange to raise the siege of Breda. Rejoicings were made in every town in the Spanish Netherlands, which so astonished Maurice, that he sent a message to Fourbin, governor of Breda, desiring to know the foundation of these reports. Fourbin's answer became the sincerity and honour of a soldier. "He had rather, he said, the reports had been true and not published, than false and reported with so much ostentation."

Fourbin's courage did not abandon him on the retreat of the Spaniards; he sustained the redoubled efforts of the enemy with his usual vigour. A variety of bold sallies were made, in one of which fell, among other considerable personages on the side of the besiegers, the baron Charnesse, ambassador from the French king. The incessant fire and perpetual attacks from the town, obliged the prince to alter his manner, and carry on his approaches under cover; which method, though more slow and expensive, saved the lives of great numbers, and enabled him at last to arrive at the foot of the walls. This progress at length shook the constancy of the brave Fourbin, who saw himself destitute of powder and provision, without hope of succour, his garrison diminished to a third of their original number, and the remains broken, fatigued, and exhausted. He was besides teased with the clamours of the townsmen, who were oppressed with a malignant fever, that swept the people off by hundreds. All these circumstances deter-
mined

mined him to propose a capitulation; he sent it to the prince of Orange, and it was immediately accepted, without alteration, though the prince's generosity and regard for the brave garrison occasioned loud clamours against his conduct. The governor and soldiers were allowed all the honours of war; and the officers of the city placed on the same footing as in the year 1625, before it was reduced by Spinola. Fourbin paid his compliments sealed in a letter to the prince; he was received graciously, loaded with praises and honours, and dismissed with valuable presents, which reflected equal credit on the generosity of the prince and the valour of the governor^m.

Breda surrenders.

The conquest of Breda was attended by consequences the most important to the states general. It secured the commerce on the coasts of Zealand, and frontiers of Holland; it delivered the provinces from the incursions of the enemy, quite to the gates of Bergen op Zoom and Boisseduc; it gained a valuable addition to the dominions of the republic; it depressed the spirits of the Spaniards, disconcerted their projects, gave fresh courage to the Dutch, and greatly augmented prince Henry's reputation. To put so valuable an acquisition beyond all danger of being again lost, the prince laboured with diligence to repair and augment the fortifications, in which work he so happily succeeded, that Breda was justly deemed one of the strongest cities then in Europe.

The rejoicings made for the reduction of Breda, had almost proved fatal to Rhimberg. The Spanish garrison in the city of Guelders, apprised of the vast consumption of powder at Rhimberg, in firing cannon and giving magnificent exhibitions, and imagining that amidst the joy and riot of public rejoicings, the defence of the town might probably be neglected, formed a scheme to surprise the place, and introduce a body of Spanish forces. That part of the walls where the enemy approached, was guarded only by one centinel, who immediately discharged his piece, and alarmed the garrison. The governor was gone to the Hague, to be cured of the wounds he had received at the siege of Breda; and John Weekins, his deputy, had but a handful of soldiers. Resistance was vain, as the enemy had already applied ladders to the walls; he bethought himself, therefore, of a stratagem, which was to desert with seventeen men to the enemy, in order to prevail upon them to defer the attack, until the orders he had given within could be executed, and the place put in a posture of de-

fence.

^m *Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 218.*

sence. The project was wild, but it partly succeeded. Weekins was well received; his story was plausible, and he related it with such discretion, and gave such strong reasons for deferring the attack, that several hours were lost: however, being at last discovered, he was forced to fight his way back; but he disappointed their design, by this equally bold and extraordinary measure. When they returned to the attack on Rhimberg, the garrison received them with so much bravery, as obliged them to abandon the enterprize^a.

A.D. 1638.

As the Spaniards were not sufficiently strong on the Meuse to act openly, and lay siege to the towns lately taken by the Dutch, they made several attempts to surprize the garrisons. A deep design upon Maestricht was happily disappointed, on the point of execution; all the rest of their projects had the same issue. At sea they were more fortunate. The Dunkirkers attacked a fleet of Zealanders, under convoy of a single man of war, which they took, after an obstinate battle, during which the merchantmen escaped. Soon after they augmented their fleet to forty sail, and attacked a Dutch squadron of the same number, whereof five were men of war. A bloody battle was fought, and the victory decided by the loss of one Dutch man of war, all the rest having escaped safe to port. Towards the spring hostilities were renewed on shore. Prince Henry resolved now to make use of the large fleet which had been detained the whole preceding autumn, in the road of Flushing, by adverse winds and the vigilance of the Spaniards. He meditated the reduction of Antwerp, and, to facilitate this scheme, advanced his cavalry to Boisseduc, Bergen op Zoom, and Lillo, leaving Henry de Nassau, count of Friseland, with a small army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen. The infantry was embarked in thirty transports, under count William de Nassau, who arrived on the 23d of June before fort Perle, which he reduced. With a force not exceeding six thousand men, he had laid siege to Fort St. Mary, and secured the whole country to Fort Isabella, which immediately communicates with the city of Antwerp; but the difficulty of breaking down the dykes, and other cross accidents, obliged him to content himself with blocking up Fort St. Mary, and direct his chief strength against Fort de Verre Broeck, about a league distant from Calloo. Mean time the cardinal arrived at Antwerp, and with a considerable body of horse and foot crossed the Scheld. The Hollanders were immediately drawn from their posts

^a Neuville, t. ii. p. 11.

before

before St. Mary, and count William having taken Verre Broeck, and received a reinforcement from prince Henry, assembled all his forces near Calloo, where he made a stand. Here he was attacked by the cardinal, with any army double his number; but he defended himself with so much intrepidity, that, after an engagement of eight hours, the enemy were forced to retreat. On both sides the loss was considerable; but the Dutch chiefly regretted the death of the young count Maurice de Nassau, who had in an extraordinary manner distinguished all the virtues of a long line of heroic ancestors.

An unsuccessful attempt on Antwerp.

Though the Spaniards were repulsed in this attempt, they were neither defeated nor dispirited. A fresh attack was made in the count's quarters, before his troops had time to draw breath. The artillery at the same time played with fury, all the outworks were forced, and the Dutch in the utmost danger of being totally defeated, when the night seasonably interposed, under cover of which the count drew off his broken forces. He was pursued; and his rear, composed entirely of Scotch regiments, cut off, after a brave resistance. Great numbers endeavouring to gain the ships, plunged into the river and were drowned, while the Spaniards pursuing their victory, entered Calloo, and made prisoners the Dutch garrison. Fort Verre Broeck, surrendered upon honourable conditions to the conquerors; the prince of Orange's whole scheme was defeated, and the states were extremely mortified at the severest blow they had received since the cardinal came to the government of the Spanish Netherlands^o.

Dutch defeated.

Prince Henry was posted at Bergen op Zoom, exerting his utmost diligence in collecting the fugitive remains of the defeated army. Sfondrato was detached with twenty-four troops of horse, to attack his intrenchments. He surprised the centinels, and threw the Dutch camp into confusion; but the prince poured out his troops with such impetuosity, as entirely disconcerted the Spaniards, and repulsed them with great loss. Two days after, when the Dutch imagined themselves in perfect security, their camp was a second time attacked at Woven, with such vigour, that having forced the intrenchments, the Spaniards began pillaging. In this interval, the Dutch having rallied, returned to the charge, drove the enemy out of the camp, and obtained a complete victory. The Spaniards resolving to keep the prince in continual perturbation, a third time fell upon his cavalry near St. Vliet; the contest was warm,

^o Mem. de Prince Henry, ibid.

and the advantage disputed; certain it is, that near a thousand men fell upon each side. It was after these sharp actions that the prince of Orange made an unsuccessful attempt on Guelders, and that the Spaniards reduced Kerpen, with which transaction, and some other less considerable losses on the side of the states, ended the campaign, in a manner more glorious to the cardinal than any of the preceding.

*Affairs in
South A-
merica.*

Nor were the Dutch more fortunate in South America than in Europe. A fever that brought the life of count Maurice into great danger, proved extremely detrimental to their affairs in Brasil. After the reduction of Porto Cavallo, the Portuguese general, Bagniola, had assembled a considerable army, with which he fell upon the Dutch conquests, and desolated the country, putting all the natives to the sword, who had acknowledged the sovereignty of the republic. Colonel Schruppen marched against him, checked his ravages, but could not bring him to a battle. As soon as count Maurice recovered, he took the command of the army, and laid siege to St. Salvador, to which purpose he had received express orders from the directors of the company. He had first, by a variety of feints, diverted the enemy's strength to another quarter, and now carried on his approaches without any external molestation. But the vigorous conduct of the garrison; and their first sally, supported by four hundred men, boded an unfortunate issue to the enterprize. In this sharp skirmish the count lost near three hundred men, some of his best officers, and the only person who merited the appellation of an engineer in his whole army. Finding that his numbers were insufficient completely to block up the besieged, or prevent the enemy from throwing in succours, he broke up his camp, and retired with some precipitation, and great chagrin. This disappointment was succeeded by a fruitless attempt on the plate fleet, made by admiral Jol, in the gulf of Honduras. He attacked the enemy with great fury but was deserted by his captains in the middle of the engagement, and, left with three ships to encounter the whole force of the Spaniards. After having extricated himself with great valour, he again collected his ships, punished some of the delinquents, animated the rest, and returned a second time to the attack; but with the same success. Just as victory was ready to declare for him; his cowardly officers, whom neither shame, honour, nor interest, could influence, sheered off, and again left him deeply engaged in the midst of the enemy. Once more his conduct and intrepidity prevailed; he broke the enemy's line, and opened a way to join

join his own squadron. Apprehending that his former severity might have alienated the minds of his captains, Jol had now recourse to arguments and intreaties. He set before them the vast riches in view, the infamy consequent on their cowardice and disobedience, with every other topic that could move their passions, or convince their reason. A few were brought back to their duty; and, supported by these, Jol determined upon a third attack; but now the wind had shifted in favour of the Spaniards. In despite of all difficulties, the brave Dutchman bore down upon the enemy, engaged them with redoubled vigour, and was a third time defeated. Thus, after the noblest exertions of courage he lost his prize, but acquired a reputation which will transmit his name to posterity, enrolled in the long list of heroes produced by the republic. Having superseded the officers who had misbehaved, he sent them home in irons to be tried by the martial laws of Holland for cowardice and mutiny.

*Bravery of
admiral
Jol.*

The disgraces of the preceding campaign determined the states to make the most vigorous efforts to recover their losses. Early in the spring the prince of Orange was at the head of a formidable army, ready to oppose the cardinal's designs, and the vast projects entertained by the Spaniards, who were highly elated with their victory at Calloo, the reduction of Kerpen, and Henry's disappointment before Gueldres. Leaving a body of infantry at Lillo, and a few squadrons of horse at Bergen op Zoom, the prince divided his army into two columns, one of which he embarked, to make a diversion in Flanders, and engage cardinal Richelieu to perform his part of the late treaty. Colonel Alverdt was left with seventeen companies of foot, to oppose the enemy on the Scheld; and the prince went in person to Nimeguen, where he was joined by four thousand Hessians, under general Melander. With this force he proposed renewing the siege of Gueldres; he had even detached part of his forces to invest the city; but finding that the enemy had thrown in powerful succours, he dropped the design, and removed to Venlo.

A.D. 1639.

Greater expectations were entertained from the fleet sent under Martin Harpert Van Tromp, lieutenant-admiral of Holland, and one of the best naval officers that Holland, fruitful in good seamen, ever produced. Tromp had accompanied the famous Heine in all his expeditions; was the great favourite of that admiral; and fought by his side at the time he was killed. In divers other actions he

*Van
Tromp's
rise and
victories.*

» Le Clerc, tom. ii. Neuville, ubi supra.

had

had so distinguished his intrepidity and conduct, that the states raised him to his present dignity, under the prince of Orange, the highest officer in their navy. Having advice that a Spanish squadron, composed of ten large men of war, four frigates, and several smaller vessels, had quitted the port of Randyke on the 18th of February, Tromp immediately went in pursuit of them, came up with the Spanish admiral off Graveline, joined battle, and defeated him, after a bloody conflict, which lasted six hours. The Spanish admiral, and three more great ships, were driven on the sands, and taken; and the vice-admiral's ship was burnt, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Hollanders. Four frigates were besides taken, and the Spaniards were reported to have lost near two thousand men, of whom seven hundred were made prisoners.

The most important consequence of Tromp's victory was, that four thousand men on board the Spanish squadron were destined for a grand armament equipping at Cadiz and Corunna, the most formidable that had been seen since the armada prepared to invade England. All the maritime powers were attentive to the object of this vast fleet. England and France imagined the court of Spain intended, in conjunction with the king of Denmark, to attack Sweden; while the states general trembled for the fate of the provinces. In fact, the catholic king had his own immediate interest too strongly in view, to hearken to the suggestions of the king of Denmark. The armament was expressly equipped to annoy the provinces, and it set sail with twenty thousand land forces on board, in the month of July, under the conduct of Don Antonio d'Oquendo, who had already experienced the valour and naval abilities of the Hollanders. To oppose this powerful fleet, amounting to eighty-seven sail, Van Tromp weighed anchor with a squadron of no more than eighteen men of war. His first design was, merely to obstruct the passage of the Spaniards; but having fallen in with their van, on board which was all the money and four thousand troops, he attacked it in the night with such fury, that the enemy were wholly dispersed, every ship crowding all the sail she could make, to get out of the reach of Tromp's cannon. Next morning Oquendo came up with the rest of the fleet, and immediately engaged Tromp yard-arm and yard-arm. After a violent conflict the Spaniard was forced to shift his flag; his ship was soon after sunk, and four more were taken; but the Dutch were prevented from pursuing their advantage by a thick fog, which effectually concealed the enemy. Before the weather cleared up, Tromp was strongly reinforced,

a six-

a circumstance which enabled him to pursue the enemy to the Downs, where they had taken sanctuary under the wing of the English admiral. It is probable he would have destroyed the whole but for the partiality evidently shewn in favour of the Spaniards. Tromp remonstrated upon the king of England's conduct as a breach of the treaty subsisting with Holland. To the English admiral's conduct he ascribed the safety of the enemy; his intelligence had misled the Dutch, and his motions had covered the Spaniards; but no redress was obtained. At length another reinforcement arrived, which rendered Tromp so powerful, that he resolved to face the enemy in the Downs, and even to give battle to the English rather than be diverted from his purpose. It was upon this resolution, say the Dutch writers, that the king of England ordered his admiral to withdraw his protection from the Spaniards, perceiving that otherwise he must come to an open rupture with the Hollanders. Thus it was that Tromp, after having for a month blocked up Oquendo, obliged him at last to come to an engagement. Rather than stand an attack in his present situation, the Spaniard resolved running the hazard of crossing the Channel under cover of a fog; but Tromp kept so strict watch that it was impossible to escape. An action ensued, and both sides fought with desperate fury. For the space of eight hours the Spaniards made an obstinate resistance; at last they were totally defeated, with the loss of fourteen men of war, burnt, sunk, taken, or driven ashore, among which were the vice-admiral of Spain, the admiral of Galicia, and the great galleon of Portugal, fourteen hundred tons burthen, mounting eighty guns, and carrying eight hundred men, all of whom perished by the water or the sword. Twenty-one of the enemies ships put back to the Downs in a wretched plight; fire-ships were sent to destroy them; but the English again interposed, contrary to their neutrality, and the express injunctions of the sovereign. That day thirteen ships more fell into the hands of the Hollanders, of which eleven only could be carried off, so miserably were they shattered. In a word, of this whole prodigious armament, only eight reached Dunkirk. Oquendo's own ship was so much damaged, that he owed his life to a frigate sent to his assistance by the generous Van Tromp. Eight thousand men were killed, four thousand wounded, and two thousand taken prisoners, and carried with the rest of the spoils in triumph to the Texel, Briel, and Flushing. All Europe admired the skill and intrepidity of Van Tromp, and the naval power of Holland. The states decreed him the same honours that had been conferred upon admiral Heine, and the French king sent him

A.D. 1640.

*Prince
Henry in-
vades Flan-
ders.*

particular marks of his regard; among the rest a patent, whereby he was enrolled among the nobility of France¹.

The most vigorous preparations were making to carry on the war by land with equal success. Prince Henry took the field at the head of a powerful army, with which, in the month of May, he entered the bishoprick of Bruges. He encamped at Maldegheem, in order to gain the command of the two canals that lead to Ghent, and the neighbouring forts. This march a good deal alarmed the cardinal, notwithstanding all the passes were in possession of the Spaniards, and strictly guarded. It was his fear that made him throw himself into Ghent, in expectation that his presence would encourage the garrison, and deter the prince from making any attempt on that important town. Every where the Spaniards seemed invincible, driving before them the Hollanders, and defeating them in every encounter. Henry, however, was not dispirited by the unfortunate issue of skirmishes, which produced nothing decisive. He was in hopes that the valour of the enemy was a last effort of despair, and therefore proceeded coolly in his designs, without suffering himself to be disconcerted by accidents, which necessarily eluded human foresight. He laid siege to Damme, and declined fortifying his camp in the usual manner, in hopes to draw the cardinal to a battle. But in this aim he could not succeed, nor did the reduction of the garrison prove a matter of so little difficulty as he imagined; the resistance within indeed was so obstinate, and the alarms from the cardinal's camp without so perpetual, that Henry abandoned the design, quitted Flanders, and disappointed the great expectations of the court of France and the states general. His retreat left the cardinal at liberty to penetrate into Artois, and take measures for succouring Arras, then besieged by the French army.

While the cardinal was employed in Artois, the prince was endeavouring to profit by his absence, and cut off his return. With this view he formed an enterprize against Hulst, which he began with storming fort Nassau. This affair was happily and boldly executed by the French troops led on by the marquis de Hauterive. The surrender of the fort struck terror into Hulst, and even set the city of Antwerp upon arming the townsmen, and preparing against a siege. Sfondrato and Cantelmo with a body of troops flung themselves into the city, and the garrisons were withdrawn from all the adjacent fortresses, the better to secure Ant-

¹ La Vie de Tromp, p. 96. Le Clerc, tom. ii. Neuville, lib. ix.

werp.

werp. Henry's object, however, was Hulst; to this place he laid siege, drew his lines, and gave the assault to fort St. Anne, during which his cavalry was attacked by a strong body of horse, under Sfondrato. After a sharp action the Spanish cavalry was defeated; but the infantry coming up, led on by Saavedra, sustained the fire with admirable constancy, and at last repulsed the Hollanders with the loss of the brave Henry Ernest de Nassau, governor of Friseland; a loss more regretted by the states general than the two hundred men who perished in this unfortunate action. This repulse convinced Henry that he had committed a fault in amusing himself with an attack on a little out-fort, when he ought to have employed all his attention in blocking up Hulst. By these means he afforded the cardinal leisure to draw his troops from Artois; but it was too late to remedy the error; the enemy had assembled a superior army, and there remained no alternative, but to run the hazard of being defeated, or immediately to break up the siege and retire. The latter was his choice, and his retreat put an end to the operations of the campaign^{*}.

*Affairs of
the West
India com-
pany in
Brasil, and
on the coast
of Africa.*

Fortune, which seemed, upon the whole, to favour the Spaniards in the Netherlands, was less propitious to them in America. Philip had sent the count de la Torre, with a strong armament, the preceding year, to Brasil. On his arrival on the coast of Africa, the troops were seized with a pestilential disease, which swept off three thousand men before the fleet reached St. Salvador. The number that remained did not exceed two thousand soldiers, all of whom were too sickly to enter upon action. It was not doubted, but the count de la Torre would dispossess the Hollanders of every foot of land they had in Brasil, as his fleet amounted to forty-six sail of large ships, twenty-seven of which were galleons double manned, and well provided with every necessary. Had this armament arrived safe, Maurice must necessarily have quitted the country; but the wretched situation of the land forces and sailors, and the long stay made in All Saints bay for the recovery of the men, enabled the Dutch to make suitable preparations. In a short time their fleet amounted to forty-one sail of armed ships of different dimensions and strength, while la Torre used such diligence, that he collected ninety-four ships, transports, and men of war, having twelve thousand men on board, including the Brasil forces. His intention was, to fall upon the Dutch settlements; which scheme count Maurice, and his admiral, William Looft, used all their

^{*} La Vie de Prince Henry, p. 222.

diligence to prevent. Looff came up with the enemy between the island Tamaraca and the river Gójana, and engaged them from noon till night, when he was unfortunately killed by a cannon bullet. His death animated his seamen with a desire of revenge; vice-admiral Huygens took the command, and renewed the battle next morning, with the utmost intrepidity. He knew so well how to make his advantage of the size and swiftness of his frigates, that he terribly galled the large unwieldy galleons, and raked them fore-and-aft, without receiving considerable damage, as they could only bring their chace-guns to bear. Before night several Spanish men of war floated like useless wrecks upon the water; but it was dangerous to attempt boarding them, on account of their being filled with soldiers. Huygens, however, kept close all night, and by day-break again began the engagement with more success, notwithstanding several of the enemies ships that had been the most damaged, were towed away to the Rio Grande. For this whole day a running fight was maintained, the Spanish admiral making all the sail he could to the northward; but next day Huygens came to close quarters, and so admirably served his cannon, that a complete victory was obtained, with the loss, on his side, of scarce a hundred seamen and soldiers, while the enemy, by their own confession, had four thousand killed and wounded. Ten of their largest ships were driven upon the sands, where they perished with their whole crews. The rest of the fleet was prevented from putting into harbour to refresh, in consequence of which a pestilential disease appeared on board, and destroyed more than half the soldiers. Some of their straggling vessels were every day falling into the hands of the Hollanders, and before the end of the year only four galleons and three merchantmen remained of all this formidable armament, which had once terrified count Maurice into the notion of evacuating the Brasils. Yet no important consequences ensued. Maurice contented himself with driving the Spaniards at a distance from the Dutch settlements, and desolating the country round the bay of All Saints. Admiral Jol cruised off the island of Cuba for the plate-fleet; but he had the misfortune of being terribly shattered in a storm, and reduced to the necessity of throwing himself upon the clemency of the Spaniards.

The signal revolution that now happened in Portugal, produced great alterations in the affairs of Brasil. The Portuguese having thrown off the Castilian yoke, count Maurice doubted not but all the natives of that country in South America would follow the example, separate
themselves

themselves from the Spaniards, and conclude a truce with the Hollanders. Mean while he determined to seize the happy occasion which the quarrel between Spain and Portugal afforded. With this view he repaired the squadron under admiral Jol, with the utmost expedition, and resolved to push the Dutch conquests not only in South America, but on the coasts of Africa. While he was employed with the land-forces in reducing Seregippa del Rey, and the province of Ceriji, Jol was sent to the coast of Angola, to secure the Negro trade to the Dutch company. His force consisted of twenty-one ships, nine hundred mariners, and two thousand two hundred soldiers, commanded by colonel Henderson, who likewise acted as vice-admiral. The colonel, with the land-forces, was landed on the island of Loanda, on the coast of the kingdom of Congo, and immediately he invested the capital, called Santo Paolo. The Negroes flew to the assistance of the city, gave battle at the foot of the mountains to the Hollanders, and were defeated. Nor was Meneses, the Portuguese governor, more successful. With a considerable body of Europeans he engaged Henderson, made an obstinate resistance, and disputed the victory until the greater part of his troops was cut in pieces. The city was abandoned to the conquerors; all had deserted it besides the aged and infirm; the booty was considerable, consisting of twenty-nine pieces of brass cannon, sixty-nine of cast iron, great quantity of warlike stores, and thirty ships lying in the harbour, many of them ready to sail with Negroes to the settlements in America and the West Indies.

Admiral Jol no sooner found himself in possession of the capital, than he resolved to make it a place of strength, for which purpose he built one large citadel, and two castles upon a more confined plan, but all with regular fortifications. This conduct astonished the Portuguese governor, who hitherto imagined that the Dutch only wanted booty, and would directly quit the island as soon as that purpose was answered. Perceiving the admiral proposed gaining possession of the whole island, he alleged, that this intention was a violation of the treaty subsisting between Portugal and the republic; Jol denied his knowledge of any treaty, a second time defeated the governor, drove the Portuguese out of Loanda, and reduced the whole under the dominion of the states, which they kept until it was surrendered to Portugal, seven years after. A.D. 1647.

From Loanda admiral Jol directed his course to the island of St. Thomas, lying immediately under the equinoctial, which divides the capital. This island was before reduced

by the Dutch in 1610, but retaken soon after by the Portuguese. Jol landed his troops near Pavosan, ordered them to march strait up to the walls of the citadel, but to commit no hostilities unless they were attacked. The Negroes and Portuguese fell upon them tumultuously, and were defeated, but not before they had blown up a Dutch ship with her whole crew and cargo. To reinforce the army, the town and citadel had been left defenceless; they consequently fell an easy prey. Jol had scarce settled the government of his new conquest, when he was seized with that endemial fever, which had before swept away numbers of his troops, and died much regretted by his soldiers, the directors of the company, and the states.

These expeditions on the coast of Africa were succeeded by another undertaken by count Maurice against the province of Maranhão, to the north of Brasil. The company earnestly wished to gain possession of a province so fertile in sugar, cotton, ginger, tobacco, and other valuable commodities, so rich in gold, and so conveniently situated to annoy the Spanish trade to the Antilles, the Caribbees, and all the islands in the neighbourhood of the gulph of Mexico. Maurice detached colonel Coane and admiral Lichtirdt upon this enterprize, in which they succeeded with little difficulty. Having taken the island Marignan, and the capital St. Lewis, the rest of the provinces submitted, and thus half the Brasils acknowledged the sovereignty of the states general. Three provinces however revolted soon after, and gave much trouble to the company, and vexation to count Maurice. At present a truce with Portugal was concluded. John IV, on his accession, resolved to secure himself against the attempts of Spain, by re-establishing peace with all his other neighbours, and particularly with the republic of the United Provinces; for which purpose he sent Don Mendoza Hurtado to the Hague, to propose a cessation of hostilities. It was no difficult matter for Mendoza to demonstrate that the inveterate enemy of the provinces would be greatly weakened by concluding the desired truce; it therefore was signed on the 14th day of June, and extended for ten years to all the dominions of both powers on either side the equinoctial. Accordingly hostilities were to cease in Brasil as soon as the truce was published in that country, and the Portuguese and Hollanders were to join in the total expulsion of the Spaniards. Notwithstanding the truce extended to the East Indies, the Dutch never lost

fight of their own interest, and seized this opportunity of chasing the Portuguese out of Japan.

The principal transactions relative to the republic in Europe, were the marriage of William, the young prince of Orange, with the princess Mary Stuart, daughter of the king of England; a match brought about by Mary de Medicis. The siege of Gennep was the next considerable occurrence. No sooner were his son's nuptials celebrated, than prince Henry led his troops to the territory of Cleves, laid siege to Gennep, pushed his works with great vigour, and exerted himself so effectually that his trenches were finished, and a communication opened between all the different quarters of the camp, by means of bridges over the Meuse and Niers, in the space of a few days. The cardinal relying upon the strength of the place, the numbers of the garrison, and the courage of the governor, Preston, an Irishman, attempted to surprise Ardenberg in Flanders; but failing in his design, he turned his whole attention to the relief of Gennep. Withdrawing the garrisons from all the towns in Flanders and Brabant, he detached almost his whole army under the count de Fontaine, and the marquis de Leda, together with a body of three thousand imperialists, to harraßs the camp of the besiegers, throw succours into the town, and, if occasion offered, to give battle to prince Henry. After all, this numerous army gave less disturbance to the Dutch than the garrison, which behaved with great gallantry. Preston made the most spirited sallies, nailing up the cannon, filling up the trenches, and destroying the works of the besiegers. This service he repeated daily, notwithstanding his troops were greatly diminished and fatigued; but perceiving that the Spanish army undertook nothing, that the place was laid in ashes by bombs, that the course of the Niers was turned, that the town-ditch was dried up, that several mines were ready, and that a practicable breach was effected, he surrendered, on being allowed the honours of war.

Mean time Cantelmo, elated with his victory at Calloo, continued in the territory of Waes, the theatre of his glory, and of all the trivial advantages he had gained over the Hollanders. He now attacked colonel Alnaerdt, and defeated him with considerable slaughter. Next he surprised count Tillemont, whom he entirely defeated, though with great loss on his own side. To put a stop to his insults, the prince of Orange assembled an army near Hulst; but Cantelmo joining the army under Fontaine, broke all

A.D. 1642.

Henry's measures, and with a corps of eight thousand men obliged him to decamp, at the head of twenty-six thousand chosen troops, and drop the design he had formed of laying siege to the city. With this transaction ended the campaign, about which time the cardinal Ferdinand yielded up his last breath, with the reputation of a wise, moderate, and mild governor. The administration came into the hands of Don Francisco de Mello, who, with the marquis de Velada, opposed the French, while the count de Fontaine, governor of Bruges, commanded in chief against the Hollanders. The death of cardinal Richelieu soon followed; and though it made no alteration in the treaty between France and the republic, it greatly obstructed the military operations of this year, and prevented the prince of Orange from undertaking any enterprize important enough to merit notice in a general history. A new treaty indeed was signed on the 8th of March between the two powers, whereby the states consented to maintain a squadron of thirty men of war to cruize before Calais, and to grant the king's troops a free passage over the Rhine, the Wesel, and the Meuse, into Germany; in consideration of which the king was to pay them a subsidy of one million two hundred thousand livres. Before the treaty was ratified Lewis XIII. died.

A.D. 1643.

Prince William defeats a body of Spaniards.

The chief operations of the preceding year were directed to induce Cantelmo to give battle, which he always had the address to decline. He now retired under the cannon of Antwerp, where he watched an opportunity of again insulting the Dutch territories with impunity; but prince William, who was appointed general of the cavalry, by a bold and masterly stroke, drew him into an ambuscade, attacked him with impetuosity, and, after a short engagement, defeated him, leaving nine hundred men dead upon the field, and carrying off six hundred prisoners, among whom were two general officers, with forty-five others of inferior stations. Cantelmo himself was once taken, but soon after rescued by the bravery of his own troops, and the negligence of the Hollanders. This action, the first in which prince William ever commanded in chief, spread his reputation, and convinced the world that he might one day equal the glory of his renowned ancestors.

The truce with Portugal having stopped all hostilities in Brasil, count Maurice sent admiral Brewers with a squadron to attack the Spaniards on the coast of Chili; but the most important consequence of this expedition was, that the admiral discovered a more safe and easy passage to the South Sea than either by the straits of Le Maire, or Magellan,
since

since called by his name, but scarce ever frequented. Maurice having now nothing farther to transact in Brasil that required his presence, obtained leave from the company to return to Europe. He arrived in Holland on the 9th of May, 1644, brought home a fleet richly laden, had particular honours conferred upon him by the company and the states, and was appointed to the government of Wesel, and the rank of lieutenant-general of the cavalry by the prince of Orange. The year 1633 was distinguished by the memorable but unsuccessful attempt, to find a safe passage to Europe from China and Japan by the northern coast of Tartary; and by the discovery of New Holland, and other parts of the Terra Australis, or southern continent.

Negotiations for a general peace began about this time A.D. 1644.
to be set on foot at Munster and Osnabrug. The states general were sensible that now must be decided their title to sovereignty, and the issue of all those bloody wars, which they sustained against the whole force of Spain for little less than a century past. To gain the other powers, it was necessary to link their interest inseparably to that of France; for which purpose, they concluded a new treaty with that court, the object of which was to cement the contracting parties in a still closer union. The fruits of this treaty was a resolution of the states to assist France in the siege of Graveline. A squadron under Van Tromp was detached to block up the harbour; and he performed his instructions with such diligence and conduct, as greatly facilitated the reduction of the place. The prince of Orange had likewise directions to co-operate with the French; with which view he penetrated into Flanders, and was advancing to Bruges, where he was stoppt by the count d'Issemburg, and forced to retire to Maldegheem. This retreat, though involuntary, proved fortunate; it enabled the prince to lay siege to Sas van Ghent, and carry the town, before Issemburg, with all his diligence, could come to the assistance of the garrison. Don Andrea de Petrada, the governor, made a gallant defence; but he was forced to capitulate on the 7th of September, after a siege of six weeks. This conquest was thought of so great importance to the security of the provinces, that the states sent an order for repairing and enlarging the fortifications with all possible expedition,

No sooner were the negotiations opened at Munster, than the states found themselves greatly embarrassed with respect to two points; the one regarding the honours to be demanded at the congress by their ambassadors; the other, the nature of their late treaty with France, where-
by

*Negotiations at
Munster.*

by they were tied down from entering upon any conferences either of truce or peace, with any power, particularly Spain, without the consent and participation of the French court. Don Francisco de Melo was at this very time urging them to conclude a separate peace with Spain; and it was imagined that very advantageous conditions might be obtained, should they give ear to his proposals. His most christian majesty laboured to divert them from this measure. Cardinal Mazarin gave them to understand, that their deputies should have the same honours paid to them as the ambassadors of the republic of Venice. He likewise strenuously exhorted them not to depart from their own interest, by renouncing their alliance with France, as nothing could be more uncertain than the issue of conferences which might hold for years, and at last prove fruitless. He assured them that Spain desired nothing more than to dissolve the confederacy betwixt France and Holland, and to stop the course of the prince of Orange's conquests. Their proposals had no other object, and that once gained, the states would hear no more of advantageous offers, made merely from selfish motives. The states assented to the cardinal's arguments, and in consequence the alliance was renewed, both parties engaging to continue the war against Spain on the usual footing. Accordingly the French penetrated into Flanders on one side, while the prince of Orange opened a way on the other. His design was to lay siege to Antwerp, a city of which he had long earnestly wished making a present to the states. He spoke of it to d'Estrades, the French minister, and assured the mareschals Gassein and Rantzau, that if they assisted him with three thousand cavalry to oppose the enemy's horse, he would immediately undertake this arduous enterprize. This proposition occasioned an interview, but the mareschals would not acquiesce in the prince's design: each prepared a different plan of operations, and thus the whole project vanished. The French generals, however, advanced a few squadrons and battalions to disengage the prince's army, which was cooped up between Ghent and Bruges by general Beck, and count Piccolomini. With this reinforcement Henry was enabled to cross the canal and the Lys, oblige Piccolomini to retire, and visit the duke of Orleans near Courtray, to concert the future operations of both armies. On his return general Beck opposed his passage over the Scheld, was repulsed, and defeated with great slaughter, the general himself receiving a wound in the shoulder, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Henry was in expectation that the mareschals would now

have

have assisted him in his favourite project; but the siege of Antwerp was inconsistent with the measures of their court, and they excused themselves, by pleading the expiration of their commissions.

Henry, though disappointed in his great purpose, resolved to employ the rest of the campaign to the best advantage, and in performing the engagements into which the states general had entered with the French court. With this design he passed the Lys, though opposed by the Spaniards, and detached prince William with the cavalry to invest Hulst, a strong place, deemed one of the keys of Brabant and Flanders. By the 5th of October, he began to work upon the trenches, and attacked the forts Nassau and Verrebroeck with such impetuosity, that they surrendered at the first assault. Spinola's fort, connected by four great bastions to Hulst and Verrebroeck, proving a great annoyance to his troops, this he likewise attacked, and carried after a sharp dispute that lasted five hours. Having thus reduced all the out-works which could any way retard his operations, he battered the town on every side, without being at the trouble of entrenching himself with his usual solicitude. The garrison, consisting of three thousand foot, and two troops of horse, kept up a perpetual fire, and made three spirited sallies; but the dryness of the season deprived them of the benefit they might otherwise have expected from the canals and marshes with which that place was surrounded. General Beck was, since his late defeat, in no condition to offer them succours, and Piccolomini was fully employed in opposing the French army. On the 7th of November, they saw the prince preparing for a general assault; to amuse him, a Capuchin was dispatched to the camp, with proposals of peace or a truce. He presented his credentials; by which he was fully authorised to terminate all differences between Spain and the United Provinces; but he could not deceive Henry, who was not to be persuaded, that the catholic king would intrust an affair of so much importance to the management of an ignorant priest: yet as the imposture could not be detected, the Capuchin was sent back, the resolution of storming the town resumed, and every thing got in readiness for that purpose. Upon this, the garrison desired to capitulate; all their proposals were granted, except the article respecting religion, the prince determining, that only the Protestant religion should be publicly tolerated in all his future conquests. The court of France resented this restriction, the queen regent having the good of the Catholic faith extremely at heart, D'Estrades had orders from

Hulst taken by the Dutch.

from cardinal Mazarin to remonstrate upon this head to the prince of Orange, who excused himself, by alleging that the lenity he had shewn upon former occasions had incurred the suspicion of the states, and given breath to a report, of his being inclined to favour the doctrines of the church of Rome.

Immediately after the surrender of Hulst, prince Henry attacked fort Moersweye, situated between Hulst and Ghent; defended by four strong bastions, well provided, and filled with soldiers. Nevertheless he carried it by assault, after a bloody action that continued six hours. By this conquest, the last of his life, he secured to the republic the territory of Waes, a barrier against Spanish Flanders from Lillo to Sluys, and a great number of strong forts situated in a chain, at a small distance from each other. With this transaction ended the campaign on the side of the Netherlands.

It was otherwise in Brasil, notwithstanding the Hollanders imagined themselves in perfect security by the late truce concluded with Portugal. They did not reflect that this was a measure dictated by the new king's necessities, and that the Portuguese in general bore with ill-will the temporary cession made to the Dutch of their conquests in Africa, America, and the East Indies. The Portuguese ambassador at the Hague complained, that since the crown of Portugal had been separated from Castile, and the truce concluded with the United Provinces, the Dutch governors had committed divers hostilities against the subjects of his most faithful majesty; but the Dutch deputies, far from giving him any satisfaction, vindicated the conduct of their governors, and asserted the company's legitimate claim to certain places in dispute, both on the coast of Africa, and in Brasil. Nothing could be obtained besides a provisional treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the parties should mutually restore all their conquests made since the 12th day of June, 1641, when the truce for ten years took place. The instructions, however, sent to the governors of their conquests were not express; they therefore neglected executing them, and were well satisfied with any opportunity of retaining places which produced great advantages in point of commerce. During the last year of Maurice's government, all Brasil tasted the blessings of tranquillity and repose. The truce was rigidly observed, and the Portuguese and Dutch lived in perfect amity. The same harmony continued the year after the count's departure; and

*The war
resumed in
Brasil.*

such was the confidence the Hollanders reposed in the fidelity of the Portuguese, that they suffered their fortifications to fall to ruin, admitting those who were lately their bitter enemies, into civil and military employments, and without scruple supplying them with arms and ammunition, for the sake of the excessive price they paid, without reflecting upon their designs, to use them to their destruction. Now the eyes of the company were opened by the complaints of the Portuguese ambassador. They rightly conjectured, that his remonstrances were calculated merely to palliate some scheme of violence then in agitation. In fact, it proved what they had conjectured. Antonio de Silva, viceroy of Portuguese Brasil, meditated a project for expelling the Dutch out of the country, and seized the opportunity of the count's absence, the weakness of the Dutch, and their confidence in the Portuguese, to execute his purpose. He carried on a clandestine correspondence with all the Portuguese under the Dutch government, and readily drew them over to his sentiments, particularly in the province of Fernambuco. The viceroy nominated Fernandez Vieta, a person of fortune, influence, and distinction, chief of the enterprize; and Vieta embraced the offer with the more readiness, because, if the project succeeded, he knew he should be clear of a debt of two hundred thousand crowns, which he owed to the Dutch merchants. A body of fifteen hundred soldiers were secretly sent on board a galleon and ten transports, to surprise Recife, a place of great importance, negligently guarded by the Hollanders. Other detachments were made to seize upon Serimhaam, Nazareth, and all the strong holds in the hands of the Dutch; while Vieta and other Portuguese emissaries were privately levying troops in the country, and cajoling the Dutch governors with all the appearances of the most sincere friendship. They had been invited on the day appointed for the insurrection to celebrate the nuptials of a Portuguese lady; and while they were sitting at table, letters arrived from the directors in Europe, which gave them the first intimation of the conspiracy. All their address was scarce sufficient to extricate them out of this perplexed situation: with admirable presence of mind they framed an excuse for retiring a few minutes, so plausible that it even deceived the Portuguese. The governors immediately gave the alarm, and the conspirators finding they were discovered, fled with their arms to the woods. Both now had recourse to open hostilities, and the war was resumed with redoubled animosity. The Dutch were incensed at the treachery of the enemy; and the Portuguese resent-

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ed their disappointment with as much rancour as if they had sustained a real injury. In the first engagement the Hollanders were worsted; but they balanced this check by a victory at sea, in which the enemy lost two of their best ships, and seven hundred mariners and soldiers. Upon the whole the Hollanders lost ground. Cape St. Augustin, Reciff, and Olinda, fell into the hands of the enemy, either by treachery, cowardice, or open force. Nothing but pillaging, stratagem, and massacres, passed between the two nations. The news came to the Hague, and the people rose tumultuously to demolish the Portuguese ambassador's house. Incensed at the insidious conduct of the court and people, they would have tore him limb from limb, if the prince of Orange had not interposed. The ambassador protested, that the court of Portugal had no share in the insurrection, and that they would severely punish the conspirators; but the states, well informed to the contrary, carried their complaints to the court of France, and represented to the most christian king the perfidy of his Portuguese majesty *.

By these means was laid the foundation of a new truce between France and Holland. Cardinal Mazarin reproached the Dutch with treating privately at Munster with the Spaniards, and said, that their loss in Brasil was the just punishment of their treachery and disregard of solemn treaties. At the same time, he promised them all possible assistance to revenge the insults received from the Portuguese, and encouraged them to use their utmost diligence in defence of their settlements in Brasil. A fleet of fifty-two sail was equipped under admiral Baucher, appointed commander in chief of the naval armament in Brasil, the West Indies, and the coast of Africa, having Sigismund Schuppen to assist him, and direct entirely the land operations. Thus a new war was commenced with great vigour on the farther side the line, which, after having raged without remission for the space of ten years, ended with the expulsion of the Hollanders out of Brasil, and the almost total overthrow of the West India company.

During the whole winter the congress sat at Munster, without making any considerable progress in the scheme of a general pacification. The French king, persuaded that the Spaniards raised numbers of difficulties in order to divide the allies, resolved, by the advice of the queen-regent, his mother, to prosecute the war for another campaign; for which purpose he continued the usual subsidy to the

* Neuville, p. xix. cap. 13, 14.

states general, on condition they should maintain an army of twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, to lay siege to some important fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, and a squadron to block up the Spanish ports in Flanders. When the treaty was signed, the cardinal dispatched a messenger to the prince of Orange, to induce him to undertake the siege of Ghent, the reduction of which would facilitate the designs on Antwerp. It was proposed to march two French armies under the dukes of Orleans and Enguien, one to assist the prince, the other to invest divers other places; but Henry was so afflicted with the gout, and a complication of other diseases, that it was not possible for him to give a direct answer to the cardinal's propositions.

In the mean time the marquis de Castel Rodrigo, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, until the arrival of the archduke Leopold, having notice of the new treaty between the court of France and the republic, and the designs formed upon Ghent, powerfully reinforced that city, and wrote to the states general, demanding a suspension of arms, during the conferences at Munster. These letters answered one essential purpose; they augmented the dissensions among the provinces, some of which were for detaching the republic from France; but the states wrote back, that notwithstanding they were perfectly sincere in the negotiations at Munster, they could not grant the suspension required, consistently with their engagements to their allies; however, under pretence of the prince of Orange's illness, not above half the army took the field. A plan was laid for the reduction of Antwerp; but that was likewise frustrated by Henry's disease, which daily gained ground, and began now to alarm the provinces. It is indeed supposed that he grew jealous of the power of France, and advised the states to hasten the negotiations at Munster. Besides, he retained some of the old prejudices harboured against Richelieu, convinced, moreover, that the new minister pursued the same system, and bent his whole policy to procure a secure footing in the Netherlands. Certain it is, that the Spanish faction daily augmented in Holland, that the alliance with France was in the decline, and that Tromp's blocking up Dunkirk, while the French army besieged the town by land, was the last instance of friendship that passed between the French king and the republic. Venlo indeed was invested by prince William; but the siege was soon raised, by order of the states, under pretence that the season was too far advanced.

During the whole winter, the prince of Orange lingered under a variety of chronical disorders. The gout, the stone, and

A.D. 1646.

A.D. 1647.

*Death of
the prince
of Orange.*

and dropsy, had reduced him to a skeleton, and the excruciating torture in which he had passed several months, not only made his temper harsh and peevish; but even affected his intellects. At length he yielded up his last breath, on the 14th of March, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and was regretted as a martyr to his country, having brought on his illness by that assiduity, diligence, and anxiety, with which he pursued the interests of the republic. No prince of Orange was ever more universally or deservedly beloved. Affable, generous, noble, and above all suspicion of deceit, he was justly esteemed the best politician and greatest warrior in the United Provinces. He loved virtue, cherished science, rewarded merit, maintained the utmost harmony among the provinces, set his soldiers an example of patience, vigilance, activity, and courage, and fulfilled every duty of a general, patriot, friend, and father of a family. We speak not of the two last years of his life, in which sickness and disappointment would seem to have entirely soured his disposition, and changed his character.

*William II.
prince of
Orange.*

The same day on which his father died, prince William attended the states general to take the oaths, on being appointed to all the employments held by prince Henry. Some of the provinces deferred acknowledging him stadtholder for a few days, in order to watch the bias of his policy, as he was supposed inclinable to continue the war, and the alliance with France. It was proposed in the states of Holland and West Friseland, to exact an obligation from him, that he would endeavour with all his ability to forward the negotiations at Munster, and detach the republic from the French interest; but some of the more prudent members apprehended that such rough measures would incense a young prince, full of fire, beloved by the nobility, the army, and the people: they therefore advised the states to content themselves with sending a respectful message, requesting that he would not traverse the conferences at Munster, nor any way obstruct the negotiations carrying on with Spain. William no sooner declared himself on this subject to their satisfaction than they acknowledged him stadtholder, and he was immediately proclaimed by the acclamations of the people, stadtholder of six provinces, captain-general by land, and admiral-general by sea, of all the forces and fleets of the republic, with the same powers that were vested in his father and uncle.

All this time the United Provinces were labouring to effect a separate peace with the Spaniards, which was constantly

stantly obstructed by the vigilance and address of the French plenipotentiaries. Besides the deputies of the states general, and of the particular provincial states, the body of nobility was represented by eight deputies. It was now that the sovereignty of the states general, and the rights of the separate departments of the republic, were established. No other terms would be accepted than an absolute independence on the house of Austria, and an universal acknowledgement of all the powers concerned in the negotiation, that the United Provinces should henceforward be regarded as a free and sovereign republic. The concessions made in 1609 were but provisional; they were indeed acknowledged by France, and other powers, whose interest it was to keep well with the provinces; but Spain retracted them on the renewal of the war, and other states might follow the example, as soon as any difference should arise with the republic. The French minister at the Hague remonstrated to the states, on the ambiguous conduct of their deputies, and exhorted them not to give Spain an opportunity of accomplishing her views by fomenting divisions among the allies. This remonstrance obliged the Dutch plenipotentiaries to declare, that they had no intention to give weight or force to any articles upon which they might agree with the Spaniards, unless they were sanctioned by the concurrence of their allies. The most Christian king, however, still doubted their intentions. In order to keep the states steady, he dispatched Mons. Seryien to the Hague, where he was coldly received, and indeed affronted by the superior attention shewn to the Spanish minister, who was sent to balance his influence. Servien, nevertheless, supported the dignity of his character with great address; but he could not alter the disposition of the states, or prevent the conferences carried on by the deputies, Knuyt and Pauw, with the Spanish ambassadors at Munster. At A.D. 1648.

Peace of Munster.

were concluded between Spain and the United Provinces: That his catholic majesty should renounce all right and sovereignty, over the lords the states general of the United Provinces, who were henceforward declared a free independent republic; that both sides should remain in the unmolested possession of what they severally held at the signing of the treaty; that the same regulation should take place in Asia, Africa and America, as in Europe, with respect to the conquests made since the expiration of the

Mod. Vol. XXVIII. M armistice.

armistice. In the sixth article it was stipulated, that the Spaniards should not attempt the extension of their commerce to the East Indies; and that the Dutch should form no enterprizes against the possessions and settlements of the subjects of that crown in Asia. This obligation, indeed, was reciprocal, and sufficient time was allowed for transmitting the treaty to those distant colonies. Thus the sovereignty of the republic was at last acknowledged, and for ever established, by that power which alone disputed it, at the expence of her blood and treasure, with an obstinacy hardly to be paralleled in history.

The French king resents the separate peace.

France, however, accused the republic of ingratitude, for defeating the interests of a nation, the chief instrument of her present felicity, opulence, and independence. The Dutch were upbraided with a gross violation of their engagements, to accept of no separate terms until the demands of their allies should be fully satisfied; but they justified themselves by demonstrating the necessity of a peace; the private views of cardinal Mazarin in protracting the war, and the frivolous difficulties raised about Lorrain. The ambassadors of the states waited upon the French plenipotentiaries, and assured them, that had they one day longer deferred signing the treaty, Spain was resolved to break off the negociation; but this declaration would not appease their clamours: they insisted, that the republic ought, at least, to have waited the return of the courier dispatched to Madrid by the count de Pignaranda. To remove this load of calumny, the states used all their influence to reconcile the two crowns; but they were told by Mons. Servien that affairs had taken a new turn, and his majesty now thought himself at liberty to act without consulting the republic, whose conduct had absolved him from his engagements. He said, the mediation of the provinces would be suspected, and the only reparation of their error now possible, was to refuse ratifying the treaty, until the court of France had time to demonstrate that all the obstructions to a general pacification arose from the delays and intrigues of the Spanish ministry. Spain offered to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the states; but this expedient the French plenipotentiaries declined, a circumstance which served the more to confirm the republic in the rectitude of her own measures, and the ambitious designs of the most christian king. Returning to the Hague, the deputies reported their proceedings, and received the thanks of the states-general for the perseverance, vigilance, and ability,

with which they had conducted the whole negotiation. Soon after their arrival two letters from the French king were presented to the assembly, wherein he reproached the states with perfidy, and the infraction of the most solemn engagements to the greatest benefactor of the republic. These remonstrances produced, however, no effect. The states imagined that Spain was now sufficiently weakened, and it was their business to prevent the French from growing too powerful, and extending their dominions on the side of the Netherlands. In vain, therefore, did Lewis's ambassadors solicit the provinces to delay ratifying the treaty; in vain did they endeavour to excite divisions, and soment discord among the members of the assembly; the same policy which had hitherto induced the Dutch to continue the war, amidst their civil dissensions, and under the pressure of poverty, fatigue, and famine, now impelled them to ratify the treaty lately signed. Accordingly the 15th of May was appointed for the exchange of ratifications, which was performed with the usual solemnities, to the great satisfaction of all the parties, except the king of France. On the same day of the ensuing month the peace was proclaimed. In this manner ended that tedious negotiation of Munster, by which tranquillity was again restored to the United Provinces, and that sovereignty established for which they had struggled for near a century*.

*Letters
from the
king of
France*

Scarce was the peace of the republic restored when she was almost involved in fresh difficulties with the elector of Brandenburg, who demanded restitution of certain places in the duchy of Cleves, now sequestered in the hands of the states general. He sent ambassadors to the Hague, under pretence of contracting a new alliance with the provinces; but in fact to make a demand, which was by no means agreeable to the Hollanders. The elector procured the emperor's mediation, but it was little regarded. The states peremptorily refused complying with the demand, because the claim of the duke of Newburg was not yet adjusted, and they were responsible for the places entrusted to their care. This was only a plausible pretext, as Spain had now wholly relinquished the interest of that prince, who was too weak of himself to support his pretensions. Philip now saw himself under the necessity of supporting alone a war against the whole monarchy of France. Deprived of the assistance of the emperor on the one hand, he however found his enemies proportionably diminished on

* Le Clerc, tom. ii. sub ann.

the other, by the peace concluded with the republic. His ambassadors loitered away their time at Munster, without renewing their efforts to finish a ruinous and disgraceful war. But Philip was now sketching the outlines of a more extensive project. He flattered himself that the United Provinces, having incurred the displeasure of the French king, would at least furnish him with money, and suffer him to levy troops in the Netherlands, by which means he might be able to reduce France to reasonable terms of accommodation. He even went so far as to propose an alliance; and, when this was rejected, his minister at the congress, the count de Pignaranda, propagated such reports as rendered it necessary for the Dutch deputies to give Servien, the French plenipotentiary, the strongest assurances of their pacific intentions, and friendly disposition with respect to his master. Pignaranda repented his disappointment, and now complained of the commerce carried on with France by the provinces; declaring that the court of Madrid was determined to have satisfaction. With this view the Spaniards stopped the Dutch shipping in the port of Ostend^a. The states general immediately took this delicate affair into consideration; but were greatly perplexed in what manner to determine. If they refused to satisfy the demands of the Spanish court, they apprehended their ships would be condemned as lawful prize; and, in forbidding a reciprocal trade with France, the commerce of the republic would be greatly injured.

*Intrigues of
the court of
Spain.*

While the states were temporising, in hopes that a peace between France and Spain would remove all difficulties, cardinal Mazarin played every engine of the cabinet to induce the prince of Orange to engage in his interest, and exert his influence again to involve the provinces with the court of Madrid. It is well known that the Orange party always opposed the late peace; but whether the prince listened to the propositions now made is uncertain. The cardinal attacked the young hero on his weak side; he applied to his passions and his ambition; but the republic were circumstanced, that the negotiation proved fruitless. Mean while, after the defeat of the India company's forces in Brasil, the cardinal acted as mediator between the Portuguese and the republic, in hopes that if a peace was concluded between them, Portugal would then prosecute the war against Spain with redoubled vigour. It was soon, however, perceived, that the Portuguese ambassador want-

^a Mem. Siri, tom. xiii.

ed only to amuse the states, while he pretended to accept of their propositions; but the want of unanimity among the cities and provinces prevented their coming to any fixed resolution. Some were for avenging the late disgrace in Brazil; while others, less sanguine in their expectations, thought it better to put up with a small part than run the hazard of losing all footing in this rich and fertile country.

S E C T. X.

Containing all the material Transactions in which the Republic was concerned, until the second Rupture with England, in 1665.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in Holland, while unhappy England was torn with civil wars. The republic had hitherto maintained a strict neutrality with respect to the factions in England, notwithstanding the close alliance between the unfortunate Charles and the house of Orange. It is true, indeed, that queen Henrietta passed over to Holland, but she could obtain no succours except the money raised upon the crown jewels. The prince of Orange had taken some measures in behalf of the royal party; but they were of little consequence, and detached from the politics of the republic. Now, however, we see the situation of the states more delicate, and the provinces reduced to the necessity of denying refuge to the shattered remains of the royalists, or of coming to a rupture with the parliament of England. James, duke of York, having escaped from his confinement, took refuge at the Hague, where his presence considerably embarrassed the states general. Their perplexity was increased by the arrival of the prince of Wales, who solicited the interposition of the republic for the king's life, and represented in such lively colours the danger of his majesty's being brought to an infamous death, that the states resolved to send ambassadors to treat with the parliamentary chiefs. Monsr. Pauw and Joachimi, the latter of whom had long resided in a public character at London, were appointed to this delicate trust^a. These two were able servants of the republic, and had the courage, the one at the age of eighty-eight, and the other of seventy-eight years, to embark in the depth of winter, when the cold was intolerable, for England, where they arrived in the month of February. They were receiv-

A.D. 1649.

The republic balances with great address during the wars in England.

^a Basnage, p. 142.

ed with respect; they pleaded the royal cause in terms the most pathetic; but all their endeavours to stem the torrent of fanaticism, cunning, and cruel ambition, proved fruitless. Charles lost his head upon the block, to the eternal disgrace of the British nation.

The prince of Orange communicated the fatal event, by one of his chaplains, to the prince of Wales; while the clergy thought it their duty to wait in a body on that young prince, with compliments of condolence. This step was condemned by the states, as equally impolitic and unconstitutional; their speech to the prince of Wales was forbid to be printed, but it soon became public, notwithstanding it was apprehended that the English parliament would take offence at certain flattering expressions, and that warmth of regard shewn to the royal family. But though the states general industriously avoided the publication of every thing which might disgust the infant commonwealth of England, the states of Holland could not dispense with the civility of sending a deputation of condolence to the prince of Wales; even the states general themselves waited upon the young prince, in deep mourning, and complimented him with the appellation of king, though they declined congratulating him on his accession to the throne of his ancestors.

It was next deliberated whether the republic should recall her ambassadors from London, and give audience to the envoy sent by the parliament of England. Mr. Strickland had long served the parliament with fidelity and capacity, in quality of minister at the Hague. He now demanded audience of the states general, as public ambassador from the English commonwealth; in which view he was opposed by Sir William Boswel, who had for several years resided in Holland, as envoy from Charles I. This gentleman's remonstrances were so powerfully seconded by the prince of Orange, and a party he had formed in favour of the king, that Strickland's credentials were, after violent contests, rejected.^b

*Dorilaus,
envoy from
the parliament,
is
murdered.*

While this business was in agitation, an accident occurred, which had almost destroyed all the prudent schemes of neutrality formed by the republic. Dorilaus, a civilian, and native of Holland, employed in conducting the charge against the late king, was now sent by the parliament to assist Strickland. The part he acted in the late horrible tragedy had rendered him odious to all the royalists, who flocked in crowds to the little court kept up by Charles II.

^b Guthrie, book iii. Le Clerc, tom. ii. sub. ann.

in the neighbourhood of the Hague. As he was sitting quietly at supper, certain persons, masked, violently forced open his lodgings, and, after having assassinated him, retired without being questioned, or at all suspected of the murder. The whole province was in motion at so flagrant a breach of the laws of nations; a reward was offered for discovering the assassins; but, however, the states acted so carelessly, that the parliament, harbouring suspicions of their fidelity, made complaints to Mons. Joachimi; and, in truth, Strickland turned the whole with so much address to the advantage of his masters, that the leading men in Holland grew impatient for the king's quitting the province, and even the dominions of the republic. Yet still the states general persisted in refusing Strickland's credentials, under various pretences; upon which he threatened to retire. The states of Holland apprehending a rupture with England, which could not fail of proving extremely prejudicial to the commerce of the province, sent remonstrances to the states general, charging them with all the consequences of Strickland's departure. Upon this they were forced to apologize to the envoy, and to gain time by referring the matter to the provincial states.

It was the true policy of the republic to keep clear of the civil divisions, which at that time afflicted both France and Great Britain; but it was difficult to wave the solicitations of the English monarch, supported by the interest of the prince of Orange on one side, and of the intriguing Mazarin on the other. This busy minister insinuated to the prince of Orange, that the royal family in England being entirely ruined, its influence and power must necessarily decline, unless he was strongly linked in alliance with the crown of France. His design was to involve the provinces in a fresh war with Spain; but the prince escaped his snare, and penetrated his views. He informed Mons. Brasset, the French envoy, of the impossibility of carrying the project into execution, because it must pass through the provincial states, and the refusal of one city was sufficient to frustrate the whole design. Foiled in this attempt, the cardinal sent instructions to Mons. Brasset, to exert his utmost endeavours to prevent the states from entering into any engagements with the parliament of England, and to conduct himself with such caution that it should not be imagined France at all interposed in the affairs of the republic, while the cardinal was negotiating with Fairfax and Cromwell.

While Brasset was deeply engaged in this negotiation, Mons. le Brun arrived at the Hague, in quality of envoy from the catholic king. The provinces of Zealand and

The intrigues of cardinal Mazarin.

Utrecht, who had not yet ratified the treaty of Ghent, opposed his reception, notwithstanding which his public entry was allowed; Nothing indeed could be more glorious to the republic than this open declaration of her sovereignty, by an express embassy from the king of Spain; and the ambassador took particular care to sow his discourse thick with the flattering terms of Mighty State, Flourishing Republic, and Sovereign People, which produced a good effect on the minds of the states general. Yet this only regarded externals, and the civilities he met with: for as to the real intention of his embassy, he made no progress; the republic resolving, as long as possible, to observe the strictest neutrality. The affair of Frankendal was the most difficult part of his commission. The states general supported the elector, who was violently persecuted by the emperor, and the Spaniards were at a loss how to determine. At last they consented to the restitution upon those conditions, that the catholic religion should be established in the Palatinate; that a free passage should be granted to the Spaniards; that they should be allowed a place of arms; and that the republic should guarantee these conditions. This, together with some depredations committed by the Lorrainers in the neighbourhood of Boisdeduc, certain disputes concerning Rhimburg, and an old quarrel with the bishop of Liege, were the subjects of Le Brun's negotiation.

*Treaties
with Den-
mark.*

It was about this time that the grand-prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem arrived in Holland, to demand all the commanderies of Malta that were situated in the provinces. First, a variety of difficulties arose about the honours to be paid to the grand-prior; but this affair being adjusted, the states entered into a negotiation with him, which produced nothing but useless altercation. It was otherwise with Monsr. Ufeldt, the Danish ambassador, who at this time concluded a treaty of alliance and redemption between the crown of Denmark and the republic of the Seven United Provinces. By the treaty of alliance they were reciprocally bound to assist the party attacked with four thousand men, and to use their utmost influence with the aggressor to lay down his arms, and submit to arbitration. The treaty of redemption regulated the duties on all Dutch merchantmen passing through the Sound to the Baltic, about which there had been great disputes. Instead of rating each ship according to her tonnage, it was agreed to pay a certain sum yearly for the free passage of the Sound; however, this expedient was displeasing to some of the provinces, and highly resented by the Hans Towns, as injurious to their commerce, especially as a Dutch squadron,

don, not exceeding four men of war, was allowed to pass unquestioned into the Baltic. Sweden likewise complained loudly of an alliance which would necessarily break off the good harmony between that kingdom and the republic; and queen Christina plied the states with remonstrances, which passed unregarded.

The states having established the foreign concerns of the republic upon the most solid footing that the circumstances of affairs would admit, applied their attention to the finances, which were brought into great disorder by the long continuance of the war, and the confusion that reigned for a series of years in the provinces. The interest of public debts was reduced, because the province of Holland had offered to furnish money for the payment of all who desired to be reimbursed. However the public credit was so well established, that not a single creditor sought to withdraw his stock; by which means the interest of debts became too large for the stated revenue. To remove this difficulty certain taxes were imposed on the barony of Breda, and the district of Boileduc, because those lands had been exempted from taxes during the war. The inhabitants, who had paid heavy contributions to the Spaniards, complained of the hardship of being rated on a footing with countries that had paid nothing. Projects were delivered to the states to obviate the objection, but none of the remedies applied penetrated to the bottom of the disease: one of the expedients proposed by the states of Holland was, the reduction of the troops, which the prince of Orange, supported by the council of state, warmly opposed, while all the princes and states were armed on the frontiers of the republic. The disputes rose high, and yet the whole difference of opinion was trivial; the prince insisting, that a standing force of twenty-six thousand three hundred foot and three thousand horse should be maintained; while the province of Holland asserted that twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand seven hundred horse were sufficient for the protection of the republic. It is probable their animosity was more deeply rooted, and this occasion only seized as a cover to their real designs. Holland had taken certain measures respecting the payment of the troops, without consulting the prince and council of state; and this conduct was not only resented by the prince and council, but by all the officers of the army, and the states general themselves, who regarded it as an infraction of the union. At this time a deputy from the province of Holland presid-

A.D. 1650.

Origin of the civil dissensions in Holland.

*Disputes
between
the prince
of Orange
and the
province of
Holland.*

ed in the states general; and he laboured to prevent the assembly from taking any resolution contrary to his instructions from the states of his province; but finding he could not stem the torrent, he resigned the chair, and was succeeded by a deputy of Guelderland, who proceeded to revoke the order of the states of Holland, in consequence of a great majority of voices. Determining to support this decision, their high mightinesses sent express orders to all the officers of the army, not to obey any directions they might receive from the states of Holland, unless they were confirmed by the authority of the states general; the governors of the frontier towns had similar orders; and the deputies of Holland protested against this step, as injurious to their liberties. In the end, the steadiness of the states of Holland, and the fluctuating counsels of their high mightinesses, afforded the prince of Orange the opportunity of pushing his ambitious views. Attended by the council of state, and count de Nassau, governor of Friseland, he waited upon the states general, praying their mightinesses to forbid the governors to make the reformation in their garrisons required by the states of Holland, and to send a deputation to each town of that province, to oblige the magistrates to alter their sentiments. The deputies of Holland and Guelderland opposed this request, because the deputies of Friseland, Groningen, and Overijssel were absent; but a resolution passed in favour of the prince, and the desired deputation was dispatched. They proceeded first to Dordrecht, where they were badly received, and insulted by a resolution of the magistrates to hold no conferences with the prince of Orange or his deputies. The prince in person joined the deputies, but no ear was given to his remonstrances; upon which he set out for the Briel, Goreum, Rotterdam, and the other towns, where his reception was little better than at Dordrecht. Amsterdam sent two burgomasters as far as Tergau, to request of the prince not to attempt entering that city, because they could not give him audience with his train, which was pretty numerous. As he still pursued his journey, a second deputation was sent to acquaint his highness, that if he proposed honouring the city with a visit as governor of the province, he should be received with all the respect due to his birth and the dignity of his office; but he could not be admitted as a deputy from the states general, because the design of his embassy appeared dangerous. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of the city, he could procure no relaxation in the conditions, and there.

fore proceeded to Haerlem, where the magistrates expressed the same aversion for the resolutions of the states general. In North Holland the prince met with more civility; however, the magistrates of Medemblic sent to acquaint him that the roads were so bad, and the town so small for the accommodation of his retinue, that they could not hope for the honour of a visit.

On his return the prince complained loudly to the states general of the conduct of the cities, particularly of Amsterdam, against which he inveighed bitterly, ordering his speech to be printed, to render it more public, hoping by this expedient to inflame the minds of the people, and especially of the clergy, who were devoted to his interest. The deputies of Amsterdam, who were present when this speech was delivered, expressed their astonishment that the prince should have particularly aimed his resentment at their city, when several others had acted in just the same manner. They vindicated the conduct of the magistrates, and their measures were approved by the states of Holland, who, in a public manifesto, declared that the states general had no right to send a deputation to the several cities, which looked as if they wanted to gain them without the consent of the provincial states.

The return of admiral de Wit with a sickly, shattered fleet, augmented the civil divisions. This officer, perceiving the impossibility of recovering the losses lately sustained in the Brasils, returned, without the consent of the council established in that country by the states general. Loud complaints were made by the council against the admiral and his officers, who were blamed for the miscarriage of the expedition. It was urged that he had formed not a single enterprize, that he let slip several opportunities of retrieving the affairs of the company, that he had quitted the coast against the express order of the council, and that he had carried off all the provision, and left the company's servants and effects in the entire power of their enemies. De Wit was arrested by the prince of Orange, as high-admiral; he was accused by the states of Zealand, and supported by the states of Holland, who feared that his Portuguese majesty would stop their ships in his ports, and prohibit their trading to the coast of Guinea, if the war was prosecuted in the Brasils. At the same time the states general issued orders to the admiralty of Amsterdam, to confine the six captains who accompanied de Wit; and this measure produced a violent altercation, the states of Holland insisting, that the order was a violation of their rights; it was an encroachment on their sovereignty to imprison by any other authority within the

*Admiral
de Wit
imprisoned.*

the limits of their jurisdiction. The states general quoted precedents, and, besides, urged, that reason dictated that all officers who held their commissions from them, should be subject to their authority, in whatever province they might happen to reside. In a word, the captains were confined by order of their high mightinesses, and the prison doors were forced by the magistrates of Amsterdam, and the prisoners set at liberty. William, determined upon revenge; had the six deputies of Holland arrested, at the head of whom was Jacob de Wit, an old burgomaster of Dordrecht, father of the famous pensioner de Wit. After being some time confined in separate apartments in the prince's palace, they were sent under a strong guard to the castle of Louestein. Determined to support this bold attempt on the privileges of his country, William detached a body of forces under the count de Nassau, towards Amsterdam, in hopes of reducing the magistrates to his terms, by menaces and the terror of a siege^d. His measures were concerted with so much secrecy, and pursued with such vigour, that the troops were in motion before the magistrates had any suspicion of his intentions. Had it not been for some unforeseen accidents, the city must certainly, without striking a blow, have fallen into his hands.

*Amsterdam
besieged.*

When the news first arrived at Amsterdam, that the army was on their march, of the four burgomasters regent, one was dead, two were absent, and M. Bitzker alone left to provide for the defence of the city. He was well supported, however, by M. Nydecooper, an infirm magistrate, whose diligence, gallantry, and public spirit, were now conspicuously exerted in the defence of liberty. So popular were these two magistrates, that the people flocked to them with offers of their service. Immediately the ramparts were mounted with cannon, the garrison put in arms, the ships cleared out for the defence of the harbour, and every other measure taken for making the most vigorous resistance. The council met, to deliberate whether the sluices should be opened, and the neighbouring country laid under water, in order to sweep away by one fatal stroke the whole army of the besiegers; but a more moderate opinion prevailing, it was resolved only to drown such parts of the neighbourhood as led to the weakest posts of the city. Every inhabitant was in motion, and the sailors in particular contributed with the utmost alacrity towards the safety of this great emporium of Europe. On the count's arrival he found his project was disconcerted, and his force too

^d Basnage, p. 172.

inconsiderable to attempt investing so extensive a city. He gave notice of his disappointment to the prince of Orange, who was highly chagrined, to see a plan laid with so much care, so unexpectedly foiled, and his honour and authority stained and despised: but imagining his presence would retrieve all things, he communicated his design to the states general, and instantly set out for the army, attended by great numbers of the nobility and officers of distinction. On his way he met with M. de Beeverwert, a gentleman descended from the house of Nassau, a friend to the prince, but an enemy to this attack upon the liberties of his country. Resolving, if possible, to obviate the fatal consequences which might ensue from the obstinacy of the parties, he led the prince to an eminence, and bid him from thence behold the vast body of water in the power of the magistrates of Amsterdam, with which they could overwhelm his whole army, if they resolved to push matters to extremities. This demonstration was equally concise and conclusive. William instantly felt its conviction, and entreated M. Beeverwert to go immediately to the Hague to acquaint the states general with his danger, and procure an order for recalling himself and the army; the only measure which could save his honour *.

While M. Beeverwert was employed in this affair, a negotiation commenced between the prince and the magistrates of Amsterdam. William had wrote to them, desiring they would send four deputies, to confer with him upon the subject of an accommodation. As the magistrates began already to feel the inconveniencies of a siege, they listened the more readily to the proposal. Diffension had thus early begun to shew itself in the city. A variety of libels were published, taxing the magistrates with holding a secret correspondence with the English parliament. This allegation was founded upon Pieterfon's voyage to England, to manage the affairs of the province with Cromwell, who had refused admitting an embassy from the republic. Nothing could render the magistrates more odious than such an accusation; besides, the merchants apprehended that a siege would stop the course of exchange, and hurt their credit. These were the motives which influenced the magistrates to enter upon a negotiation, and the prince artfully augmented the fears of the citizens, by threatening to convert the siege into a blockade. In these circumstances the following articles were mutually signed: that the prince should be received in the city with all the

The siege raised.

* Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 203.

honours due to his dignity, which had been paid to his ancestors in the same office (this condition was stipulated merely to save the prince's honour, for, apprehending the popular indignation, he never made his entry); that the city of Amsterdam should engage to pay the arrears due to the troops which the province had disbanded; that the magistrates should use their influence with the states of Holland, to effect a public reconciliation; and, lastly, that M. Bitzker and his brother, notwithstanding the many services they had done to the house of Orange, and the state, and notwithstanding their present strenuous efforts in defence of freedom, should be stripped of all their employments, and rendered incapable of being ever again reinstated. The council obstinately opposed this last article; but those two excellent citizens insisted upon resigning, offering themselves a voluntary sacrifice for the public tranquillity. In this manner terminated this dangerous civil war, which had brought the republic to the brink of destruction. William's designs were now obvious; and all, with one voice, accused him of betraying his country, and using those forces entrusted to his care for the protection of the republic, to the purposes of ambition and the suppression of public liberty. Happily, perhaps, for himself and his country, he was seized with the small-pox, of which he died on the 6th day of November, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, while he was projecting schemes of revenge, which might, possibly, have involved Holland in a more dangerous civil war than what the provinces had just experienced. As his virtues were universally acknowledged, and his ambition dreaded, his death occasioned equal joy and grief in the provinces. The friends of the house of Orange lamented him as the worthy successor of his heroic ancestors, cut off in the bloom and vigour of life; while the friends of liberty rejoiced at the event, as flowing from the immediate interposition of Providence in their behalf. The people, who imagined themselves oppressed by the rigid exertion of his authority, were quite indecent in their festivity and public rejoicings; bonfires blazed in almost every town in Holland, and medals were struck, insulting the memory of a prince who might have died loved and revered, had he known how to moderate those high passions which ever prove ruinous in a popular government^f.

*Death and
character
of the
prince of
Orange.*

^f Basnage, p. 177. *La Vie de Princes du Maison d'Orange*. p. 48.

William

William had set at liberty the prisoners confined in the castle of Louvestein, on condition they should not be restored to their employments; but his remains were scarcely cold when the deputies were reinstated with such distinctions as could not but be regarded as an insult to the deceased: even the court was divided into parties, and engaged in opposite interests. The princess-dowager, mother to the late stadtholder, was less sensible of the death of her son, because, under his government she lost that authority which she enjoyed in the life-time of his father. As to the young princess, his widow, already afflicted with the misfortunes of her royal father and family in England, she became inconsolable, until it pleased heaven to revive her hopes, and moderate her grief, by the birth of a young prince, eight days after the death of his father.

The prisoners released and reinstated.

As the states general had been strongly linked with the prince of Orange in the same interest, his sudden death caused a general consternation in that assembly, of which he was the soul and invigorating principle, though he had no voice in the states. Their first resolution was to notify this fatal event to all the provincial states. Holland was no sooner acquainted with it than the states met to deliberate on the necessary measures. They charged their deputies to assure the states general, that they would sacrifice their resentments to the public good, and strictly adhere to the conditions of the union of Utrecht, and the reformed religion, agreeable to the decree of the synod of Dordrecht. Next, they resolved upon sending a deputation to all the provinces, to conjure them to send to the Hague deputies from their own body, to deliberate on the present circumstances of the republic. The project was approved by the states general, and the deputation was well received in all the provinces. A third resolution of great importance to the province, likewise passed the states of Holland: it was determined to limit that influence assumed by the counts of Holland and the stadtholders, in the election of the magistrates of the cities, by which they often gained an undue influence in the provincial states, and the assembly of the states general; and to reserve to themselves the nomination to public offices, to military preferments, and all employments of profit or power. They likewise ordered that the guards about the prince should be the troops of the province, and that all the rights and prerogatives usurped by the stadtholder, should now be annexed to the sovereignty of the states of Holland. All the remonstrances of the young princess-dowager had no effect. The infant son was stripped in the cradle of all the honours enjoyed

The states of Holland reconciled to the states general.

joyed by his ancestors. Zealand followed the example of Holland, and seized the opportunity of recovering all the prerogatives of the province.

Though the princess-dowager was differently affected from her daughter-in-law at the death of her son, she laboured for the aggrandizement of her grandson from the moment of his birth, and with that view wrote circular letters to all the provinces, persuaded it would give universal satisfaction, that the illustrious family of the founders of the republic was not extinct, and that a child was born, who would support the edifice reared by the hands of his ancestors. She hoped likewise, that the states would invest the infant with all the dignities of stadtholder, as soon as they deliberated upon that subject. Nor was the princess mistaken in her reliance on the affections of the people; however they were disgusted with the ambition of the late prince, they loved the family, and regarded the infant as the only remaining blood of those heroes who had rescued the provinces from tyranny, misery, and oppression, and the peculiar gift of Heaven, to secure their religion and liberties against future encroachments. However, the states general contented themselves with a promise to the princess, that they would forward her letters to the provincial states, though they could not but think creating a new stadtholder unseasonable, as the youth of the prince required a lieutenant.

*Disputes
for his
guardian-
ship.*

William III. was doomed from his birth to encounter difficulties. The first disputes arose about his baptism, the next about his tutelage, and the third, which threatened the dissolution of the government, appeared on his entering upon the administration. Deputies from the states general, from the states of Holland and Zealand, and from the cities of Amsterdam, Leyden and Delft, offered themselves as sponsors for the infant. This honour was accepted with pleasure, and followed by magnificent presents to the young prince and his family. The princess-royal, his mother, was for calling him Charles; in compliment to the memory of her father; but the grandmother objected to that unfortunate name, and preferred the name of William, as the most popular and auspicious.

The ceremony of the prince's baptism had occasioned contentions only between the grandmother and mother; but the choice of his guardians was a matter of greater difficulty. The honour was claimed by a variety of princes, who hoped by this channel to come in for a considerable share in the government of the republic, and to exercise the functions of the stadtholder. The candidates were Don Emanuel,

Emanuel and Don Lewis, princes of Portugal, descended from a daughter of William I. Philip Lewis, prince Palatine of the Rhine, likewise descended from a daughter of the same prince of Orange; and the prince Palatine, of the family of Deux Ponts, who claimed an affinity to the young prince. He offered to reside at his own expence at the Hague, should he be appointed to the office of guardian: his proposals were favourably received by the grand council; but they could not be complied with, out of regard to the elector of Brandenburg, who had married the eldest daughter of prince Frederic Henry. Both the grandmother and mother sent in their several claims on this occasion, as the most legitimate and natural guardians; but as a misunderstanding prevailed betwixt them, the council declined deciding in favour of either. At last, a will of the late prince's being presented by his secretary, turned the scale in favour of the princess royal; though neither seal, name, nor date, appeared to the testament. In this rough draught, William's intentions were visible; his princess was nominated guardian to the infant, in case she should happen to be with child at his death; and fifteen thousand pounds sterling were assigned for her jointure. The old dowager and the elector of Brandenburg violently opposed any decision upon proofs so uncertain; the dispute ran high; it was submitted to a court of judicature, and at length compromised in the following manner: that the princess royal should be chief guardian of her son, and have the disposal of all offices about his person; that the elector of Brandenburg should be joined to assist her in the management of the young prince's person and affairs; and that the princess-dowager should inspect and superintend their conduct. The two latter appealed to the grand council, and the decree was altered; it being now determined, that the princess royal, as mother to the infant, should be guardian on the one hand, and the princess-dowager, elector of Brandenburg, and count Landsberg, on the other, as representatives of the father^s.

The ensuing year commenced with a grand assembly of the states general. Here they deliberated on the means of maintaining the union of Utrecht, and the reformed religion established by the synod of Dordrecht, on the election of a stadtholder, on subjecting the army to the orders of the council of state, on preventing the effects of corruption in the states general, on the requisition of the province of Brabant, of sending deputies to the states general, on a ge-

A. D. 1651.

*A grand
assembly of
the states*

^s Basnage, p. 212. Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 209.

neral amnesty, and several other particulars. With respect to the first point, it was resolved, that the choice of all officers and magistrates should be in the disposal of the cities; and that not only the common soldiers and the forces in general, but even the prince's guards, should take an oath of fidelity to the states general, and the states of Holland. In a word, the business of the assembly was to heal the wounds of faction, unite parties, consolidate the republic into one homogeneous mass, and secure public liberty against all future attacks, by revoking all the powers and prerogatives formerly bestowed on the stadtholders.

*Arrival of
the Portu-
guese am-
bassador.*

While the states general were occupied in establishing the tranquillity of the state, and fixing the plan of government, don Antonio de Susa Macedo arrived, in the quality of ambassador from his Portuguese majesty. On his taking his seat in the states general, he complained that the republic had violated the rights of nations, in obliging him to enter the Hague privately, and refusing him an audience for several months. He recapitulated the services done the republic by king Sebastian, and said, that notwithstanding her ingratitude, the king was now taking measures for re-establishing the ancient amity between the states, not from weakness, but from an inclination to spare the effusion of Christian blood. He concluded with giving an estimate of the forces and shipping of Portugal, and demonstrating to the republic, that this was the surest barrier against the encroachments of his catholic majesty. The deputies forthwith entered into conferences with him, and demanded restitution of all the forts, settlements, and territories of which the republic had been deprived in the course of the war, from Rio Real to Siara, including all the slaves, cattle, sugars, and other effects; indemnification for the losses sustained by the interruption in commerce, and cession of the island of St. Thomas, and the African coast from cape Lepo Gonzales to the river Coanza. Incensed at these extravagant demands, the ambassador quitted Holland precipitately, without the ceremony of taking leave, or notifying his intentions to the states.

The disputes with the Portuguese minister were followed by violent contentions in the cities about the election of magistrates. Dordrecht in particular was all in motion, and the nobility augmented the public confusion by chusing this particular time for reviving the claims to the ancient right of seats in the provincial assemblies. They produced several ancient acts, proving that the states were formerly composed of the nobility, clergy, and the deputies of the cities; and Maximilian of Burgundy pretended, that

as the most ancient of the nobility, he had a right to represent the whole body, to the exclusion of all the other members. This division among themselves weakened the weight of their influence, and the states gladly embraced this opportunity of rejecting their pretensions.

Amidst all these civil dissensions, commerce flourished more than ever, and the republic engrossed the greater part of the trade of Europe. England had not yet recovered from the calamities consequent on the entire revolution in the government; and France was wholly employed in disputes between the crown and the princes of the blood. Yet it received several interruptions from the attacks of the corsairs of Tunis, Algiers, and Salee. Even the French privateers made no scruple of attacking the Dutch merchantmen; but those piracies were soon suppressed by the public spirit of two merchants, who equipped a squadron of small ships of war, at their own expence, cleared the seas, and sufficiently reimbursed themselves by a great number of captures. But the greatest obstruction to trade arose from England. His catholic majesty had dispatched an ambassador to the parliament, offering to punish the murderers of the English resident at Madrid, to admit the English shipping into all the ports of Spain, and to exclude the fleet under prince Rupert. He likewise acknowledged the sovereign authority of the parliament; which advances were construed into oblique reflections on the dilatory conduct of the states general, who had hitherto declined punishing the murderers of Dorilaus, or acknowledging the sovereignty of the parliament. Zealand pressed with eagerness, that all manner of satisfaction should be given to the parliament, and the titles and authority of this illegal government acknowledged; but the arguments of the deputies made no impression on the other provinces. Determined upon revenge, the parliament, on various pretences, seized upon the Dutch ships trading to the ports of France, Spain, and Portugal. They insisted likewise upon searching their men of war; they forbid their trading to the Caribbees, and took other violent measures, which seemed to threatened an open rupture. To repel these injuries and protect the trade, admiral Van Tromp was stationed with a squadron off the Scilly islands, a circumstance of which raised apprehensions in the parliament, that the states had a design to seize upon them as a convenient station for incommoding the English commerce. In this situation, Cromwell, perfectly master of the art of dissembling, sent an embassy to Holland with overtures of a treaty offensive and defensive between the two republics. The duke of

State of the Dutch Commerce.

The States take measures for the security of commerce.

*Disputes
with the
English
envoy.*

York was at this time at the Hague, where St. John, the English envoy, had the presumption in a public walk to dispute the precedence with him; which being observed by the prince Palatine, his generous mind was fired at the indignity, he pulled off the envoy's hat, and bad him respect the son and the brother of his king. St. John put his hand upon his sword, refused to acknowledge either the king or duke of York; but the populace taking part with the young prince, compelled him to seek refuge in his lodgings. Complaints were made by the ambassador to the states general, who advised the duke of York to retire to one of the prince of Orange's palaces in the country, and expressed their sorrow for the accident in an apology to the English minister. Ommeren and six other deputies were now appointed to deliberate upon the instructions sent to St. John and Strickland, who first demanded, in high terms, satisfaction upon the murderers of Dorislaus, which had been so long neglected, through the dilatory forms of the Dutch government. This demand the Dutch answered, by presenting a long list of debts due, on account of the depredations of the English. The English ambassador immediately rejected the account, because it chiefly consisted of Dutch vessels taken in an illicit trade with the revolted English plantations. A continuation of the queen of Bohemia's pension was likewise demanded by the Dutch, for the payment of which the states general stood engaged; but this was also refused, the ambassadors alleging, that the pension was granted by the late king, without the consent of his parliament. A variety of other demands were made; but all of them received with so insolent an air of superiority by the English, that nothing could be expected from this negotiation, as it was not imagined the Dutch would tamely recede from so many demands^b.

*Obstruc-
tions to the
treaty pro-
posed by the
English.*

But, perhaps, the greatest obstruction to the treaty arose from cardinal Mazarin, who above all things dreaded the alliance between England and Holland, which had been projected in the life-time of the late prince of Orange. It is true the prince was too intimately connected with the royal family of England to suffer a project so detrimental to their interest to take effect; before his death, he concluded a treaty against Spain with the cardinal, on condition that the French minister should assist in the restoration of the Stuart family. Thus the intrigues of Mazarin, and the friends of the house of Orange, effectually impeded the proposed union between the two commonwealths,

^b Basnage, p. 220.

which

which was only proposed by St. John, and never taken into serious consideration. Irritated at this disappointment, at the disrespect shewn in many instances to their ambassador, at the partiality of the Dutch in their demands, at their refusal to make the required satisfaction for the unatoned barbarities committed at Amboyna, soon after the establishment of the English and Dutch East India companies, the parliament resolved to chastise the states general, and evince their superiority by the most vigorous measures. These notions were confirmed by St. John, who laboured to give Cromwell and the people a disadvantageous opinion of the Dutch, to persuade them that nothing was so desirable to Holland as an opportunity of disputing the sovereignty on the ocean assumed by the English.

What the Dutch regarded as the first step towards a rupture, was the act of navigation passed in England. This, though one of the most salutary laws ever proposed in the English parliament, was highly prejudicial to the Dutch commerce; and its taking place at this time, when the minds of the people were heated by a variety of other accidents, could not but be regarded as an harbinger to farther declarations. Abstracted from other considerations, the act was in itself alarming to the provinces, as it prohibited all nations from importing any merchandize into England, but what was the produce of the country to which the ship belonged; and the commodities from Asia, Africa, or America, to be imported in any other than English bottoms. This blow was levelled directly at Holland, as the Dutch traffick consisted wholly in transporting foreign commodities from one country to another. Ambassadors were immediately dispatched to England; and they were received with great formality by the new commonwealth, which had by this time granted letters of marque to divers merchants, who complained that their ships had been unjustly confiscated in Holland, though in fact they were only detained by way of reprisal. It was easy to discover from the tone of the Dutch ambassadors, that they were apprehensive of a rupture, and powerfully awed by the commonwealth. The English rose proportionably in their demands, insisted not only upon satisfaction for the barbarities at Amboyna, but on the sum of two millions, to repair the losses they had sustained from the Dutch in other parts of the East Indies, in Persia, Muscovy, and Greenland. They also demanded the punishment of the murderers of Dorislaus, reparation of the insults offered to their ambassador,

The two republics on the point of coming to a rupture.

dor, and an apology for the intercourse carried on with the late king, during the civil war¹.

*The Dutch
prepare
for war.*

Demands so insolently made, and exorbitant, fired the republic, and convinced the states general, that vigorous measures alone could bring to reasonable terms the new commonwealth. They could not brook the homage required by the English at sea, and their vain-glorious pretensions to the sovereignty of the ocean. The mere striking to their flag was in itself trifling; but the uncertainty, whether they might not desire to extend their right, appeared to the states a matter of importance, which ought to be checked before precedents were established. The English had already claimed the right of examining, not only their merchantmen for illicit goods, but even the Dutch men of war; they might in course of time assume the power of directing the destination of their fleets, and even prescribing whether the republic should maintain any fleets at all upon the ocean. The tribute demanded by the English for the liberty of fishing on the British coasts appeared unreasonable to the Dutch, though this perhaps was the justest demand of the parliament. For time immemorial, a fortieth herring had been granted; but now the number was augmented, and the tribute rendered exorbitant. To oppose those encroachments on the rights of nations, the states equipped with the utmost expedition a prodigious fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty ships of war, part of which they sent under the command of Martin Van Tromp into the Channel, to convoy their homeward bound merchantmen.

A.D. 1652.

*Hostilities
commenced.*

The first hostilities previous to a declaration of war, were commenced by the English. One of their ships of war falling in with a fleet of Dutch fishermen, demanded the usual tribute and homage; which being refused, the man of war sunk one of the Dutch ships, with all its crew; a fact that is variously related, just as it happens to suit the purposes of the different parties. Complaint of this action was immediately made to the English; and the states resolutely declared, unless the captain was punished, they should be forced to make reprisals. As no notice was taken of the demand, they immediately laid an embargo on all the English shipping in their ports. Tromp, before his departure, desired the minutest instructions with respect to his conduct towards the English. He acquainted the states, that, during the late king's reign, it was usual to pay homage to the English flag upon the British coasts, and in the Chan-

¹ Grot. lib. vi. p. 44. Basnage, *ibid*.

met; but that scarce an instance occurred where this compliment was required on the open sea. To avoid therefore the necessity of entering upon any disputes, or of acknowledging the superiority of the parliament, the states ordered he should not approach the English coasts, unless forced by circumstances.

After Van Tromp had cruised for some time on the coast of Scheveling, he was driven by a violent northerly wind towards Flanders, when, for the security of his fleet, he sailed for the Channel, and stationed himself between Dover and Calais; but in passing the Downs, where admiral Blake lay with a fleet of six and twenty men of war, he was saluted with a discharge of cannon, without shot, as a signal for him to pay the compliment of lowering his topmasts to the English flag. Dutch writers affirm, that he had dispatched two of his captains with compliments to Bourn, the English commodore, to assure him that he had been driven to that station by stress of weather. Be this as it may, it is certain that Tromp paid no regard to the signal made by the English admiral, who then fired a ball at him, which he returned by a whole broadside. Immediately an engagement ensued, which was maintained for the space of four hours with the utmost fury. Commodore Bourn arrived critically with eight ships to the assistance of the English; upon which Tromp retired behind the Goodwin Sands with the loss of two ships, one of which was sunk, and the other taken. No Dutch writer of authority pretends to affirm that the loss of the English was equal, though they allege, that the seasonable interposition of night probably saved the enemy from destruction. Van Tromp, in his letter to the states general, reflects severely on the insolent carriage of Blake, which reduced him to the necessity of returning his fire; and alleges, that he bore two broadsides from the English, by which several persons perished, before he gave the signal to engage. In proof of this allegation his biographer quotes a letter from the English admiral, in answer to a message sent by Tromp to demand the prisoners; and it must be confessed, that here Blake has shewn his high, untractable spirit, assuming to himself such an air of superiority as afforded suspicion that he was the aggressor. It is, however, impossible to ascertain the truth, except on presumptive evidence, the accounts on both sides being so diametrically opposite and contradictory¹.

*The battle
of the
Downs,*

¹ La Vie de Cornel. Van Tromp, p. 16.

*The states
send an am-
bassy to
England.*

In London, the news of this battle so exasperated the populace, that they insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who were forced to shelter themselves under the protection of the parliament. They endeavoured to appease the public resentment, by demonstrating that Tromp had no orders to fight; that he stood only in his own defence, and could not, without hazarding his reputation, avoid repelling the gross insult he had sustained. The states likewise sent Adrian Pauw, in quality of ambassador extraordinary, to confirm this assertion, by laying before the parliament Van Tromp's letter to the states, and likewise the insolent answer he received from Blake before the battle. He conjured them to enquire dispassionately into the particulars of the affair; assuring the commonwealth, that if it appeared their admiral had actually refused to compliment the English flag, he should be punished by the states general for his presumption. Certain it is, that now the Dutch sincerely wished an accommodation. They intreated the parliament, by the common ties of religion and liberty, to set on foot a negotiation; but possibly the boldness of Blake had shook their resolution, and convinced them, by this first trial, that England was not to be reduced to reason by violence. No regard was paid to the ambassador's remonstrances; on the contrary, the government of England affected to slight, in the most contemptuous manner, the solemn assurances of the states general, and to construe their earnestness of avoiding a rupture into dread of the English courage. Cromwell and Bond were sent to Dover to encourage Blake and the seamen, to thank them for their delicate regard to the honour of the commonwealth, and to provide the fleet with every necessary.

*The Dutch
prepare for
war.*

This conduct, and the orders issued for augmenting the navy with forty sail, could not be regarded by the states general in any other light than an open defiance, and declared resolution of coming to a rupture. They therefore recalled their ambassadors, and published a manifesto, specifying the injuries they had sustained, which was answered by another from the parliament. Little stress can be laid on those declarations, in which both sides assert hardily, and suppress every circumstance that reflects light on their real intentions. Cromwell possibly imagined it necessary to divert, by a foreign war, the attention of the people, from considering the ambitious scheme of sovereignty he had projected; and the Dutch, grown rich by commerce, elated with prosperity, proud of liberty, and insolently confident of their naval force, were rejoiced at an opportunity

nity of asserting an equality with the English commonwealth.

The Dutch ambassadors having in their return met with Van Tromp, off Zirczee, Pauw advised him to attack Ascough on his way from Barbadoes, with three Dutch prizes richly laden. This measure was embraced, but disconcerted by violent contrary winds, in which Van Tromp's fleet was shattered and dispersed. Van Galen, however, was sent with a squadron to the Mediterranean, to oppose in that sea the English commodore Bodely. Blake, ever vigorous and alert, seized the opportunity of Van Tromp's absence, to assert his country's right to the British fishery. With this view he steered to the northward, attacked the Dutch fisheries off Shetland, took their whole convoy of twelve men of war, but suffered the fishing busses to escape, on a promise never to return without leave from the English parliament; an act of generosity highly blamed by the historians of that country. Van Tromp pursued Blake to the north; but his squadron suffered a second time in a hard gale, just as he had given the signal to engage, as if the elements had conspired against the glory of this hero.

*Van Galen
defeats
Bodely.*

Van Tromp's misfortunes rather animated than discouraged the states general. They promoted de Ruyter, afterwards so famous in history, to the command of a separate squadron, consisting of fifty sail, ordering him to protect a rich fleet of homeward-bound merchantmen. Ruyter was of obscure birth, and had raised himself to distinction by dint of extraordinary merit, from the rank of a cabin boy. He now first appeared in quality of commander in chief, and his conduct soon justified the election of his countrymen. Near Plymouth he met with admiral Ascough, with whom he began a furious cannonading about four in the afternoon, alone sustained the whole fire of the admiral and vice-admiral for an hour, and at length, by an extraordinary effort of intrepidity, disengaged himself, joined the rest of his squadron, and renewed the attack with such impetuosity, as obliged the enemy to retire, after most of their ships had exhausted all their ammunition. Ascough had a squadron little inferior to de Ruyter's; he behaved with the utmost gallantry, was once surrounded with nine of his ships by the Dutch, extricated himself by a desperate push, which broke the enemy, tore their ships, and gained the weather-gage; but still he was constrained to confess his inferiority by withdrawing from the battle. Next day, being reinforced, the engagement was renewed with redoubled eagerness, both sides suffered extremely, and at last the squadrons separated, as if by mutual

*De Ruyter
fights the
English.*

mutual consent; on the third day each admiral claimed victory, with almost equal justice. Both laboured under disadvantages; Ascough wanted ammunition, and Ruyter's orders were disobeyed, either from want of skill or courage in his officers; but the greatest proof of the advantage gained by the Dutch, was, that the merchant-fleet under Ruyter's conduct arrived untouched at Amsterdam, and the English took shelter in Plymouth. To this victory, if it may be called one, succeeded another, not less bloody, but more decisive. Van Galen had attacked Bodely in the Mediterranean, and with great valour fought and defeated his squadron, though he lost his life at the close of the engagement *.

Mean time de Ruyter was under great perplexity. The last action, though upon the whole to his advantage, was however a convincing proof of the enemy's skill, courage, and obstinacy; while it afforded but too strong conviction of the want of discipline and valour among his own officers. He doubted not but Blake, with a superior fleet, would revenge the cause of Ascough; and that admiral's vigour and impetuosity were evinced sufficiently in the affair with Van Tromp. Under these apprehensions, he acquainted the states general with his situation, and the probability of his being soon attacked by the enemy's united squadrons. The states immediately resolved to send Van Tromp to take the chief command, and join de Ruyter with a strong reinforcement; but Tromp's late undesired misfortunes had rendered him unpopular. Without being able to tax his conduct, the people had murmured against the event of his two last expeditions. The ruin of the herring fishery had excited commotions in Zealand and Holland; Van Tromp was like to fall the sacrifice of ignorance, while his character was adored by all men of understanding. In despite of his services in quality of lieutenant-admiral for the space of fifteen years, it was with difficulty he could justify himself sufficiently to be retained in the command. Fear of the people, or envy of his glory, had even raised him enemies in the states general, and the colleges of the admiralty. The public discontent was augmented by the great losses sustained in trade, the English having taken and destroyed a fleet of forty sail from Spain and Portugal, and six sloops richly laden from the East Indies. Now Van Tromp was divested of his command, without which the mob was not to be appeased, and de Ruyter was removed to make way for admiral de Wit,

*Tumults in
Holland.*

* *La Vie de Ruyter, par Brandt, p. 52.*

Even this promotion did not give universal satisfaction: the sailors loved their two gallant officers; and though they had the utmost confidence in their new leader, yet did they murmur at the sacrifice made of two heroes to a faction. Those who had set foot on shore, refused returning to their ships unless half a year's wages were advanced, and their comrades on board mutinied against the orders issued to prevent their landing; all, in short, refused to obey the instructions of the admiralty, and the magistrates of Amsterdam. Vigorous measures were necessary to suppress a sedition of such dangerous consequence. A party of soldiers marched against the mutineers, who were forced on board, after having left two of the ringleaders in the hands of the magistrates, who immediately gave orders for their execution. This example struck a terror into the seamen, and produced the desired effect, the sailors returned to their duty, and an amnesty was passed to secure their gratitude, by an act of kindness and lenity; but unhappily this well-timed act became the subject of fresh disputes, because the provincial states insisted, that the magistrates of Amsterdam had usurped their prerogative, by assuming the power of pardoning. The exigency was pressing: it would not admit of time to assemble the states; yet, after some altercation they were obliged to make satisfaction, and acknowledge publicly that they had, in critical circumstances, presumed upon exerting an authority which did not belong to them¹.

In compliance with the humour of the seamen, and from a just sense of his extraordinary merit, de Ruyter was again restored, and associated with de Wit in the command. Their fleets joined off Dunkirk, and it was conceived they should sail in quest of the English admiral, the intrepid Blake, who was equally impatient to come to an engagement. By this time the English admiral was returned from the North, and his fleet being refitted with astonishing dispatch, he was steering in pursuit of the enemy. The vast booty he had taken in his late fortunate cruizes, served only to whet his ardor; and as he had acquired immense wealth without danger, he now resolved to obtain glory, without the least view to private advantage. With these generous sentiments on both sides, the fleets came in sight of each other; and de Ruyter determined to make use of a stroke of policy, which, if improved by his colleague, might have been fatal to the English. He drew up behind a sand-bank, in such a manner as secured him from the larger

¹ Basnage, p. 258.

*Another
sea fight.*

*The Dutch
worsted in
another
sea-fight.*

*Tumults in
Holland.*

English ships, and obliged Blake to attack with manifest danger and disadvantage. The utility of this measure was apparent the moment the attack begun. The enemy, divided into three squadrons, bore down with the admiral, in the Sovereign, at the head; but this ship, with three other first-rates, struck upon the Kentish Knock. Encouraged by an accident which greatly diminished the English strength, de Wit abandoned his situation, and determined to engage on the open sea, where he hoped to give a better account of the enemy than if separated from them by a mound. De Ruyter objected to his proposal; but de Wit, who had more ardor and courage than naval skill, pursued his own resolution, and soon perceived his error. A furious battle ensued, during which the commanders on both sides performed the most gallant actions; the sailors too of each nation fighting with surprising courage and perseverance. The English ships got off the bank, and de Wit found that he had made a false estimate of their strength; but relying upon the ability of de Ruyter, and the intrepidity of the seamen, he fought with the utmost obstinacy, until night separated the combatants. Though the Dutch beheld with horror the slaughter made by the Sovereign, in which Blake fought in person, and though they were equally astonished and abashed by the courage of the English, yet de Wit proposed renewing the engagement next morning, in hopes the superiority he had in point of number would in the end prevail. De Ruyter, however, better acquainted with the disposition of the English, opposed this resolution, and both, at last, agreed to make all possible sail for the coast of Holland, though they saw the enemy drawn up in line of battle. The Dutch rear-admiral was taken, but he had the satisfaction of seeing the captor sunk soon after; another Dutch man of war was shattered to pieces, and sunk by the Sovereign. Both sides so artfully dissembled their loss, that to ascertain the truth, at this distance of time, would be impossible. Upon the whole, it cannot be denied, but victory declared clearly in favour of the English, who not only offered battle next day, but pursued the Dutch with their frigates until they ran into the Goree^m.

In this, as in the preceding engagements, heavy complaints were made against the captains and inferior officers. The admirals accused their officers of cowardice and neglect of duty, while the officers recriminated, by charging de Wit with misconduct and rashness, to which they attributed the loss of their shipping. The states endeavoured to re-

^m La Vie de Ruyter, p. 58.

concile the parties, and restore peace and unanimity. They perceived that de Wit's ardor occasioned his throwing blame on those whose caution he construed into timidity; that the admiral was chiefly in fault, but that his error arose from an excess of intrepidity, and a glorious resolution of signalizing himself in the cause of his country; a spirit which, at this juncture, was rather to be cherished than repressed; it was therefore the endeavour of the government to excite an emulation, to remove all cause of contention, and preserve the utmost harmony among the officers. Their zeal proved successful; never did there appear such an universal spirit of revenge and national honour; the crews of merchantmen offered their services to the republic; and in a few weeks the losses sustained from tempests and battles were repaired by the equipment of a formidable armament, consisting of seventy-two fine ships of war. Van Tromp was restored to the command, both in justice to his reputation, and because de Wit was confined by illness; and he had orders to convoy a fleet of three hundred merchantment to the Lizard. Between Dover and Folkestone he descried the English fleet, amounting only to forty large men of war; he bore down; and Blake, with his usual intrepidity, seized the occasion of joining battle. On the 29th of November the fight began, at eleven in the forenoon, with inexpressible fury, and continued to six in the evening. The first fire from the English admiral was sustained by vice-admiral Evertzon and de Ruyter, who were a-head of the fleet, and in the most imminent danger, when Van Tromp came up to their relief. The scale was now turned against Blake, who found himself surrounded, and in great danger of falling a victim to his impetuosity, had he not fortunately been rescued by the intrepid efforts of two of his captains, who broke through the enemy, sustained their whole fire, and towed the admiral out of danger. In the end, victory declared for the Dutch admiral: Blake was wounded; his own ship shattered, two others were taken, as many burnt, and one sunk; and this with the loss only of one ship of the Dutch Squadron, which was blown up by accident. Van Tromp's conduct was gallant; but his victory was obtained by numbers, and we may venture to say that he blighted his laurels by his vanity; having, after the retreat of the enemy, proceeded in his voyage with a broom fixed to his main-top-mast, intimating that he would sweep the Channel clear of the English.

*Van Tromp
defeats the
English admiral.*

As this war was wholly naval, the operations of the contending parties were not confined to the Channel. Both nations

nations had armaments in the Mediterranean, and the Dutch supplied the loss of Van Galen by appointing admiral Cats, an officer of merit, to the command of his squadron. On his arrival at Leghorn, Cats found that captain Appleton, with eight ships, had taken shelter in this neutral port. He desired the duke of Tuscany would withdraw his protection, and suffer him to attack the enemy in the harbour, or force them to the open sea. The duke answered, that he was at peace with England and Holland; both their squadrons were welcome to his ports; but hostilities committed there would be a gross violation of the law of nations, and the highest insult to his sovereignty. Not satisfied with this declaration, Cats was preparing to attack the English, when, under cover of the night, Appleton, who was greatly inferior in strength, quitted the port, and steered, with a favourable gale, clear of the enemy. But the Dutch were obliged to combat not only the open force of England, but the pirates of the French nation, to the incredible damage of their commerce. The civil disorders of that country gave existence to a swarm of privateers, who pillaged the ships of all nations without distinction, but chiefly of Holland; because the trade of the republic was the most flourishing, and their ships the richest. M. Boreel had orders to complain to the French court, to demand redress, and to intimate that a strong squadron was equipping to make retaliation. At the same time admiral Cats had instructions to clear the Mediterranean of privateers, and protect the Dutch commerce, without respect to the flag of neutral nations. Cats executed, perhaps exceeded, his orders; for, after having taken several privateers, he drew up before Toulon, and menaced the governor with a bombardment, if he permitted Dutch captures to be carried to that harbour. The French king resented the remonstrance of Boreel, and was highly incensed at the insolent conduct of admiral Cats; but, unable to redress himself otherwise, he demanded payment from the states general of several sums due to his crown since the war between Spain and the United Provinces. This demand was contested, as the money had been advanced by treaties formed for the mutual advantage of the contracting parties; and, after some sharp altercation, dropped for the present^a.

Notwithstanding the late victory gained by Van Tromp, the success of the Dutch arms was not answerable to the sanguine expectations of the republic. The sailors, accus-

^a * Basnage, p. 234.

turned to wealth and victory in all their encounters with the Spaniards, were disappointed in not reaping the same emolument from their bloody disputes with the English. Here fortune was various: they had been oftener defeated than victorious, and even their successes were diminished by the terrible slaughter with which they were obtained. Several of their richest merchantmen had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and an entire stop was put to the beneficial herring-fishery, by which so many poor families were supported. This consideration begot discontent, which soon produced faction and discord. One party demanded a stadtholder, and another remained fixed in their resolution of opposing invariably the ambitious designs of the house of Orange. The former asserted, that the war could never be pushed with vigour until a stadtholder directed the operations; and the other asserted, that the restoration of that dignity would be the ruin of liberty. Tumults arose in Zealand, and in particular at Middleburgh, where the mob assembled in a riotous manner, and demanded a captain-general of the house of Orange. They were instigated by the clergy, the fast friends of that family; and the disorder rose to so dangerous a height, that the magistrates of Flushing, Middleburgh, and other towns, were deposed. Nothing was worn but the Orange livery, and there was no security in the streets without a scarf of this colour. Necessity obliged the states of Zealand to fall in with the humour of the people; besides, the influence of the house of Orange was so considerable in this assembly, that it was supposed their inclination likewise led them to represent the necessity of this measure to the states of Holland. The infancy of the prince of Orange was, however, an objection to the proposal; but this might be removed by substituting his cousin, the count de Nassau, his lieutenant. Aware of the consequences of popular commotions at so critical a juncture, the states of Holland sent four deputies to Zealand; but before their arrival at Middleburgh, the states of Zealand had adjourned. They demanded that the assembly should be convoked; the people, apprehensive of the consequences, opposed it, and besieged the deputies in their houses. At length they were forced to retire privately in the night, to avoid being sacrificed to popular rage and fury.

The populace in Zealand demand a stadtholder.

When the states of Zealand again met, the deputies returned, under the escort of a party of soldiers, who conducted them safe to the assembly, and took possession of the

doors, to keep off the mob. They laboured, with all the powers of reason and oratory, to display the fatal consequences of vesting any single person with the executive power, and the command of the sea and land-forces, at a time when faction ran so high as to endanger public liberty; but they could not obtain the concurrence of the states of Zealand, who appeared over-awed by the people, and influenced by the family of Orange. They departed with a general answer, and happily escaped being insulted by the people, who were brought into good humour by the resolute behaviour of the states. The dispute now lay between the two provincial states, and became so warm as to threaten a dissolution of the union of Utrecht. As to the other provinces, they appeared divided among themselves, some towns requiring one thing, some another, though a majority declared for a stadtholder, under limitations and restrictions, which were absolutely rejected by the Zealanders. At length, as if by mutual agreement, these civil contentions subsided, and yielded to the general ardour for prosecuting the war with vigour, and opposing the formidable armament which was equipped by the English to revenge the late disgrace.

A.D. 1653.

Towards the close of the year Tromp arrived in Holland, with a prodigious fleet of merchantmen under his convoy; and the gallant conduct obtained him the thanks of the states general. It was resolved to keep him in the command, and to augment his fleet with all possible dispatch. The enemy had called forth all their force, and the best officers in the kingdom, Monk and Dean assisted Blake in the command. De Ruyter was joined to Tromp, and they set sail, to convoy through the Channel a vast fleet of merchantmen, homeward-bound. It was the intention of the English to intercept this valuable convoy; accordingly they steered towards the isle of Rhé, where, on the 8th of February, they discovered by break of day the Dutch squadron. The fight began under Blake and Dean, seconded by twelve more ships, and the charge was furious, this small division standing the whole fire of the enemy. Never was any engagement more terrible or obstinate: Blake fought to retrieve the reputation he had lost, and Tromp to maintain the laurels he had won in the last battle. Neither side would yield the victory; the engagement was renewed for three days successively; the sea was covered with wrecks, the sun obscured with smoke, and the air pierced with the dreadful shouts and shrieks of the combatants, and the terrible thunder of the cannon. For whole hours the ships engaged board-and-board, and a dead calm happened, as if

*A sea fight
continues
for three
days.*

nature

nature had suspended her operations to attend the event of the battle. After the utmost exertions of skill and intrepidity on both sides, Tromp, towards the evening of the third day, drew off his fleet, but in such good order, that he seemed rather to decline the farther effusion of human blood than yield the victory. His loss, however, amounted to eleven men of war, two thousand men were killed, and fourteen hundred taken; but the English fleet was in so shattered a condition as prevented the admiral's pursuing. Besides, his loss was nearly equal to the enemy's, and though he maintained his station, he could not be said to have gained a victory. The English, however, claimed it; and Blake, in his letter to the parliament, asserts, that, by the blessing of Providence, he had gained a victory, and taken a great number of prisoners. Bonfires were lighted in all the towns, and the Dutch prisoners conducted in triumph to Canterbury; yet, after all, it must be confessed that there was little cause for rejoicings. Van Tromp's fleet was inferior in number, as he had been forced to leave one division for the protection of the merchant-fleet; his powder and shot were exhausted, and the merchants clamorous to get out of the reach of danger: these were the reasons for his retiring; and he had sufficiently obtained his purpose, in frustrating the scheme of the English to crush, at one blow, the United Provinces, by the total destruction of their commerce P.

On this occasion, Charles, king of England, wrote to M. Boreel, requesting that the states general would supply him with a squadron, in which he would embark with the officers round him, and either gain a victory or a period to all his misfortunes from the hands of his rebellious subjects; but little regard was paid to this compliment, which promised no great utility to the republic. The states preferred the thoughts of peace to proposals from which nothing could be expected besides the fruitless honour of having a king fighting their battles. A thousand difficulties, however, obstructed this laudable scheme. The English were endeavouring to draw the queen of Sweden into an alliance against the republic, and Van Buiningen found that princess and her ministers violently prejudiced against the Dutch, on his arrival in Sweden. He proceeded, however, to lay his instructions before the Oxenstierns, father and son, representing to them, that the treaties between the crown of Sweden and the republic engaged them mutually to support each other's interests. The Swedes replied, that the Dutch were the aggressors, and the authors of the war, by the treatment which

Negotiations with Sweden and Denmark.

p La Vie de Tromp, p. 105.

MOD. VOL. XXVIII.

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the English ambassador had met with in Holland; an alliance purely defensive could, therefore, lay the crown under no obligation of engaging in this war. Buiningen endeavoured to set the chancellor right in this particular, and opposed with all his might the intention of the court to send an embassy to London. He even threatened to quit Sweden if this resolution was persisted in; but he was given to understand the queen was not to be directed where she sent, or to whom she paid her compliments; all that the Dutch ambassador could obtain, was, a kind of promise that Sweden would observe a neutrality.

Finding all his endeavours to procure a renewal of the treaty of 1640 fruitless, Buiningen turned his thoughts to the court of Denmark, where he promised himself more success, because it rarely happens but the crowns of Sweden and Denmark embrace opposite interests. Christina, jealous of his negotiations with her rival, now offered her mediation to procure peace with England and the republic. Buiningen listened to the proposal, but at the same time privately pursued his application to the court of Copenhagen, in which he met with greater difficulties than he imagined, from the extreme circumspection of the king and ministry. These the Dutchman strove to remove by stratagem, which might have proved a severe blow to the English commerce. A fleet of above twenty ships of that nation was then to return from the Baltic, laden with naval stores. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the Dutch squadron cruising in the Sound, the captains desired permission of the king to shelter themselves in the harbour of Copenhagen: leave was accordingly granted, and the Dutch envoy had influence enough over the sovereign, and so thorough a knowledge of his prevalent passion, avarice, that he persuaded the king to seize the ships, and confiscate their cargoes; hoping by this step to produce an irreconcilable breach between Denmark and England. Some writers, indeed, charge the whole transaction on the king's own perfidy and avarice; but Basnage affirms, and circumstances corroborate the allegation, that it proceeded from the persuasion of the Dutch envoy. The spirited conduct, however, of the parliament deprived the Danish monarch of the fruits of his treachery; an English squadron appeared in the Baltic, and soon forced him to make restitution; which at the same time retarded his declaration in favour of the republic. Christina likewise co-operated to frustrate the proposed alliance, and used every intrigue and chicane of the cabinet, in favour of the parliament; but in the end M. Keifer, the Dutch envoy, who succeeded Buiningen, surmounted every obstruction, and finished the treaty with

with Frederick III. in consequence of which, the king stipulated to equip twenty ships of war, and the states general to pay an annual subsidy of one hundred and eighty thousand rixdollars. The treaty was offensive and defensive, and the Dutch drew this advantage from it, that the English were excluded the benefit of trading to the Baltic. In other respects the alliance proved useless; for the king was so apprehensive of his own coasts, that he would never permit his ships of war to join the Hollanders, or proceed to any distance against the common enemy, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances and complaints of his allies ^{*Treaty with Denmark.*} 1.

Such was the situation of the republic with respect to the North, when Cromwell rejected the proposed mediation of the crown of Sweden, and it was generally believed that all thoughts of peace were laid aside; however, the universal discontent that reigned in the provinces, and the elevation of M. de Wit to the office of pensionary of Holland, in the room of M. Pauw, deceased, made great changes in the politics of Holland. ^{*De Wit made pensionary.*} M. de Wit was the son of that burgomaster of Dordrecht, who had been imprisoned by the prince of Orange. He was the staunch friend of liberty, a personal enemy to the house of Orange, and a strenuous advocate for peace with England, which he knew to be the most effectual method of curbing the ambition of this family, and silencing the public clamours for a stadtholder. On his first coming into the administration, he exerted himself diligently to carry this important point, and to finish a war which answered no other purpose but exhausting the finances and ruining the commerce. For the greater security, he exacted an oath from all the deputies, that they would religiously keep secret the propositions he was about to make; after which he proposed entering upon a negotiation with the parliament of England, without imparting the design to the other provinces. Holland supported the great burthen of the war; it was, therefore, but reasonable this province should have a principal share in negotiating a peace; but it was necessary to take some steps before the design should meet with obstruction from the other provinces. De Wit's proposition was admitted more readily than he could expect, on M. Doleman's shewing letters which he had received from general Monk, assuring him that overtures of peace would be well received at the court of London. Leyden alone opposed the measure, urging that it was a gross violation of the treaty of Utrecht; but this objection was superseded, and the states of Hol-

¹ Basnage, p. 301.

Negotiations for a peace with England.

land wrote privately to the parliament, lamenting that two powerful maritime powers, connected by the ties of liberty and religion, should employ their whole force in destroying each other: a variety of other reflections were added; and the states concluded with requesting that the parliament would please to appoint the time and place for a negotiation; otherwise they must commit their cause to Providence, and leave the event of a just and necessary defence to the Almighty, who would not fail to punish that pride and ambition which should occasion the effusion of so much Christian blood. All the Dutch writers unanimously deny that the republic supplicated peace at this time, as is asserted by the English historians; they proposed it indeed, but spoke with the freedom and manly courage of equals, whose moderation, more than their inability or fear, rendered them desirous of terminating a ruinous quarrel, in which both sides were losers. Be that as it may, their overtures were well received by Cromwell, who agreed that a negotiation should be brought upon the carpet. The states appointed three deputies, Beverning, Neuport, and Vander Peter, to negotiate a treaty with Cromwell, without consulting the parliament; but before the embassy set out, or the instructions were drawn up, admiral Tromp, with above ninety ships of war, fell in with an English fleet of the same number, but greatly superior in size and weight of metal, under the command of Monk, Dean, Pen, and Lawfon. Before he set sail, he complained of the inequality of his strength, the chief part of his fleet consisting of light merchantmen, converted into men of war, and commanded by the very officers who had been taxed with cowardice in former engagements. To shew his obedience and desire of serving his country, Tromp accepted the command, and acquainted the states that he could not answer for the consequence of a battle. His remonstrance produced a resolution to equip with all expedition a squadron of thirty large ships; but before this armament was got ready, Tromp's fate, and that of the republic, were decided. His instructions were, to take under his convoy an outward-bound fleet of merchantmen, and to escort back to Holland another fleet of near three hundred trading vessels. This commission he executed with so much address, that not a single ship fell into the enemies hands, though he was closely pursued to the north coast of Scotland. Piqued at their disappointment, the English wreaked their vengeance on a fleet of fishing-boats, and spread terror along the coasts of Holland. Van Tromp, determined upon retribution, sailed for the Downs to fight the enemy; but not finding them in that station, he sailed for the coast of Flanders,

Flanders, where the English fleet was descried. They immediately engaged with equal alacrity, and fought with incredible fury till night interposed. Dean was killed in the beginning of the action, but his loss was concealed, and the battle renewed next day with fresh vigour. Lawson charged with the blue squadron, consisting of forty stout ships, with such impetuosity as forced the Dutch line, and would have taken de Ruyter's ship, had he not been seasonably relieved by Van Tromp, who advanced through the thickest of the enemies fire to his assistance. Tromp was engaged by Monk, and the battle raged from morning to night, each party being ignorant of the loss they sustained amidst impenetrable clouds of smoke. At last ammunition failed, the Dutch gradually slackened fire, and at last withdrew, all Tromp's menaces and persuasions being unable to bring his officers back to the charge. Their fury sunk beneath the well-conducted ardour of the English, the weight of whose metal gave them great advantages. Tromp had been twice taken, but his own and de Ruyter's bravery rescued him; six of his best ships were sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; yet nothing but the want of ammunition, and of spirit in his captains, prevented his renewing the fight, and accepting the defiance offered next day by the English. All the English historians agree that the Dutch slackened fire and withdrew by three in the afternoon; but it is certain that night separated the combatants, and possibly saved the Dutch fleet from entire destruction, as it furnished Tromp with the opportunity of taking shelter behind the banks of Weilingen, where he could not be pursued.

Another sea-fight, in which the Dutch are defeated.

Now the victorious enemy rode triumphant before the Texel, until the Dutch fleet assembled at Flushing, from whence Tromp and De Ruyter sent remonstrances to the states of the inequality of their strength. They desired either to be recalled, or put upon a footing with the enemy in weight of metal, and force of ships, and also that store-ships might attend the fleet, as the want of ammunition had caused the loss of the two last battles. They desired payment of the seamen's wages, a recompence for the wounded, and rewards for those who had signalized themselves. De Ruyter, in particular, declared, that he would no longer hazard his reputation, until the fleet should be augmented with large ships. The states promised to pay due regard to these remonstrances, and immediately sent to the other provinces, to borrow a sum sufficient for equipping thirty first-rate ships, for which the admiralty had orders to provide seamen, stores, rigging, and other necessaries, and

Complaints of the Dutch admirals.

to be directed in those particulars by Tromp, de Ruyter, and de Wit.

*Tumults in
different
parts of
Holland.*

Yet could not these vigorous resolutions appease the murmurs of the people. The provinces were overwhelmed with consternation, on seeing the armament they deemed invincible, defeated, shattered, and blocked up in their harbours. Van Tromp's complaints, and the instigation of the Orange party, increased the popular discontent: it was insinuated, that the republic was betrayed, and an unequal force sent against the enemy, only to shew the necessity of making peace upon any conditions. To this flame, the negotiation entered upon with Cromwell, by Buiningen, added fuel; and it now burst out with such violence as threatened the ruin of the provinces. The enemies of the house of Orange durst not presume to mention peace, for fear of exasperating the people; and the states, contrary to inclination, were forced to proceed with redoubled vigour in repairing the fleet, as the best means of appeasing the public discontent, and obtaining reasonable terms from the enemy.

But what chiefly excited public commotions was the opposition made by de Wit and the Louvestien party to the creation of a stadtholder. This faction wished for a peace, for the protection of France, and the friendship of England; they were consequently enemies to the house of Stuart: but Van Tromp was popular, he espoused the house of Orange, wished for a stadtholder, and the continuance of the war upon such a footing as would give some chance to his talents, and an opportunity of retrieving his glory. An accident happened that gave vent to the popular discontent. The young prince of Orange was to return from Breda, and the children at the Hague formed themselves into companies, with Orange standards, and proceeded to meet the prince on his journey. As the prince did not arrive on the expected day, the young soldiers separated at night, and retired quietly to their several houses: however, that they might not entirely lose the expences bestowed in colours, standards, and military ensigns, they assembled next day, and appeared in arms before the palace. The magistrates gave orders they should be chastised; their parents flew to the assistance of their children; and, in revenge, attacked the house of M. de Wit, whom they imagined the most violent enemy of the house of Orange. The tumult could not be suppressed without application to military force: a party of soldiers was called in, and crowds

* La Vie de Tromp, p. 105.

of the mutineers, men, women, and children, were thrown into prison. Now the whole province was in a flame, and it was necessary to keep strong guards in the towns, to awe the multitude, who threatened destruction to all government. At Sluys all precautions proved fruitless; the herring-fishers, incensed at their being deprived of bread by the English, took arms, seized on the arsenal and magazines, mounted the cannon on the ramparts, fired upon the troops brought to quell the mutiny, and shut the gates against Brederode, mareschal of the camp, sent by the states to apply effectual remedies to this dangerous disorder. In this situation stood affairs for several days. At last a happy stratagem put an end to a riot, which might have produced the most fatal consequences. A messenger from the states came to the gates, pretending that he was charged with a special commission, upon which he was introduced to the town-house, and the people were summoned by the alarm-bell to attend. They all flocked from their houses and posts, eager to hear the propositions; while the messenger was, in a loud voice, reading a paper he held in his hand, nine companies of foot seized on the gates, entered the town, took prisoners the ringleaders, without resistance, and terrified the inhabitants into submission before they had exchanged a blow.

This tumult was no sooner suppressed than another appeared in the Texel, where the count de Nassau arrived, on advice that an expedition was preparing in England against this island and the Briel. He was received by the people as their deliverer, and crowds of men and women went to meet him, strewing the way with flowers. These honours shewn the count, and the liberty he had taken of assembling some troops without orders, gave umbrage to the states of Holland, who beheld with surprize the authority he assumed in a province where he had no legal power. The prudence, however, displayed by the count satisfied the states; for he retired upon finding his presence had given offence, and assured the states, that his intention was only to animate and rouse the drooping spirits of the people, terrified at the thoughts of an invasion.

These tumults had one very unexpected consequence. It inspired the magistrates of Haerlem with the resolution of electing a stadtholder. They accordingly instructed their pensionary to lay before the states their determination, to desire their concurrence, and to assure them it would not be long possible to withstand the eagerness of the people in

* Basnage, p. 304.

favour of the house of Orange. The states were surprised at seeing a pensionary imprisoned by the late prince of Orange, charged with instructions which they believed inconsistent with his principles, and demanding the re-establishment of a stadtholder. But his conduct soon effaced their suspicions: he communicated his instructions to M. de Wit before he laid them before the states, and was so convinced by the arguments of that able statesman, that he changed his sentiments, and prevailed on the magistrates of Haerlem to drop their intention.

The Zealanders renew their clamours for a stadtholder.

The Zealanders were more firm and resolute in their proceedings. In the former year they had demanded a stadtholder, persuading themselves they would be supported by the states of Friesland and Groningen; they even doubted not but these provinces would thank them for so reasonable a proposition. The dispute was carried on with greater violence than the preceding year; but the address of de Wit, and the firm opposition of the states of Holland frustrated all the endeavours of the Zealanders. But, to enter justly into the politics of Holland, it will be necessary to take a short view of the state of England, and the intrigues of Cromwell. The old parliament was now dissolved, and the legislative power lodged in the hands of Cromwell and the council of state. Beverning, and the other Dutch deputies, had made him frequent overtures of peace; but his behaviour was always supercilious, and his answers equivocal. Nevertheless, no sooner were the deputies gone from his presence than Cromwell's agents insinuated, that the Dutch were not to judge of his sentiments from his exterior appearance, which he adapted to circumstances. Ignorant of the true meaning of this duplicity, the deputies were, above measure, confounded to find, after a tedious negotiation, that all their pacific conditions were rejected, and they were told that no peace was to be expected, until the Hollanders consented to unite both states so closely, as that they might become one people, and form one united commonwealth. This proposition appeared equally absurd and insolent. One of the deputies, Newport, observed, that it seemed to be exactly copied from the parliament's instructions to their commissioners in Scotland; concluding that Cromwell proposed treating the republic as the parliament had treated the Scottish nation. It was Cromwell's design to prevent the election of a stadtholder, and to procure the dismissal of Van Tromp, whom he knew to be a strenuous partizan of the house of Orange: he therefore intimated, that an accommodation might be effected on these conditions. He hinted, that if the Dutch consented to the union proposed,

Cromwell's politics.

an immediate cessation of hostilities would ensue, a free trade be restored, and the privileges of fishing adjusted to the entire satisfaction of the United Provinces. Some writers pretend to treat this whole negotiation as ideal; but what proves its reality, is the advice sent to the states by the commissioners, of all the proceedings with Cromwell's agents, and the consequences of that notion, which had almost defeated the whole design. The correspondence was discovered by the Orange faction; and Cromwell concluding it could not be long kept secret in England, where it might ruin him with his party, assumed a more severe brow, and next time he met the commissioners, declared, that such was the situation of affairs in Holland, that England could have no security in treating with the republic. Nor was it long before the commissioners received from the council of state an explicit explanation of the former demands, in the following terms: that the two republics should coalesce; the whole united dominions be subject to one government, composed of the natives of both countries, in such a manner as should be to their mutual advantage; and that each should, without any distinction, enjoy the same privileges and immunities with the natives and inhabitants of the respective countries, as to houses, lands, possessions, commerce, fishing, and every other particular. Such was the scheme of this political age, mad with projects, and inventive in plans of republican government, which, if possible, they would have established over the face of the whole earth". It is sufficient for our purpose, that the proposal was highly resented by the deputies, who regarded it as throwing ridicule on their character, or the scheme of an enthusiast. Without, however, giving Cromwell a definitive answer, they acquainted the states of Holland with the offered conditions of peace, and patiently waited for farther instructions.

It was during this suspense, that the famous battle was fought, which brought the war to a speedy issue. After the last action, de Wit and the Dutch government made surprising efforts to recover the severe blow they had received, and put the fleet on a more respectable footing than before. Several large ships were added, completely manned and provided; every pretext for quitting the service was taken from Van Tromp and the other admirals, who now took the command of a fleet of one hundred sail of fine vessels, all fit for action. No motives either of hope or fear were wanting to the sailors; their pay was doubled;

A sea-fight.

* Smollett, tom. iii. Guthrie, tom. iii. Basnage, p. 312.

the ships were crowded with volunteers of the first fashion, and nothing less was expected than that the enemy would be obliged to screen themselves in their harbours. Young Van Tromp, who had destroyed an English man of war in the Streights, and distinguished his intrepidity and valour, was ordered home with his squadron, and every measure pushed to the utmost, to oblige the haughty usurper to listen to reasonable proposals. The enemy still blocked up the Texel, the coasts of Holland were besieged, and the harbours so narrowly watched, that all the merchantmen fell into the hands of the English. It was of the utmost consequence to oblige them to retire, as they equally distressed trade and the government, by exciting clamours among the people, who exclaimed, that they were sacrificed to the treachery of the states, and cowardice of the naval officers; a reflection that was pointed at the heads of those captains who had been accused of negligence in the last engagement. The Dutch armament was now in two divisions, under Van Tromp and de Wit, in different harbours; and the great difficulty was, how to effect a junction, without being separately attacked by the enemy. Before they set sail, great debates arose in the states concerning the instructions to be given their admirals. Some opposed venturing another engagement, and urged it would be sufficient to convoy the homeward-bound trade, and particularly the rich fleet from India, which would enable the republic to equip such a navy as the enemy could not presume to face: others pressed hard for an engagement, affirming, that the public murmurs were only to be silenced by the din of war, and the roaring of cannon; a victory, they said, would infallibly restore peace and tranquillity. The latter opinion prevailed, and Van Tromp had orders to fight with the first opportunity. With eighty-five sail this admiral steered along the coast of Zealand, and on the 31st of July discovered the English fleet, consisting of ninety-four fine ships, under the conduct of Monk, Lawson, and Penn, at the distance of five miles a-head. By the shifting of the wind, the enemy gained the weather-gage, a circumstance which determined Van Tromp to avoid an engagement, make all possible sail for the Texel, and there join the division commanded by de Wit and de Ruyter: happily for him a storm arose which prevented the English from forcing him to an engagement, and he embraced the opportunity to effect the intended junction. His fleet was now augmented to one hundred and twenty sail, with which he proceeded in quest of the English, descried them, on the 6th of August, between Scheveling and the Meuse, and immediately

mediately gave the signal for battle. Tromp took his station on the right, de Ruyter led the left, Evertzen was in the centre; and the command of the rear was assigned to de Wit. At seven in the morning the two fleets engaged, with equal ardor, within sight of the shore, which was crowded with inhabitants, eager to be spectators of an action, which should determine the fate of the republic. Both behaved with wonderful address, and fought with such prudent and subdued courage, as never before appeared in any sea-fight. The cannon of above two hundred men of war fired incessantly; the sea was covered with blood and wrecks of ships, either burnt or shattered to pieces. Tromp, agreeable to custom, pierced the enemies line, and put it in confusion; but, on his return, encountered admiral Goodson; here he was surrounded by the enemies ships, and deserted by his own; but he fought with such desperate fury as would have extricated him from this difficulty, had he not been unfortunately shot dead with a musket ball, as he was gallantly giving orders on the quarter deck. His last words were, "Take courage, my boys, I have run my course with glory." Brederode took the command, concealed the admiral's death from the rest of the fleet, and behaved in a manner worthy of the successor of the brave Van Tromp. The Dutch fire-ships made great havock among the enemy, and a terrible conflict happened between the divisions commanded by Lawson and de Ruyter. At last the Dutch admiral's ship was shattered to pieces, she was towed out of the line, and de Ruyter, shifting his flag to a frigate, returned to the battle. But all his efforts could not restore the spirits of the seamen: it was now known that Tromp was dead, and an universal despondency succeeded, as if victory had depended wholly upon his arms; several ships quitted the line; the whole was in confusion; and a rout ensued, with terrible slaughter of men, and destruction of ships. Agreeable to the best attested accounts, the Dutch lost twenty-six men of war; four thousand men were killed, and two thousand taken prisoners, half of whom the humanity of the conquerors saved from being swallowed up by the ocean. In a word, the victory was complete, but purchased at a high price. Most of the English ships were disabled; some were entirely destroyed; they had six hundred men killed, and near a thousand wounded, many of whom never recovered, and the whole fleet was in so wretched plight as to be unable to pursue the blow, and de-

Tromp killed.

Dutch defeated.

stroy the broken remains of the enemy in their flight. The United Provinces were overwhelmed with grief and consternation, while every town in England blazed with bonfires, and rung with rejoicings. The loss of Tromp was alone sufficient cause of mourning; but as that hero had many enemies, the universality of the despondency evinced, that it flowed from more general misfortunes than the death of a private man, as much feared and detested by one party, as he was adored by another.

The situation of Holland after this defeat,

The republic had paid dear for the freedom of trade and navigation of the Texel; but they resolved to profit by it. The English fleet withdrew from the coasts of Holland, in consequence of the late battle, and de Ruyter was now ordered to convoy a vast fleet of merchantmen out of the Channel. This prospect of reviving commerce fortified the Dutch against every misfortune, and the flattering promises of cardinal Mazarin inspired them with courage, under the pressure of a signal defeat, to dispute the terms prescribed by England, before the last battle. Yet Cromwell was apprised how impossible it was for the Dutch government to continue the war while the republic was divided by faction, and the people clamorous for a stadtholder. All their preparations gave no disturbance to the penetrating usurper. He beheld with unconcern their efforts to repair the fleet, the promotion among general officers, the rewards given to merit, the generous flame that seemed to warm every breast, and the appointment of the celebrated Opdam, to the command of lieutenant-admiral, in the room of the deceased Tromp: if he regained the advantages which Mazarin had lately acquired over the ballance of Europe, he was sensible that all his other wishes would follow. The states perceived his design; they knew his ability, perseverance, and courage. They saw his great preparations, and resolved to anticipate their consequences. Accordingly, two deputies were dispatched to London, with orders, however, positively to reject the scheme of union proposed by Cromwell. When Nieupoort, Beverning, and Jonquestal, had laid their instructions before the council of state, they were agreeably surprised to find Cromwell relax considerably with respect to the coalition of the two nations, and in some other severe demands; particularly as to the right of fishing upon the British coasts: but two very disagreeable articles were now added, importing, that the states should engage to exclude the prince of Orange from all the employments held by his ancestors, especially those of stadtholder and captain-general; and that they would limit the navy of the republic

lic to a certain number of ships, not to be exceeded without leave from England. These points were disputed by the commissioners, with all the arguments in their power; but finding the protector inflexible with respect to the article regarding the prince of Orange, they desired leave to lay the state of the negotiation before their constituents, for which purpose Beverning returned to Holland.

Peace with England was the wish of every dispassionate lover of his country, and the chief object of the attention of the states general. The Zealanders, however, still insisted on the re-establishment of a stadtholder, and a close union with France, by which they imagined the war might be conducted to advantage, and the haughty enemy reduced in a short time to the necessity of relaxing in the rigid conditions they now prescribed; but Holland constantly opposed this measure, as dangerous to liberty, and unprofitable to the republic. The states general perceived the difficulty of equipping an armament, able to cope with the English. They were aware of the inconveniencies under which a republican government laboured in all disputes with a despotic enemy. Cromwell, though his situation in the supreme power was unsteady and irksome, yet managed with such address as to acquire an absolute authority. The legislative and executive power being vested in the same person, action was as quick as thought, and the measure no sooner dictated than it was executed with the promptness peculiar to monarchy; for in this light England was now to be regarded. Besides the inability of bringing the war to a happy issue, they were sensible of the inconveniencies of the attempt, which would be violently opposed by a strong party, unless their favourite views of restoring the stadtholdership were indulged. In a word, they had a moral certainty, that the prosecution of the war could only terminate in the ruin of the finances, and in the destruction of commerce, without a single counterpoising advantage. It was upon this account the return of Beverning, with proposals of peace, gave great satisfaction; and the exclusive article respecting the house of Orange, was kept a profound secret. The mysterious behaviour attending this article gave rise to an opinion that it was supported, if not originally proposed by the pensioner de Wit; but when the affair came to be publicly known, he cleared himself of this accusation, and proved that peace was to be purchased on no other condition ^a.

A.D. 1654.

Peace proposed and obstructed by a variety of difficulties.

^a Basnage, p. 329.

When

When the commissioners arrived at the Hague, they found the states disposed to accept peace, even with this limitation, provided Cromwell would relax in the article restricting the number of shipping which the republic was allowed to maintain; however the consent of the other provinces was absolutely necessary, though the negotiation had been set on foot without their knowledge. As the ceremony of assembling all the provincial states was tedious, the states of Holland sent Beverning back in the same frigate which had brought him from England, that the ardor of Cromwell for peace might not cool, or any obstruction be thrown in the way of the negotiation. This measure gave offence to the other provinces, who thought themselves entitled to an equal share in the conduct of this important affair. They accused the states of Holland of an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht, by separating themselves from the other provinces in the close, as they had done in the commencement of the negotiation; and Beverning was regarded in England not as the ambassador of the republic, but of one province only. Though he had been only a few days absent, the court of Cromwell put on a new appearance, and the general voice of the nation seemed to declare for the prosecution of the war. Thurloe complained, that the Dutchman was in no character, had no instructions, credentials, retinue, or complement, in the name of the republic, to the protector on his elevation; while Beverning desired that this defect might be imputed to the earnest desire of the states to lose no opportunity of promoting peace, and stopping the effusion of blood, and destruction of the human species.

It was, perhaps, a lucky circumstance for the Hollanders that Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador, endeavoured by all possible intrigues to thwart the negotiation. Cromwell, who had his designs upon Spain, proposed no advantage to that court, from the ruin of the trade and navigation of the United Provinces. The Spaniard offered large subsidies to the protector, and gave him hopes that Dunkirk would be put into his hands, if he continued the war. He doubted not but such propositions would prove flattering to Cromwell's pride; but he was mistaken. The protector amused Spain, only to procure the better terms from Holland, and demonstrate to the republic, that he could ballance the alliance of France, by opposing to that nation the whole power of the Spanish monarchy.

While matters were in this train, commissioners were appointed in Holland, to examine the propositions brought
by

by Beverning; but after they had reduced them to tolerable order, and made them consistent with the articles drawn up at the Hague, St. John and Strickland, the English envoys, raised up fresh difficulties. New instructions were sent to Beverning, and he had orders to solicit the ratification settled at the Hague, and have it inserted in the treaty: at length, the provinces finding that Spain had made overtures to Cromwell, determined to vest Nieuport, Beverning, and Jongstal, with the character of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, in order to flatter the pride of the new protector. The chief remaining difficulty was the exclusion of the prince of Orange, without which Cromwell declared he could think no engagements with the states secure. The ambition of that house, and their connections with the Stuarts, would always give disturbance to the republic and England, unless the prince was effectually cut off from all expectations of ever filling the offices held by his ancestors. So little hope was there that the provinces in general would ever be brought to consent to this article, that it was religiously concealed from Jongstal, who was a Frislander, and transacted between Cromwell and Beverning, the latter promising in the name of the states of Holland, that they would never consent to the elevation of the prince to the stadtholdership. Cromwell thought himself secure of the republic, once he obtained the promise of Holland, the most wealthy and powerful of all the provinces; it was, however, certain, that Holland alone could not resist the other provinces, without a direct breach of the union, and exposing the republic to the most dreadful calamities of a civil war.

At length, after tedious conferences, the following articles were signed by the Dutch ambassadors; that the republic should in no shape assist, aid, or abet, the house of Stuart, or the adherents of that unfortunate family; that her ships should pay the required compliment to the British flag; that due punishment should be inflicted on the cruel perpetrators of the horrid massacre at Amboyna; that eighty-five thousand pounds should be paid to the English, as an indemnification of their losses; that the island of Poleron should be restored to the East India company; and that commissioners should be sent to London, to adjust farther particulars, relative to the tragical affair in the East Indies, for which reasonable satisfaction had never yet been made to England. The ratification immediately succeeded the signing the treaty; but now the mystery be-

Conditions of peace, whereby the prince of Orange is excluded from the stadtholdership.

¹ Basnage, p. 329. Le Clerc, tom. ii.

tween Cromwell and the province of Holland was to appear, with respect to the exclusion of the prince of Orange. Some writers assert, that the secret lay between Cromwell, de Wit, and Beverning, having never been communicated to the deputies of the cities, who expressed the utmost astonishment when it was mentioned by the pensioner, for their approbation. The peremptory tone of Cromwell vindicated the conduct of the pensioner. His envoys told the states, that as they accepted or rejected this condition, they chose peace or war; either was in their option: such was the protector's categorical answer. De Wit enlarged upon the subject, with all the arguments of reason and rhetoric; he shewed the necessity of peace, and the impossibility of obtaining any mitigation in this article. At length he carried his point by a majority, and a solemn act was passed, whereby the prince of Orange was excluded the stadtholdership, and the other high offices, held with so much dignity by his ancestors. This act of exclusion was sent to England; but de Wit, foreseeing it would one day involve his country in civil dissension, charged the ambassadors to make one last effort to satisfy Cromwell, by a general treaty, without particularizing the exclusion of the prince of Orange; but all remonstrances on this head proved fruitless. The act was no less necessary to the politics of Oliver, with respect to the Stuart family, than to the completion of his triumph over the house of Orange, and the republic of the United Provinces. In this manner was peace concluded, signed, and ratified, little to the honour or advantage of the republic, as it laid the foundation of those unhappy divisions, which almost involved the provinces in ruin.

Though the exclusion-act was kept as profound as could possibly be expected, where the affair was intrusted to the discretion of near one hundred different persons, yet it could not be long concealed from the princess governante of Orange, who was so deeply interested. It even took air in the cities, and occasioned some popular commotions at the Hague. No sooner was the princess acquainted with this article of the treaty than she presented a strong remonstrance to the states general, signed by herself, the grandmother, and all the guardians of the young prince. In this, they expressed their astonishment at the unprecedented, unprovoked injury done to the prince, in excluding him from an authority, which had been possessed with so much glory and advantage to the republic by his ancestors. They represented, in the strongest terms, the violence offered to the treaty of Utrecht, the privileges of the other

The princess of Orange remonstrates against the act of exclusion.

other six provinces, and particularly the insult offered to the tender age of the prince, and to the sex of his female guardians. They exhorted their high mightinesses to interpose in behalf of the infant, and prevent so gross an affront to a child of his birth, expectations; and promising qualities, the representative of those heroes who had spilt their blood in the glorious cause of liberty, and defence of the freedom and religion of the provinces. They concluded, with observing the applause which such an act of justice would meet with from the world and their own consciences, the unhappy consequences which it might obviate, and the retribution they might expect as soon as the prince was of sufficient age to thank his protectors. To the same purpose was a letter sent to the states by his electoral highness of Brandenburg, but neither produced any effect. The resolution was taken; it was powerfully supported, and was now irrevocable, unless they run the hazard of incurring the resentment of Cromwell, and of being taxed with levity and want of firmness and constancy.

But the remonstrances of the princesses, though not to be disregarded, were of less importance than the discontent of the people, and the violent opposition of the provinces. All protested with one voice against the act of exclusion. The deputy from Friesland entered a protest, with the secretary to the states general, against the secret negotiation with Oliver, and the iniquitous exclusion of the prince of Orange, by which Holland had given a violent stroke to the liberties of the republic, the articles of the union, and had shewn herself equally unjust and ungrateful to the house of Orange. This protest was, however, condemned by the states of the province, though they were prevailed on soon after, by the influence of the count de Nassau, to enter another more bitter and severe, in which they complained of M. de Wit personally, as the first author and projector of this iniquitous act, as they were pleased to term it. Zealand shewed no less vivacity and attachment to the house of Orange; Guelderland was more moderate, but in the same interest; Overijssel, though torn by domestic broils, entered into the sentiments of the other provinces; and Utrecht embraced the same cause, though with less warmth, and with more caution and reserve: as to Groningen, we are not told what part this province took in the dispute¹.

*The people
discontented.*

¹ Bafnage, p. 442.

Negotiations with Cromwell.

Holland opposed itself vigorously to this combination, which threatened the dissolution of the union, and the very being of the republic, by exciting a general ferment in the minds of the people, and commotions which it would be difficult to appease. Before the states entered upon any opposition, they sent instructions to the ambassadors in London, once more to try their influence with Cromwell, to procure some mitigation in the act of exclusion, thereby to restore tranquillity to the provinces; but the protector was so incensed at farther applications, and what he regarded as an equivocation of the treaty, that he threatened to renew the war unless the act was immediately put into his hands, and he received it accordingly. The next step was to procure a letter from Cromwell to the states of Zealand and the other provinces, demonstrating the necessity, as well as the utility of the peace; but this epistle produced no effect, and it was fully answered by the Zealanders, and afterwards sent for the perusal of the states general. Holland objected to this unheard-of proceeding, affirming; that the protector's letter ought to have been communicated to the states before an answer was returned; presuming it now could answer no purpose, except that of blowing up the sparks of discord.

In order to regain some degree of popularity, the states of Holland went to make an apology to the princess of Orange, assuring her highness, that no disrespect to the family, but the urgent necessity of the state, had forced them into such a measure, equally disagreeable to them as to the warmest friends of the house of Orange. She received the apology in the most gracious manner, and returned such an answer as gave the states the highest opinion of her moderation, prudence, and sweetness of disposition. Far from reproaching them with what was now irrevocable, she only lamented the unhappy circumstances that rendered such a measure necessary, and exhorted the deputies to apply their utmost endeavours to restore the public peace and tranquillity. The states appointed commissioners more accurately to examine this affair; and, soon after, their apology was published, by the name of Deductions, or Inferences from the State of Affairs. In this piece was examined, whether Holland had a power of entering upon a separate negotiation with Cromwell, and how far this province had the right of sovereignty, independent of the other provinces included in the union; the whole design was to prove the affirmative from positive facts, and the particular declaration of the king of Spain relative to this province. Though the arguments were specious, the wrong principle upon which

which those opinions was founded, appeared to every attentive reader. By acknowledging that the abdication of the catholic king vested this province with sovereignty, they acknowledged the hereditary right of the kings of Spain, which could not be destroyed by any act of a particular prince, who had no power to give away the right of his successors. Besides, what had this abdication to do with the article of the union of Utrecht, whereby all the provinces were bound not to enter upon any separate war or peace, treaty or alliance, negotiation or alienation, without the joint consent of the other provinces. This writing was severely censured, and several bitter criticisms upon it were published; but no one thought of attacking the foundation and demonstrating the fallacy of the principles. Guelderland, Friseland, and Zealand taxed the states of Holland with ingratitude and arbitrary proceedings; they retorted the charge; the provinces were filled with factions; the republic was on the brink of dissolution; and the ambassadors, who had carried on the negotiation, and signed the treaty, in the most mortifying disgrace^b.

In this situation of affairs, happily for the provinces, the conduct of the king of Denmark engaged part of the public attention, and diverted it from a dispute, which, from its warmth and acrimony, threatened danger to the state, and particularly to de Wit, the ambassadors, and the projectors and agents in this new treaty. It was before observed, that king Frederic had not complied with a single article of the treaty of alliance formed with the republic, notwithstanding he received punctual payments of a large subsidy. He now added ingratitude to treachery. To extricate the king from the difficulties in which he was engaged with the parliament of England, by the seizure of a fleet of merchantmen belonging to that nation, the states general had indemnified the English merchants, in hopes thereby of more easily attaching that monarch to their interest, and enabling him to execute the treaty with the republic. Frederick, however, not only evaded the treaty, but the payment of the money advanced for his use and convenience; after which he entered into a close alliance with Cromwell, leaving the states general to exclaim against his injustice and perfidy. In a word, this double dealing of the king of Denmark proved of the greatest advantage to the united provinces; it silenced their private animosities for a time, though it by no means re-

*Affairs
with Denmark.*

^b LeClerc, p. 84. tom. iii.

moved the cause, or extinguished those sparks of discord which flamed out with redoubled fury after the prince of Orange came of age, and Lewis XIV. had invaded the Netherlands.

S E C T. XI.

The History of the United Provinces continued; the Particulars of the Second War with England, and other Transactions, to the Invasion of the Netherlands by Lewis XIV.

A.D. 1658.

*State of the
republic.*

NOTHING farther occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the United Provinces until the year 1657, when a violent war was kindled in the North, and pursued with such inveterate animosity between the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as foreboded the destruction of one of the parties, and proved highly prejudicial to the commercial interest of the republic. Charles Gustavus had scarce ascended the throne of Sweden when his politics gave great uneasiness to the states general, at that time encumbered by a war with England, and a fruitless but close alliance with Denmark. Though the exclusion of the prince of Orange, and the little regard paid to the remonstrances made by the elector of Brandenburg in behalf of the young prince, had produced a coldness between the electoral court and the republic, yet that wise prince was sensible he could not more effectually fortify himself against the ambitious views of the Swedish monarch than by entering into an alliance with the United Provinces. The states general had one reason for embracing the overtures made by the elector. It was their interest with respect to the public trade, to provide that the Swedes did not gain possession of the ports of Prussia; and though the duke of Newburg and the emperor advertised them that such an alliance would give umbrage to all the claimants to the duchy of Cleves, yet their regard to trade prevailed over every other consideration. In effect, an offensive alliance was concluded, whereby the states undertook to protect the elector's dominions, including his coasts and the duchy of Cleves, against all enemies whatsoever; while the elector engaged, in return, to defend the republic and her commerce in the Baltic against all attacks, and to give the shipping of the republic free entrance into all his ports in Prussia and Pomerania. This treaty gave offence to the elector of Saxony, to whom the

the Swedish ambassador insinuated, that it tended to cut off his pretensions to the duchy of Juliers.

During these intrigues count Koningsmark had great success in levying troops in the duchy of Bremen, which gave the alarm to the states general. To obviate this danger, they formed a body of horse and foot, which they cantoned on the borders of the Yssel, under count Brederode. Another corps, led by the count de Nassau, was posted in such a manner as to cover Embden, Coeverden, and other towns of West Friseland; but on Koningsmark's passing the Elbe, and joining the Swedes, these troops had orders to return to winter-quarters. Thus the Dutch were eased from the apprehension of an immediate attack. After the Swedes had taken the capital of Poland, and forced king Casimir out of his dominions, they turned their views towards the provinces of the elector of Brandenburg, a circumstance which obliged him to enter into negotiations with the Swedish monarch. He offered to join his forces to the Swedes, provided the king would abolish the homage for ducal Prussia required by the Poles; but the treaty with Holland proved a great obstruction to his designs. At length a treaty was concluded, whereby the elector acknowledged himself a vassal of the crown of Sweden for ducal Prussia, and the ports of that kingdom and of Pomerania were opened to the Swedish shipping. Thus the treaty between Holland and Brandenburg was rendered useless, and the republic was exposed to all the vengeance of Charles Gustavus, irritated at her engagements with Denmark, and the late treaty with the court of Berlin, which had been formed evidently against the crown of Sweden. To prepare against accidents, oblige the Swedes to return to their own ports, and secure the navigation of the republic, the states general resolved to equip against the spring a squadron of fifty ships of war. The Dutch commerce in the North was interrupted by a Swedish fleet which blocked up Dantzick, where no vessels were suffered to enter, except upon certain conditions; and Gustavus had imposed a duty on all merchandize sent to Pillau and other sea-ports of Prussia. This conduct he justified by the example of the Hollanders, who had prohibited the Swedish ships from entering the ports of Flanders during the war with Spain, although they themselves were furnishing the enemy with ammunition and provision; and likewise by their conduct in the late war with England^a.

An embassy to Sweden and Denmark.

This last transaction it was that determined the states general to dispatch M. Van Buiningen to Copenhagen, to engage his Danish majesty to declare openly against Sweden; but that prince dreaded the victorious arms of Gustavus. They likewise made some overtures to Cromwell with respect to the situation of affairs in the North; but Charles Gustavus had anticipated them in their designs upon the electorate: he had sent an ambassador to England to explain his reasons for declaring war against Poland; to propose means for preventing the Dutch from trading to the Baltic, under pretence that it was injurious to the English commerce; and to settle a treaty of commerce with respect to the imports and exports of the two kingdoms in their mutual trade.

All this time M. Nieupoort continued in London, in quality of envoy from the states, to regulate the affairs of the Indian trade, the disputes relative to Amboyna, and to study the protector's disposition towards Sweden. Commissioners were appointed by the two East India companies for adjusting their disputes; but the limited time elapsed without their coming to any agreement: upon which the Protestant cantons of Switzerland were chosen arbitrators; the worst they could possibly have thought of in commercial affairs. The Swiss no sooner opened their mouths as umpires, than they betrayed their profound ignorance of trade and navigation; upon which the contending parties perceiving their error, prolonged the space allowed for the negotiation. It was not the desire of giving satisfaction to England, but of obtaining redress, that made the Hollanders solicitous about this negotiation. The English East India company accused the Dutch commissioners of shuffling and duplicity in the restitution of Poloron, and indemnification of the losses sustained by the company in India; and the commissioners wanted to ballance this against the losses of the republic, in consequence of the seizure of their ships by English privateers before and since the war. They plied Cromwell with remonstrances upon this head; for still the grievance was sorely felt, and their merchants were daily plundered on the high seas by swarms of privateers fitted out against the Spaniards, with whom Cromwell was now at war. In the end, these altercations subsided in a treaty between France and England, in which the republic was included: after which both nations sent fleets to the Mediterranean to suppress the Algerine corsairs, who had given abundance of disturbance to their commerce.

While

*Dissensions
among the
provinces.*

While the republic was fortifying itself against the designs of Sweden on the one hand, and of England on the other, a variety of circumstances contributed to disturb the internal tranquillity of the provinces. One of the chief was the project concerted by M. de Wit, for bringing the revenue into proper order, by the reduction of interest paid by the government; but the great address of that statesman surmounted all difficulties in this affair, in a manner altogether unexpected, and convinced the creditors that it was more to their advantage to receive four per cent. than to withdraw their money; because by this expedient the foreign debts might be paid off, and the interest of their own loans increased as the capital debt diminished. To this was added another subject of debate. The death of Brederode, mareschal-general of the camp, raised up a variety of candidates for that employment. Those of most consideration were of the house of Orange. Maurice claimed it as the right of seniority and long services; and William, governor of Friseland, founded his expectations on his own influence and avaricious connections. All the partisans of the Orange family sided with this last; but the province of Holland patronized the former, out of personal pique to prince William. The states of Holland had not forgot the attempt upon Amsterdam, nor the violence with which William had opposed the exclusion act. The count would have carried his point in the assembly of the states general, had it been decided by a majority of voices; but here unanimity was necessary, and Holland affirmed, that the office was dangerous in time of peace, as it constantly gave the command of the army to the same person, who might thereby acquire an undue influence. M. de Wit presented a memorial, which he hoped would reconcile all differences, but it rather served to quiet for a time than remove the dissensions; for the office in dispute remained vacant, and the candidates soon after resumed their pretensions. Next followed some altercation about the manner of educating the young prince of Orange. Some were for appointing a minister of the gospel for his preceptor, that he might be early instructed in the principles of the reformed religion. This opinion was supported by Zealand; but the states of Holland opposed it, from an apprehension the clergy would blend politics with religion. The prince's governante requested that the prince might be put under the tuition of certain members of the states general, and the courts of justice, that his tender mind might receive deep impressions of the constitution and form of government; but the states general fearing that she intended by

this compliment, to gain an influence over the most considerable members of their body, declined the honour, under pretence that they could not decently interfere with the proper business of the prince's guardians. This debate renewed in some provinces the old affair of the stadtholdership, particularly in Overijssel, where the towns and villages were filled with riot and confusion. As usual, a thousand other points of altercation arose from this single question; and the point now was not, whether there should be a stadtholder, but whether certain cities enjoyed certain privileges? It was a dispute between one city and another, about points which had no relation to the general plan of government, and therefore scarce worthy of notice in a general history.

A plague at Leyden.

We shall conclude the year with observing that a violent plague appeared in Leyden, which swept off near four thousand of the inhabitants; but was happily prevented, by the diligence of the magistrates, from spreading itself farther into the provinces; and that at this period the magistrates of Amsterdam laid the foundation of that immense pile of building known by the name of the Stadthouse.

A.D. 1656.

The new year produced fresh causes of apprehension that the Dutch commerce might suffer from the rapid conquests of the Swedes, as the states were upon very indifferent terms with that crown. They had fitted out a large squadron for the protection of the Baltic trade; but the assurances given by the Swedish ambassador lulled the states into security, and prevented the sailing of that powerful armament. Now the duties laid by the king on all Dutch traders to Riga again roused the republic, and determined her to act vigorously. With this view she sent ambassadors to Copenhagen and Stockholm; to the former, with intimation to excite his Danish majesty against the Swedes; and to the latter, to remonstrate on the injury done to their commerce by the late unwarrantable and arbitrary imposi-

The Swedes arrest the Dutch envoy.

tions. The envoys were arrested at Lauwenburg, through which they proposed passing in their way to Dantzick, but afterwards released, and apologies made to the states general; however, this conduct served only to inflame their animosity. Admiral Opdam received orders to sail directly for the Baltic, to protect all the Dutch shipping, and lay every possible obstruction in the way of his Swedish majesty, if he should resolve upon the siege of Dantzick. Oliver Cromwell exhorted the states not to break with Gustavus, and offered his mediation to reconcile their differences,

- *Balnage, p. 255.*

under

under pretence of a zealous regard for the Protestant religion; but his intentions were suspected. Cromwell was well known to have used religion as a mask to conceal the most daring and villainous designs; the states persuaded themselves, for this reason, that he must have some other object in view than the good of the church. In their answer, therefore, to the protector's letter, they warmly applauded his piety; but in such a manner that Cromwell should perceive they were not blinded by his affected concern for religion; adding, that, far from having any intention of coming to a rupture with Gustavus, they had sent ambassadors to renew the ancient alliance between the crown of Sweden and the republic.

About this time Gustavus turned his thoughts towards Denmark. He sent M. Durell to the court of Copenhagen, in hopes of persuading the king to join with him in opposing the entrance of admiral Opdam into the Baltic. Previous to this step the senate of Denmark had remonstrated to the court of Sweden on the consequences of the war with Poland; but their letter produced no effect, as the king was then absent. This affair M. Durell had instructions to take into consideration; but the king of Denmark declared, that he could not treat with Sweden without the consent of the Dutch ambassador, M. Van Buiningen. Durell insisted that no strangers should be admitted to the conferences; the Danes took the part of Buiningen, and the dispute rose high, about the time that Opdam arrived at Dantzick, where he was received as the saviour of the city. Sweden insisted that the republic could lend no assistance to the magistrates of Dantzick, without violating the treaty of 1640, and Opdam pleaded his instructions. At last conferences were appointed at Elbing, where this affair was to be maturely discussed. In consequence of these a treaty took place; the treaty of 1645 was renewed; the commerce of neither party was to be disturbed in the Baltic by the war between Sweden and Poland; a tariff was established, and the duties on trade were regulated upon the former footing. The kings of France and Denmark, the protector of England, and the elector of Brandenburg, were likewise included in this treaty. The city of Dantzick also had permission to continue subject to the king of Poland, provided the magistrates afforded no assistance against Sweden^d.

*Dispute
with Sweden.*

*A treaty at
Elbing.*

The treaty of Elbing gave satisfaction only to the parties immediately concerned. The king of Denmark could not

^d Puffendorf, tom. vii. lib. vii. octavo.

persuade

persuade himself that the Dutch, after the expence of equipping so considerable an armament, would return to their ports upon no other security than general promises set down on paper. M. Buiningen took fire at Dantzick's being deserted, and wrote in the most pressing manner to the pensionary de Wit, to procure an order from the states general for admiral Opdam to seize upon some of the islands of the Baltic, where the fleet might winter under the direction of the king of Denmark, who had it in his power to serve the republic effectually. Notwithstanding this application the fleet returned, the public exclaimed against the unnecessary expence of the armament, and the states vindicated it, by demonstrating, that to it was owing the treaty of Elbing, which they affirmed was equally advantageous and necessary to the republic.

While the states were endeavouring to vindicate the measures they had taken for securing the trade of the Baltic, the loudest complaints were made to the several colleges of the admiralty, against the depredations committed by the English privateers. De Ruyter was ordered to put to sea with a respectable squadron, for the protection of the Dutch commerce; but he soon found the office extremely disagreeable, and remonstrated to the states upon the liberty assumed by the smallest English frigate of searching the largest ships of war belonging to the republic. He had received orders to restrain the English from committing violence, or any way injuring the subjects of the states; but he was likewise cautioned to avoid, at all events, the necessity of coming to a rupture with Cromwell, by shewing the English the clearest proofs in his power, that none of the ships under his convoy were engaged in an illicit traffic. They likewise remonstrated to the protector; but Cromwell knew his own superiority, and gave no ear to their complaints. He was now deeply engaged in measures for gaining possession of Dunkirk, the price of the assistance given to the French against the Spaniards, and consequently not at leisure to examine trifling matters, regarding Dutch traders. As the states knew their inability to redress themselves, they were forced to support with patience insults which they could not repel.

A.D. 1657

The states refuse to ratify the treaty of Elbing.

Next year produced some new difficulties with respect to the affairs of the North, and the treaty of Elbing, which the states general, after long delays, refused at last to ratify. The king of Denmark exerted his utmost influence to prevail on the Dutch not to consent to a treaty so

c Basnage, p. 477.

inconsistent

inconsistent with their engagements to him; and the maritime provinces likewise exclaimed against it, as it disappointed their mighty expectations from Opdam's expedition. Neither were the Dantzickers at all pleased with a measure which tied them down to the necessity of giving no opposition to the ambitious views of Gustavus, although they had no other security than a general promise for his not attacking their city. As to the king of Denmark, he resolved to profit by the present situation of Sweden, which was involved in a war with all her powerful neighbours, and execute certain designs he had formed on Schonen, Norway, and Germany. It was of the utmost consequence to engage the republic in his interest, and this point he laboured by his ambassador at the Hague; but found the states little disposed to accept the proposed defensive alliance. However, the negotiations upon this subject retarded the ratification of the treaty of Elbing, and gave the Danish monarch hopes that he might at length be able to succeed. There was, besides, another objection to the treaty. Some of the articles were by no means clearly expressed, particularly those relative to the duty on merchandize. The king of Sweden insisted on the execution of the tariff, and the regulations made in 1640. The Dutch pleaded, that all the subjects of the United Provinces, who built ships in Sweden at their own expence, were entitled to all the privileges of natives of that kingdom. This inference the king denied, unless they fixed their residence in Sweden, and became subjects of that crown. It would, he affirmed, be attended with the worst consequences to his people, to suffer strangers to cut down the finest forests to build ships, perhaps to fight against their own king and country. In a word, he reasoned this point so strongly, that the Dutch ambassadors were silenced, and forced to content themselves with a general reply, that they would wait for farther instructions from the states.

Though the states were unable to answer the arguments urged by Gustavus, they nevertheless withheld the ratification desired, and strongly insinuated that this could only be obtained on the conditions above mentioned. It was not the business of Gustavus to drive the Dutch into the arms of Denmark, he therefore tried every expedient to gain them to his own interest. He made divers specious proposals, all of which the states rejected, as they knew well the terms that would be expected. The true interest of the states consisted in suffering the northern princes to

*A fresh
quarrel
with Swe-
den.*

exhaust each other by wars and battles ; for this reason it was that M. Van Buiningen was blamed for animating the states of Holland against the king of Sweden, by representing the advantage they might deduce from the alliance of the crown of Denmark. By his instigations the city of Amsterdam, of which he was pensionary, inclined strongly to the crown of Denmark, and had already supplied that kingdom with a great number of armed ships to serve against Sweden under Danish colours. Several deputies of the states general were accused of corruption, and this matter was put beyond doubt by letters from the Swedish ambassador at the Hague, which were intercepted by the king of Denmark, and sent over to Holland. By these the Swedish minister appeared perfectly acquainted with all that passed in the assembly of the states general, and had likewise acquainted his master that divers of the deputies received pensions from the crowns of Spain and Denmark. He even went so far as to specify the sums, and the channels of payment and intercourse. Complaints were made of the Swedish ambassador for the liberties he had taken with the reputation of their high mightinesses ; and he vindicated himself, by affirming that he was only answerable to the king his master for the contents of his letters, and that his Danish majesty had violated the laws of nations, by intercepting the letters of a prince with whom he was not at open war. Not satisfied with this plea, he wrote a sarcastic epigram upon the states, which had more wit than prudence. Irritated at his conduct, they refused to enter into conferences with him ; upon which his Swedish majesty declared he would hold no communication with the deputies of the states, and accordingly refused them audience, though they bore the character of ambassadors extraordinary. This affront increased the animosity. The states resented his Swedish majesty's putting their ambassadors upon a footing with his minister, who was vested with no higher character than that of a resident ; they wrote to the king, and he replied, that he was astonished to see a people who had but a few years before granted precedence to the envoys of electors, talk in so high a strain about the dignity of their ambassadors. The province of Holland immediately sent orders to the ambassadors to return, unless the king apologised for the conduct of his resident, or granted them an audience. Three of the provinces opposed this resolution, which they feared would produce an open rupture ; upon which Holland relaxed, and consented that the resident should be referred entirely to his Swedish majesty, either to acquit or condemn his conduct, as he thought

thought proper; in hopes that this instance of moderation would work a proper effect at the court of Stockholm. Gustavus did not fail to decide the dispute in favour of his resident, though he at the same time acknowledged the civility of the states, by immediately granting audience to their ambassadors. The truth is, he still regarded the republic as a concealed enemy, over-awed by fear and interest; and the event justified his opinion.

Denmark having now come to an open rupture with Sweden, general Bilde traversed Holstein, passed the Elbe, and with a Danish army invaded the duchy of Bremen. After Wrangel had defeated part of his fleet before Stade, he was more sensible than ever that the assistance of the Dutch was absolutely necessary to the success of his measures. With these sentiments he offered terms to the states general, so advantageous as subdued all objections to coming to a rupture with Sweden, and entering on engagements with Denmark. The states were, however, so cautious as to contract only a defensive treaty, whereby the parties agreed to assist each other, if attacked, with a body of six thousand men, and a squadron of ships, or a stipulated sum of money, as an equivalent.

The difference compromised.

Though deeply immersed in the politics of the North, the states did not neglect their connections with the other maritime powers. Repeated complaints had been made to Cromwell of the depredations committed on the high seas by his privateers; but all were disregarded, at least no satisfaction could be obtained. The Dutch commerce suffered equally from the swarms of small armed vessels that issued out of the French ports, and preyed upon those of the republic. The Dutch merchants computed that three hundred and twenty-eight of their ships had been taken by those privateers. M. Boreel, the Dutch envoy, applied to the French court for satisfaction, and above fifty arrets of council had passed, to oblige the captors to make restitution, but without effect. At Marseilles they attacked the Dutch consul publicly, covered him with wounds, and left him wallowing in his blood, because he had attempted to enforce the ambassador's orders, and the king's arrets. This last violence so incensed the states, that they sent instructions to de Ruyter to take all ships coming out of Toulon. The admiral had not long received his orders before he met with two Toulon privateers, one mounting forty, the other fourteen guns. These he took, removing all the prisoners on board his own ships, where they soon introduced a con-

Disputes between the court of France and the republic.

tagious disorder, of which the greater number of themselves, and many of the Dutch sailors died. It was well known that these ships had been built in Sweden; that they belonged to the French king, and that cardinal Mazarin had procured commissions for the reputed owners, on condition that he should share in the captures. They were the best sailing ships of France, and had made an infinity of prizes in this cruise. Mazarin was incensed at the presumption of de Ruyter, and the loss of his ships, and the immense sums of money on board. He represented him as a pirate, who, under false colours, made prize of the French vessels. He said, that if the Dutch commerce had been injured by private subjects of the French king, the states ought not to retaliate upon the royal navy, especially as the king had issued arrets to oblige the captors to make satisfaction. It was urged in council, that such an indignity to the crown could only be washed out by the blood of those who had committed it, and that if reparation was not made, war ought to be declared against the republic, and the whole nation persecuted with the utmost rigour, for screening so notorious offenders, and thereby becoming parties in the offence. However agreeable to the dignity of the French monarchy this spirited conduct might appear, the advice was tempered by the prudence of the chancellor, and the moderation of M. Villeroy, who strenuously opposed entering upon violent measures; however, they could not prevent the cardinal's issuing an order for seizing upon all the Dutch ships and effects in the ports of France. This was accordingly executed. Alarmed at a method of proceeding so unprecedented, the states ordered M. Boreel to represent their astonishment at seeing their ships arrested by the king's order, in direct violation of the law of nations, and without any application to them, to know whether or not they approved of de Ruyter's conduct, without even reflecting, whether necessity did not require that a check should be given the privateers, as they had assaulted the Dutch consul, in contempt of the king's own authority.

Boreel did not wait the orders of the state to fulfill the duties of his office. He demanded an audience of the king, which was granted. He remonstrated with great spirit and intrepidity, though he was thrice interrupted by the cardinal, who said, his speech was not the declaration of a minister, but the declamation of a rhetorician. Boreel's reflections upon the minister were indeed so free and severe, that he could expect no extraordinary effects from his remonstrance. All he obtained was a tolerably silent hearing from the young monarch, who was guided entirely by his
prime

prime minister. Nor did Mazarin content himself with paying no regard to the representations of the Dutch ambassador. He sent M. de Thou to the Hague, to demand satisfaction for the insult committed by de Ruyter, without so much as releasing the Dutch shipping. De Thou entered into a detail of de Ruyter's conduct, which he affirmed, before the states, was contrary to the custom of civilized countries, and highly injurious to the honour of the republic. He said, it deserved the severest chastisement, as treachery was added to injustice. He had hoisted the English flag, and deceived the French under false colours, a decoy never practised except by barbarous nations and Turkish pirates, when they lay in wait for their Christian prey. He had likewise shewn the utmost treachery to the sieur de Lund, captain of the largest frigate, by writing him a civil letter, which induced the unsuspecting Frenchman to visit de Ruyter on board, where he was detained prisoner. He aggravated the offence by a thousand additional circumstances; and concluded with requesting their high mightinesses to reflect well upon the consequences of such usage to the servants of a great king, and protesting that his instructions would allow him to enter upon no other business, or receive any propositions, until he received a definitive answer to his demands. To this remonstrance M. de Ghent, who presided in the assembly of the states general, replied, that the Dutch had so evidently a right to make reprisals, that his excellency, who was himself a lawyer, if he would reason impartially, could not but acquit de Ruyter, and justify the conduct of the states. Two days after an order was issued for stopping all the French ships and merchandize in the ports of Holland. To be in a condition to maintain this vigorous resolution, it was proposed to augment the navy with twelve capital ships, and to block up the coasts of France so closely as to prevent all attempts of revenge, and render useless the swarms of privateers with which the ports were crowded. The states of Holland, who had projected these spirited designs, represented them to the states general; they applauded the conduct of Boreel, who had supported his character with dignity, and even justified de Ruyter. Several of the provinces were for coming to an open rupture with France; but the states general were more moderate. Their first care was to guard strictly against corruption, as it was insinuated that M. de Thou was charged with large sums of money for this purpose. With this view an oath was drawn up and sent to the states of all the provinces, obliging the members to accept of no presents, strenuously to stand up in the interest of their country; to be biassed by no private designs, and not only

to reject all overtures that had a tendency towards obtaining an undue influence, but to render public every such proposal. At last the states general and the states of Holland, each in a body, gave their final answer to the ambassador. They complained of the depredations, piracies, and robberies, committed by the subjects of the French king, for which no satisfaction was made by the government. They demanded the execution of the arrears granted by the council, restitution of the ships and effects seized by order of the king, and an apology for the indignity offered to the republic in the person of her consul at Marseilles, particularly for the liberties taken by the commissioners at Rouen, and other places, of examining the papers, sealing up the chests, and taking possession of the warehouses of Dutch merchants.

De Thou, finding he could effect nothing by a high hand, wrote to his court for more moderate instructions; and he was ordered to assure the states they should have ample satisfaction, upon restitution of the two frigates taken by de Ruyter, after which a treaty of navigation and commerce should be settled. But this proposition was rejected; upon which the ambassador declared the king would be contented with a promise of restitution, as an equivalent for the ships, and he would in the mean time give all the satisfaction required. From such ample concessions it was imagined the affair was happily at an end; but the cardinal neglected the ratification of these preliminaries, upon which the states took fire a second time, prohibited all intercourse with France, and gave orders to the naval officers to take French ships wherever they were found. Never had the states displayed more firmness and intrepidity than upon this occasion; but though they bid defiance to all menaces, they were easily appeased by concessions. The king wrote them a letter, which entirely subdued by lenity that spirit which seemed to rise with opposition.

The constancy of the republic was, in a great measure, owing to her ignorance of the treaty in agitation between Cromwell and Mazarin. Mean while an accident happened, which had almost destroyed the effect of the king's letter to the states, and the treaty concluded in consequence of that letter. De Ruyter, then upon a cruize, was informed by the Dutch consul at Leghorn, that five French ships of war had put into Vja Regia, a port belonging to the little republic of Lucca: thither he pursued them, but being driven out of his course by a storm, they had intelligence of his design, and made the best sail for Porto Venere, a harbour in the Genoese dominions. Here they were blocked up by de Ruyter, who, though he

he was not at liberty to attack them in a neutral port, found means so to distress them, that they were on the point of surrendering at discretion, when advice arrived from the states of the treaty signed with the French monarch. De Ruyter's conduct was so much approved on this occasion, that the states, to shew their sense of his merit, complimented him with a gold chain, in testimony of their regard.

Scarce had the republic got clear of these disputes with the court of France, when she was involved in others with that of Portugal, about their several pretensions in Brasil. *Disputes with Portugal about the Brasil.* Mess. Tenhoven and de Wit were sent as envoys to Lisbon, to adjust the affair, and present the overtures of a treaty of accommodation. The Portuguese ministry were equally astonished at the propositions made, and the powerful armaments with which they were accompanied. Not a moment was lost in taking every measure for the security of the kingdom; the guards at Lisbon were doubled; all the captains of ships had orders to prepare for action; and a body of infantry was encamped on the shore to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet. After these vigorous steps had been taken, the ministers ventured to acquaint the Dutch deputies, that the court would not listen to proposals made with such an air of defiance, and with all the pride of conquerors. This declaration was highly resented by the Hollanders, who, in the heat of passion, expressed themselves in disrespectful terms of the royal family, and de Solas, secretary of state; upon which orders were issued to seize upon all the Dutch vessels in the Tagus. Such open violences, could not but be followed by a declaration of war; the deputies quitted Lisbon without taking leave, and de Ruyter took several Portuguese ships in the mouth of the river.

Before their departure the Dutch commissaries had sent a declaration of war, sealed up, in the hands of Don Pedro de Sylva. *War with Portugal.* De Ruyter now thought himself at liberty to act offensively: accordingly he divided his fleet into three squadrons, and resolved to cruize in certain latitudes for the Brasil fleet, which was daily expected in Europe. His own division fell in with a fleet of forty sail; but the haziness of the weather concealed them from his view. Only five ships were taken, and it was from the crews of them he learnt that the fleet was so numerous. There was another fleet, homeward bound from Brasil; but the scarcity of provisions obliged de Ruyter to quit his station, and return to Holland^b.

^b Basnage, p. 512.

*The states
are in-
volved in
disputes
with the
bishop of
Munster.*

While the states were thus engaged in open hostilities with Portugal, an affair happened, at first of seemingly trivial moment, but in the end of serious consequences, with the neighbouring princes of the Rhine. The electors of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, the duke of Newburg, and the bishop of Munster, were desirous of entering into a strict alliance with the republic, for their mutual defence. Their overtures, however, were coldly received by the states of Zealand and Friseland, though the province of Holland approved of a treaty of commerce, respecting the navigation of the Rhine, upon the terms which had been proposed a few years before by the elector of Cologne. This point was under deliberation when the bishop of Munster, quarrelling with his own subjects, interrupted the negociation, and made the republic and the princes, instead of joining in an alliance, embrace opposite parties, and fight with all the bitterness of inveterate enemies. Bernard Van Galen, for so the bishop was called, had some years before got possession of the see of Munster by a stroke of policy. His uncle, who had bred him up from his infancy, reckoned himself secure of being elected, when he found himself outwitted by his nephew, and disappointed in his expectations. The pope refused to confirm the election of Van Galen; but that bold, enterprising genius, maintained his ground, in despite of all opposition, rendered himself respectable, and even formed vast projects for extending his power and dominion. His wearing the mitre did not prevent his understanding the sword. By nature he was intended for a soldier; and he followed his inclinations as soon as an opportunity offered. He entered into all the intrigues of his neighbours, to whom he hired out his courage and his troops. When he was reproached for meditating such vast designs with such slender forces, he replied, that little saints frequently wrought great miracles. Besides the large sums he drew from the neighbouring princes, he levied heavy taxes upon his subjects for the support of the army, and, when they murmured at the oppression, was used to say, that a warrior should have no more compassion than the devil. He soon began to practise this maxim upon his own subjects. Like most other bishopricks in Germany, the see of Munster is subject to the bishops in temporals as well as spirituals, the prelates uniting in the mitre the cross and the scepter. Some towns, within their jurisdiction, however, maintained their privileges, and among these was the city of Munster. The burghers insisted that they were not obliged to receive the bishop's garrison, but that the sole command of the city belonged to the inhabitants. Two years

years before the bishop had introduced a body of troops, as necessary to the security of the place; the burghers complained loudly, and the dispute was referred to the assembly of the provincial states, who decided in favour of the burghers. Van Galen refused to stand by their award, submitted it to the imperial verdict, and obtained six months delay, to produce new arguments in support of his pretensions. Alarmed at this award, which plainly indicated a bias in favour of the bishop, the magistrates sent a deputation to the Hague, requesting the republic to include them in the treaty lately made with the Hans Towns. The grand pensionary de Wit, who foresaw the issue of entering upon such engagements, would do nothing without consulting the states, particularly those of Overijssel and Groningen; but their deliberations were so tedious, that the opportunity slipped of strengthening the frontiers towards that quarter. The bishop invested the town with his own forces, and a body of auxiliaries, and bombarded it with such fury, that in the space of a few hours above two hundred houses were set on fire, two churches were demolished, and a priest, as he was administering the sacrament at the altar, was killed by a cannon-ball. This terrible sacrilege, committed by a bishop, roused all the fury of the townsmen; they sallied out vigorously on the besiegers, and slew great numbers of the prelates forces, while their wives and daughters, forming themselves into companies, resolutely defended the walls. The electors of Bavaria and Saxony interposed, as vicars of the empire; the pope, as father of the church, reprehended his warlike son, for having taken arms upon so slight an occasion; but more effectual remedies than pontifical exhortations were requisite.

When it was known in Holland that a war had broke out between the bishop of Munster and his flock, the republic immediately put her frontier into a posture of defence, and sent two members from the states general, and one from the council of war with offers of her mediation. The deputies were received civilly by the bishop; but their mediation was rejected; the prelate excusing himself, under pretence it would be an affront to the states of the country, and the princes of the empire, to submit to any other arbitration than theirs: nor would he suffer the deputies to enter the city, lest their presence might help to animate the burghers. This conduct incensed the states general, and determined them to succour the besieged; but four towns in Holland opposed this resolution, which, however, did not prevent the troops from beginning their march. The command

was given to M. Rhingrave, commissary-general of the cavalry, and governor of Maestricht, as prince Maurice of Nassau was at that time in Friseland.

Van Galen had minute intelligence of all that passed in the states general of the United Provinces. He perceived that this affair would soon take a very serious turn. He made some rigorous proposals to the besieged, which were rejected. However, the nobility, who feared to see their country made the theatre of war, used all their influence with the burghers to effect an accommodation; and the bishop, who apprehended he should in a few days be forced by the Dutch to raise the siege, relaxed in a variety of articles. A compromise was agreed to, the gates were opened, and the prelate made his public entry in the beginning of December, but without being honoured with the usual rejoicings and acclamations. The Dutch were piqued that their mediation was rejected, and the bishop was irritated at not being received with the accustomed honours by his subjects, and at the march of the Dutch forces¹; he resolved secretly to embrace the first opportunity of being revenged on the republic, and the inhabitants of Munster. We shall see, in the course of our narrative, how he accomplished his purposes.

Civil divisions.

Those foreign disputes, in which the republic was engaged, did not prevent domestic broils. The province of Overijssel had been involved for some years in violent altercations about certain privileges, and there appeared no prospect of an issue, when suddenly the parties came to a resolution of referring their differences to the prince of Nassau, stadtholder of the province, and M. de Wit, grand pensionary of Holland, by whom they were happily terminated. But this affair was no sooner ended than the election of a *mareschal de camp* became a new subject of dissension in the provinces. The states general had appointed a person to this office, and the states of Holland opposed the election, insisting that the states general assumed an illegal authority. In fact, they apprehended that the influence of the house of Orange would be strengthened by the renewal of an office which had for years been abolished; and that was the true reason of their opposition. The affair was agitated with great heat, until the rapid progress of the Swedish arms, and the miserable situation of the king of Denmark, called for the interposition of the United Provinces, and diverted their attention from an object which might have laid the foundation of a civil war².

¹ Le Clerc, p. 282. Basnage, p. 512.

² Idem. *ibid.* & 520.

Former

Former engagements to the king of Denmark, the balance of power in the North, and the commercial interest of the United Provinces, all required that Sweden should not become too powerful. As Copenhagen was now invested, the states general proposed sending immediate succours to Frederic; but the provinces of Zealand, Friseland, and Guelderland, insisted upon first creating a mareschal de camp. However, this point was dropped, upon the general resolution that was taken of only sending a naval force. Gustavus had given the states the strongest assurances that he would never molest their commerce; he had likewise remitted large sums of money to his ambassador at the Hague, to be duly applied, in order to retard the assistance intended for Denmark; but all his endeavours were frustrated by the vigilance of de Wit, and the spirit of the people, who unanimously resented the encroachments of this enterprising prince. A large fleet accordingly set sail, early in the spring, for the Baltic, under the conduct of admiral Opdam, who had orders not only to protect the ships of the republic, but to assist, by every possible means, the king of Denmark, and fight the Swedish fleet the first opportunity: if Cronenburgh and Copenhagen should be in the hands of the Swedes before his arrival, his instructions were, to assist, aid, and abet, all the enterprizes of the Danish monarch, and with his fleet to block up such places as the king might chuse to invest by land. In a word, the republic seemed determined to keep no bounds with Sweden; and Van Buiningen, who still resided at Copenhagen, contributed to stimulate the states, by representing the infamy and danger to the republic that would ensue from deserting Frederic in his distressed situation, and the benefits she might receive from his gratitude, if a timely, vigorous diversion should be made in his favour. That minister had great weight with the pensionary de Wit, who entered the more readily into his measures, because he was under no apprehensions from France or England.

After Opdam had long struggled with adverse winds, he arrived in the Sound, where the Swedish fleet was immediately descried; upon which he assembled a council of his officers. It was carried by a majority to attack the enemy; but contrary winds kept the fleet back for four days, and the Swedes shewed no inclination to become the aggressors. At last a fresh gale sprung up, and Opdam advanced in three divisions, while the Swedish admiral, Wrangel, was drawn up in the same order to oppose his passage. Gustavus was in the castle of Cronenburgh, a spectator of the action, and witness to the conduct of his admiral, who

*The states
assist the
king of
Denmark.*

*Sea-fight
between
the Swedes
and Dutch.*

had already won so many laurels. The heat of the engagement fell upon Opdam and Wrangel; both fought with equal skill and courage; their strength was equal, but not so their fortune. Wrangel was forced to retreat under the cannon of the fortress, and yield a victory which he sold at the expence of a multitude of lives. The carnage indeed was dreadful in both fleets: the Dutch lost two admirals, de Wit and Florizen, they suffered greatly in their rigging, but the enemy lost more private men, and suffered greater damage in their hulls. Wrangel's own ship was pierced through and through; and when he quitted the engagement, he had nine feet water in his hold. Three Swedish ships were taken, the same number sunk, and four more were driven ashore; but what gave Opdam clearly the advantage, was, that he landed two thousand men, military stores, and provisions, in Copenhagen, by which the city was saved. Swedish writers have disputed the victory, only because it was not pursued, and because a process against Opdam was commenced on his return, for not having destroyed the Swedish fleet at Landskroon¹.

This engagement gave great disturbance to Gustavus, as it seemed the prelude of a declared war with the United Provinces. It was debated in his council whether he should dissemble his resentment at this act of hostility, or denounce war openly against the states. A variety of opinions were offered in support of both propositions, and the arguments appeared so equal, that the king took more time to deliberate. In Holland the people reasoned differently. It was not thought sufficient to have afforded the king of Denmark the slender assistance of two thousand men, when by treaty they were engaged to assist him with double the number: it was therefore determined to augment the of auxiliaries to six thousand effective men. Only one difficulty remained, and that was with respect to the payment of this corps. Some of the deputies proposed, that his Danish majesty should put Gluckstadt into the hands of the Dutch; but de Wit answered, that this would excite the jealousy of France and England, who were already displeased with the conduct of the republic, as was obvious from the remonstrances of M. de Thou, the French ambassador.

*The states
jealous of
the pro-
tector of
England,*

It was the first intention of the states, to leave only a squadron of six or seven men of war in the Baltic, because it was not doubted but Copenhagen, with the succours thrown in by Opdam, would be in condition to defend

¹ Basnage, p. 325. Puffend. tom. vi. p. 144.

itself

itself for the winter; but upon advice that England was about to declare for Sweden, the admiral had orders to remain with his whole fleet, to winter in Denmark, to follow the instructions of Frederic, to oppose the passage of the Swedish forces from Holstein, and pursue every measure which could contribute to the common interest of the allies, and disappoint the schemes of Gustavus. It is certain that Cromwell harboured designs against Denmark and Holland, but a variety of domestic occurrences prevented his carrying them into execution. He had now got possession of Dunkirk, which had lately been taken from the Spaniards, by the joint forces of France and England. The cession of Dunkirk to the protector, was equally irksome to France, Spain, the Pope, and the United Provinces; but Cromwell carried the point with a high hand. The Dutch in particular had reason to complain. They saw the English in quiet enjoyment of a port, which would serve as a retreat for their privateers, and in a short time be filled with the pillage of the Dutch shipping. The states would have rather seen Dunkirk in the hands of the Spaniards than of the English; for the interest of the former, with respect to commerce, began now to be re-united to those of the provinces. They saw France and England now strongly cemented by this bond of union, and began to apprehend that Furnes, Graveline, Menin, Ypres, and Oudenarde, were likewise in danger. M. de Turenne was fixed upon by the cardinal, to quiet the emotions of the republic, and to assure the states, that the king had no other view in the conquest of the Netherlands than to oblige the inhabitants to throw off the Spanish yoke, and to unite in a form of government, similar to that of the United Provinces. He added, that if a republican government was once established, the king would willingly restore all his conquests since the commencement of the war, not excepting the capital of Artois. The friends of France looked upon this proposal as so equitable, that they pressed the states to second the designs of the most christian king; but M. de Wit headed the contrary party, from a conviction that Mazarin's design was only to sow dissension among the provinces, and to extend the frontiers of the kingdom, at the expence of the Netherlands. But while this point was agitated with great warmth, the sudden illness of the French king introduced a great change into the politics of the court; and the states were relieved from their apprehensions on the side of England, by the death of Oliver Cromwell, who was at the same time the terror, and admiration of all his neighbours. The vacancy in the imperial

*and the
king of
France.*

*Proposals
made by
the king of
France.*

throne, likewise made considerable alteration in the state of affairs, and Holland was forced to change her system with the circumstances of Europe.

It was evident that the United Provinces were deeply interested in the fate of the candidates to the imperial diadem, which was claimed by the archduke Leopold, the king of Hungary, the elector of Bavaria, and the duke of Newburg. It was contrary to the interest of the republic to see the power of the house of Austria enlarged, and the empire made hereditary in that family; because the states were not so thoroughly reconciled to Spain, but that some articles left undetermined by the treaty of Munster might still be disputed. On the other hand, it was apprehended that any opposition to the claims of this ambitious and powerful family, might kindle a war, which would necessarily spread itself to the provinces. The present situation of the republic required that France should be assisted in setting upon the imperial throne, a prince less powerful than Leopold. However, all their designs, whatever they might be, were anticipated by the election of Leopold, without bloodshed, or scarce any opposition in the diet^m.

*Leopold
chosen em-
peror.*

Leopold, immediately after his election, sent M. Trequet in quality of envoy to the Hague, to acquaint the states with his elevation, and to solicit their close alliance with the house of Austria. This minister hoped his commission would be successful, because the union tended to assist Denmark, and oppose the growing power of Sweden. Besides, as the states were on the point of sending another fleet to the Baltic, he presumed they would have no objection to act in concert with the imperial arms; though indeed this proposal was diametrically opposite to their designs, which were to assist Denmark, but not to allow the house of Austria any footing in the islands of the Baltic. Yet the republic made no difficulty of renewing her treaties with the imperial court, and of compromising some disputes about certain frontier towns with the Spaniards.

It was not so easy to make up the breach with Portugal, as the republic continued to demand reparation of her losses, and satisfaction for the injuries sustained by her subjects. The king of France offered his mediation, and de Thou exhorted the states to consent to a suspension of hostilities, in order to settle the preliminaries of a treaty. Accordingly the states general granted an armistice for two months, on condition that his Portuguese majesty should

send an ambassador into Holland, to treat with the states, and that in failure of his arrival, hostilities should recommence. In the mean time, the admiralty was busied in preparing for the worst, and equipping such a fleet as it was hoped would oblige the Portuguese to listen to reason. This fleet set sail under de Ruyter in the month of June; but that admiral never met with an opportunity of exercising his valour; though his skill and constancy were put to a severe trial in a terrible storm, which overtook the fleet soon after it quitted the coast of Holland. At length he arrived in a shattered condition in the Tagus, a circumstance which rendered the Portuguese the more averse to accommodation, relying upon the divisions among the provinces, the incumbrances on the India company, and the engagements of the republic to the king of Denmark, that would prevent their paying the necessary attention to the affairs of Brasil. The commissioners met, and disputed, but settled nothing^a.

Still the war between Sweden and Denmark raged with unremitting fury. Copenhagen was besieged by land, and blocked up by sea, while the Dutch and Danish fleets were locked up by the ice, and the Swedes made vast conquests over every part of the Danish dominions. At last, the allies broke the ice, and made way for some of their ships to put to sea. Early in the spring, they encountered six Swedish men of war, who valiantly sustained their first attack, though pressed with the utmost vigour and impetuosity. After an exceeding obstinate engagement, they were forced to yield to the weight of a greatly superior strength, and retire with the loss of two ships of fifty guns each, one of which was taken, and the other sunk, leaving a complete and decisive victory to the Hollanders.

This defeat, the vigorous descents made from the Dutch fleet, and the treaty concluded between France, England, and Holland, to restore the tranquillity of the North, operated powerfully on the mind of Gustavus, who had still obstinately persevered in besieging Copenhagen, and ruining the dominions of his adversary. To give more weight to the treaty, the republic sent de Ruyter with another fleet to the coasts of Jutland, and communicated to him the articles of Denmark's engagements with France and England, as the clearest explication of his instructions, and rule for his conduct. His Swedish majesty now entered into negotiations with the Dutch deputies; but the arrival of an Eng-

^a Basnage, p. 556.

lish fleet in the Sound, and the ambiguous conduct of that nation, fluctuating, unsteady, and unhinged in its internal government, disconcerted all the measures of the Hollanders, and broke off the negotiation after it was far advanced. De Ruyter and Opdam even apprehended an attack from the English, until they received the most solemn assurances to the contrary from the lord Montagu, whose departure from the Sound disappointed all the hopes of the Swedish monarch. No sooner were the Dutch left there at entire liberty to act than they renewed their operations, harrassing the enemy by descents on every side. It was by the desperate courage of a body of soldiers, headed by de Ruyter, that the victory at Funen was gained, which gave the first shock to the fortune of Gustavus; for as to the advantages gained over his fleets, those were regarded as of less consequence. In a word, the diligence, vigour, and intrepidity of the Dutch, first disposed the king of Sweden to listen to reasonable conditions, which he was on the point of accepting, when he was seized with a disorder that deprived him of life.

Peace restored to the North.

This event produced various effects; Charles Gustavus was deeply regretted by all the Swedes, while the Danish monarch, and the city of Copenhagen, could not refrain from indecent transports of joy. In the end, however, it proved fortunate for both sides, who were almost reduced to the verge of desperation, by their obstinacy and implacable animosity. A peace, under the mediation of England and Holland, was concluded, and repose once more restored to Denmark, which, for near two years, had been the theatre of a bloody war, productive of every species of distress and misfortune to the truly miserable inhabitants*.

The Dutch take the island of Ceylon.

Cardinal Mazarin now offered his mediation to reconcile his Portuguese majesty and the states general; but the negotiations proved more difficult than those of the preceding year. When this matter had been before agitated, the only obstruction was the indemnification required by the Dutch for the loss sustained in the Brasils; now the India company had driven the Portuguese from the island of Ceylon, thereby engrossing the most valuable of all the India spices, the cinnamon, which constitutes one of the most essential articles of their commerce. This invaluable acquisition was due to the diligence and valour of M. Gohens, counsellor of state at Batavia, who first made an attack upon some of the smaller Portuguese factories in the

* Basnage, p. 620.

island : encouraged by his success, and the invitation of the natives, who were grievously oppressed by the tyranny of their old masters, he ventured upon an attempt in Jassanaparan, the head settlement of the Portuguese. The situation of this place rendered a formal siege impracticable ; however, by the force of bombs and red hot bullets, the Dutch forced the great lords of the country to abandon their magnificent palaces, and take shelter in the Portuguese fort, which was in a short time reduced by famine to extremities. In about fourteen weeks after, the city was first invested, the besieged desired to capitulate, and the Europeans were permitted either to remove to Goa without their effects, or remain in the country in subjection to the conquerors. The king hated the Portuguese ; but he was alarmed at the rapid progress the Dutch made, and the lofty manner in which they treated the vanquished Portuguese and the natives. He accordingly determined to crush them in the infancy of their establishment, and raised an army for that purpose ; but was over-awed, and forced to relinquish his design, by the Dutch squadron. In the end, he compromised matters with the company, and left the Hollanders in full possession of whatever the Portuguese had claimed in this valuable island.

Though the articles of pacification with Portugal were rendered more intricate by the late conquest in Ceylon, yet it contributed to make his faithful majesty more pliant. He found he could not with impunity attack the company, or avoid making restitution of the lands and merchandize taken from the republic in Brasil. Sensibly touched with the loss of the valuable settlements in Ceylon, he sent an ambassador to Holland with fresh proposals ; and to facilitate the way to an accommodation, he applied to Mazarin for the mediation of the court of France. Mazarin committed this affair to M. de Thou, resident at the Hague ; and that minister acted so warmly in the affair as to incur the displeasure of his eminence, who apprehended that Spain would reject his taking part in the affairs of Portugal, at a time when the two courts were settling preliminaries for a durable peace, after a tedious, bloody, and ruinous war. Such was the situation of Holland with regard to Portugal, when fresh occasions of discontent arose. The Portuguese Jesuits traded, under a variety of shapes and disguises, to a prodigious extent in the East Indies. By a thousand arts and machinations they obstructed the Dutch commerce ; and by the esteem in which they were held in the different countries of India, not only forestalled the markets, but even so far prejudiced the natives, that
in

in many places they refused to hold any intercourse with the Hollanders. They not only insinuated themselves into the court of the emperor of China, by their address and skill in geometry, astronomy, and mechanics, but made pilgrimages to every kingdom in India, particularly to Dehli, where the grand mogul resided, and to Golkonda, whence they returned loaded with diamonds of the best water and size, and the most precious jewels. The arts used by the Dutch to counteract them, were not very justifiable: they were, however, perfectly consistent with the genius of this people, who stick at nothing to promote their interest. They are accused, and the charge hath never been disproved, of having arrested the Jesuit pilgrims, and strangled them privately; they are even charged with having used poison in the most base and insidious manner. Certain it is, by a series of the darkest arts and intrigues, the Dutch firmly established themselves, ruined their adversaries, and formed a variety of advantageous treaties and alliances with the natives.

The states receive the king of England with great respect.

The revolution which now happened in England, and the king's restoration, affected the politics of the states general, who had never been cordial with Cromwell, and since his death, were in a state of uncertainty about the conduct they were to observe to his son Richard. The transactions in England were no sooner known than Charles set out for Breda, where the states dispatched a solemn deputation to congratulate him on his happy prospect, and welcome his majesty into the dominions of the republic. This deputation laid the foundation of a violent altercation between the states general and the states of Holland, the former insisting not only upon their precedency at Breda, but even in the province of Holland, as the representatives of the Seven Provinces, and the sovereign authority in the republic. Both resolved to have the lead in the intended public entry of the king into the Hague; but Charles interposed, and happily reconciled the contending parties. He was oppressed with honours and civilities during his stay in Holland, and upon his departure, was followed by a splendid embassy to his newly recovered dominions.

It was in the course of this year that the French king had taken violent possession of the principality of Orange, upon an ancient claim which princes always find means to prove by the longest sword. The disputes between the princess-dowager furnished a pretext for reviving this claim, and Lewis did not chuse to lose so fair an opportunity of extending his dominion. He alleged that the princess governante had

had shewn him many instances of disrespect during the minority of her son the prince of Orange. He likewise maintained that he was performing a signal service to the prince, by easing him of the load of useless expensive garrisons. This opinion was supported by the enemies of the house of Orange, who insisted that the finances of that family had been to mismanaged and misapplied since the regency, as to render the burthen of maintaining guards, garrisons, and fortifications, quite intolerable. They could not, therefore, conceive what design Maurice could have in fortifying, at the price of two millions, a place situated in the heart of the French dominions, which could prove of no use to the republic, as a barrier against the encroachments of France. Very little encouragement from the prince's enemies in Holland was sufficient to determine the king to undertake an enterprize to which he was before disposed. He was at that time in Provence upon other affairs, and resolved to seize this opportunity of making himself master of the principality of Orange. M. de Milet was sent to summon count Dohna to surrender his trust to the king, as mediator of the differences between the princesses-dowagers, and legitimate tutor and protector of the young prince. Upon Dohna's answering, that he would only act by the orders of the princesses who had vested him with the office of governor; Milet replied, that he was astonished at his presumption in refusing obedience to the command of the king his master, adding, that the most christian king would support his right with the irrefragable proof of twenty thousand men, who would make him repent of his obstinacy. The count, without being moved at this menace, persevered in his duty, and sent notice of his situation to the Hague. The court of the young prince was instantly alarmed at the danger which threatened the hereditary dominions; and the friends to the family laboured to reconcile the princesses, as the only means which could ward off the impending blow; for as the king had made their differences the principal argument for his own proceedings, it was hoped their reconciliation would take away all pretext for so unjust and oppressive an invasion on the rights of a minor. Mean time the garrison was unprovided with stores and every necessary of a siege, while the king's army, under the marshal Plessis Pralin, advanced to the gates of Orange. The count de Dohna, unable to make any defence, capitulated; and, with the consent and advice of the magistrates, delivered the keys into the hands of the marshal. The king promised to exercise justice in the prince's name, and to restore the principality, with all the

The king of France seizes on the principality of Orange.

the stores, cannon, and effects, as soon as he arrived at age; or, in case of his death, to the electress of Brandenburg, or the nearest heirs; but he took care immediately to demolish the citadel, which had been erected at a vast expence by prince Maurice. Dohna was accused of having yielded to the force of corruption, and the princesses exclaimed violently against the king's arbitrary proceedings, throwing themselves upon the protection of the states general, and imploring the aid and assistance of their high mightinesses in defence of a helpless injured minor. They set no bounds to their complaints; they wrote in bitter terms to the king, accusing him of violating the laws of nations, and taking advantage of the infancy of a child, and the weakness of two women, his only protectresses.

Lewis's designs were too evident, and the case of too much importance for the states to pass it over unnoticed; but they dreaded the effects of the king's displeasure. However, instructions were sent relative to the principality to their ambassadors in France and England. The princess herself visited England, not only to congratulate the king her brother upon his restoration, but to intercede with him in behalf of her son. Before her departure the states of Zealand shewed their attachment to the family of Orange, by proposing that the prince should be declared the first nobleman in the provinces, vested with the authority of stadtholder, captain-general, and all the other titles and prerogatives held by his ancestors, and a pension of one hundred thousand florins. They also demanded that he should immediately be admitted a member of the council of state, in order to be early instructed in the arts of war and government, and the other qualifications necessary to his high birth and rank in the republic. They, however, allowed that he should not enter upon the functions of his office until he attained the age of eighteen years; and that neither the stadtholdership, nor any of the other prerogatives should in the mean time be exercised by a lieutenant. To give more weight to their proposal, the zealous states of this province went in a body to the Hague, and presented themselves, in a cavalcade of twenty coaches, to the states general. M. de Wit, their pensioner, recited, in a long laboured oration, the services done the republic by the house of Orange, and the reasons why the states of Zealand thought the acceptance of their proposal necessary to the security and quiet of the provinces. He did not omit a single argument that could enforce his subject; and his views were seconded by the states of Friseland and Over-
yssel. Holland, however, and the other provinces kept aloof;

aloof; yet, to shew their respect to the princesses and the king of England, they assigned the prince a yearly revenue of forty thousand florins, to support the dignity of his house and the expences of his court and education. They even proceeded so far as to abolish the act of exclusion, which had raised such dissensions in the provinces, and was passed merely out of dread of Oliver Cromwell. In this manner did the complaisance of Holland prevent the other provinces from pushing their designs farther at that time, and open the way to the young prince of Orange, to all the honours and dignities of his illustrious ancestors'.

Notwithstanding the Dutch had been extremely successful in the war against Portugal; though they had obtained all they could propose to themselves by the sword; and though the king had no hopes of recovering his losses by the continuance of the war, yet no peace had been concluded. As the hostilities were confined entirely to a distant country, it could not be expected to be carried on with the same vigour as if Europe had been the theatre of war. The difficulty of transporting troops into those remote regions, and of meeting with other fleets in that vast expanse of ocean, rendered their mutual operations languid, and decisive blows unfrequent; yet both parties were of opinion it was high time to sheath the sword, and turn their thoughts to a solid reconciliation. The Dutch especially gave way to these pacific sentiments, from a desire to taste the sweet fruits of their conquests, which could not be done with security, while the rupture continued with a kingdom still powerful by sea, though greatly declined; and the crowns of France and England promised their good intentions, from views widely different. His christian majesty rejoiced at having this thorn in the side of the catholic king, and was desirous by taking off the Dutch, to give Portugal weight in his negotiations for a peace with the court of Spain; while the king of England, who was upon terms with Catharine, the infanta of Portugal, was eager to render so signal a service to a family with which he was soon to be linked in the closest alliance. The news of this intended marriage were received with more chagrin than surprize in Holland. It was obvious that such engagements would necessarily cement the king of England to the interests of Portugal. The states represented to the king, by their ambassadors, the injustice done them by his Portuguese majesty, in refusing to make restitution of Brasil; but their remonstrances were coldly received; Charles even declared, upon hearing that

A.D. 1661.

*Treaty
with Por-
tugal.*

great preparations were making in Holland, his intentions to assist the crown of Portugal. Though he expressed himself in polite and friendly terms, it was plain that his answer contained a menace, if the Dutch should longer pursue their resentments. At the same time he offered his mediation, which, however, was too much suspected to be cordially accepted. The truth was, the crowns of France and England were both meditating the means of supporting Portugal; while the minister of Alphonso VI. was diligently negotiating a peace at the Hague, where he had gained over a great number of friends. The great obstacle was the restitution of Brasil. This the states had long demanded in vain; it was now determined to relinquish the project rather than prosecute hostilities against a crown so powerfully supported by France and England, and on the point of being reconciled with Spain. Four provinces, however, opposed this resolution, upon late assurances from the Spanish court, that they were determined to come to no accommodation with Portugal, and that Brasil should be restored to the republic the moment his catholic majesty should again become possessed of the kingdom of Portugal. Zealand in particular insisted, that, by the treaty of Utrecht, this resolution could only be carried into execution by an unanimity of voices, which was requisite in all matters of so high importance as the making peace or war. The debate was pushed to a great length, but it never broke off the conferences with the count de Miranda, the Portuguese minister. At length a treaty was concluded, by which his Portuguese majesty promised to pay the republic five hundred thousand livres annually, in money, sugar, and salt; and a million of money to indemnify her losses in the Brasils. He likewise consented that the Dutch should enjoy the same privileges of trade to Portugal, Brasil, and the coast of Africa, as were enjoyed by the English. Hostilities were to cease in Europe two months before the exchange of ratifications, and in the Indies immediately upon public notice of the treaty in those parts*.

England had already manifested a strong bias in favour of Portugal: the intentions of that court became still more obvious by the proposal that was now made, of a triple alliance between the crowns of England and France and the United Provinces. It was the manner rather than the terms of this proposition, which gave offence. The coldness was increased by the reception which the Dutch am-

* Wicquefort, p. 14. Basnage, p. 635.

bassadors

ambassadors met with at the court of London, where they were treated with distant respect, and affronted with the revival of all the claims made by the late protector. They wrote back to the Hague soon after their arrival, that their negotiations were likely to prove tedious and difficult, because the king insisted upon the conclusion of a treaty favourable to him, before he entered upon the subject of navigation and commerce. The first obstruction that occurred in course of the conferences, was the right of fishing for herrings on the British coasts. The next was the prerogative assumed by the English of visiting and examining Dutch vessels at sea, as well as in the ports of the kingdom. It was above all things the wish of the Hollanders to abolish this custom, which was equally inconvenient to trade and ignominious to the government; but it was a badge of superiority of which the English were extremely tenacious. The crown-jewels pledged in Holland by the late king, and the not delivering up to punishment all the murderers of the king's father, who had now taken shelter in Holland, together with certain hostilities committed by an English officer on the coast of Africa, all contributed to increase the coldness between the two nations, and render the disputes of the commissaries fruitless. It was plain, from the king's general behaviour, that his designs were rather to avail himself of the power of the republic than live with her upon the ancient footing of friendship. His supporting the claims of his nephew, the prince of Orange, to the stadtholdership; his reconciliation with the princess of Orange, with whom he had been at variance; and his entering into a closer union with the elector of Brandenburg, excited the jealousy of the states, and persuaded them that Charles was no way affected to Holland, or disposed to promote the interest of the republic. Both the king and the states courted Mazarin; but in doing this Charles embroiled himself with the pensioner de Wit, and inflamed the populace of Holland by distressing their fisheries, at the time too when his nephew most wanted their assistance. But what gave the greatest offence was the king's insisting, that the India company should allow free liberty to the English to trade to all the ports of Asia that were not immediately in the possession of the Dutch, even with the kings and princes at war with the republic; and that the English factories should be an asylum for all the natives who sought protection of the British nation. Such demands from a prince who pretended to court the alliance of the republic, could not but be regarded as acts of that authority which aspiring princes attempt to exercise over their neighbours as well as their subjects;

Transactions with England.

jects ; but it was the business of the states to suppress their resentment to a more seasonable opportunity. In compliance to the king three of the regicides were to be seized, in order to be delivered up to punishment. Downing, the English minister, threatened the deputies with the king's resentment if they refused to sign an order to that purpose. He obtained the order ; but the magistrates of several towns interposed, affirming it would be the greatest injury to the republic to violate the protection granted to all refugees ; and that, in this instance, it would for many reasons be base and insidious. In despite, however, of their opposition, the regicides were taken into custody, embarked at the Briel, and sent to London. De Wit was the principal manager in this transaction, which greatly astonished all his friends, who were no strangers to his declared enmity to the king of England and the house of Orange^t.

Already the tutelage of the prince of Orange had given birth to various dissensions, which were now renewed upon the death of the substitutes appointed by the princess, upon her departure for England. That she should nominate the king her brother among the guardians of the young prince, gave umbrage to the rigid republicans. The enemies to the house of Orange, some of whom were the leading men in the republic, resented highly her substituting the king of England, who, they said, would educate the prince in despotic principles, fill all the vacant offices in the towns dependent on the Orange family with his creatures, and sap the batteries they had been for years erecting in defence of public liberty. In a point of so vast importance, they thought themselves justified in exerting any means to ward off the danger, and striking, what they called, a blow of state. Accordingly they seized upon a strong box which the princess-dowager left in her apartment, where they expected to find the clearest information of the intrigues carried on by the late prince, to establish his own sovereign authority, of the enterprize against Amsterdam, and the secret intercourse he was supposed to hold with divers members of the states general. Charles complained that the law of nations had been grossly insulted by this action ; he likewise alleged that his own dignity was affronted, by a violent attempt to extort the secrets of a sovereign family so nearly allied to him, and under the protection of the crown of England. To this remonstrance, the states of Holland, which had authorised the courts of justice to execute this affair, could make no reply, besides

*The States
of Holland
seize upon
the papers
of the
princess-
dowager.*

^t Basnage, p. 651.

the interest they had in all that concerned the prince, and the authority that devolved on them, in consequence of the princess's departure. They found means, however, to shift off the restitution of the papers demanded, and to lodge them in the secretary's office. It is probable, that the occasion which the princess had for the assistance and countenance of the states, in her proposed journey to France, to procure restitution of the principality of Orange, made the king her brother insist less strenuously upon this point.

The death of cardinal Mazarin, which happened soon after the arrival of the Dutch ambassadors that were sent to demand restitution of Orange, occasioned great changes in the court of Lewis XIV. That prince was now, for the first time, actually a king. Every thing was conducted under his immediate direction. He used the assistance of his ministers, but he did not suffer them to govern him, as the cardinal had done; and this spirit he evinced by the sudden disgrace of M. Fouquet, which the Dutch ambassadors were in expectation would turn out to the advantage of the republic. He had always opposed the treaty of alliance and commerce between the two nations; but the views of Colbert, who succeeded in the ministry, greatly disappointed the hopes of the states general. After this affair had been long agitated, the ambassadors were on the point of departing, without having made any advance in the negotiation. They perceived that the new sur-intendant had formed vast projects for the extension of the French commerce, which was altogether inconsistent with the treaty they required; however, they found that the interest of M. Leguier, Tellier, and the mareschal Villeroy, might be able to procure their demands under certain modifications and restrictions. In effect, these ministers persuaded the king, that it was for his interest to renew the ancient treaties and alliances with Holland; but Colbert guarded against their proving injurious to the commerce of the kingdom, and the design he had projected of raising the French marine to a respectable footing. The treaty of commerce imported, that all piracies should be checked, and the offenders punished; that the merchants of both nations should reciprocally trade to each others ports, upon paying a certain duty, without any distinction of commodities, except whale-oil. Great difficulties arose about the king's guarantying the herring-fishery, which the court knew would give umbrage to the English. Lewis, under pretence that he could not guarantee a contested claim without expressly declaring against one of the claimants, content-

*State of
Holland
with re-
spect to
France;*

ed himself with general expressions; but the Dutch ambassadors, sensible that a general guarantee would be useless, made pressing instances that the conditions of the king's protection should be minutely specified. In the end, the treaty was signed upon this footing, but Lewis deferred the ratification.

A.D. 1662.

*Ruyter sent
against the
Algerines.*

No sooner had the republic secured her commerce against the attacks of French pirates, by the treaty we have just mentioned, than she resolved to check the insolence of the Algerines, who had committed a variety of depredations on the high seas, confiscated the goods and shipping, and enslaved the subjects of the United Provinces, while the states and they were in profound peace with each other. For this purpose de Ruyter was dispatched to the Mediterranean with a powerful squadron. He fell in with a fleet of eight Algerine pirates, which he dispersed, after having taken one and sunk another. A violent storm, that arose in the middle of the engagement, prevented his destroying the whole squadron. It was upon this occasion he received a challenge from the dey of Algiers, couched in the following terms: "Sir, although we differ in religion, I am in hopes we shall agree with respect to the following proposition, and that you will be ready to grant the demand I hereby make: you have three times given me chase, and if I have avoided fighting, I desire you will not attribute it to a deficiency in courage, but to the inequality of my strength. Mine is only a small bark, your's a large ship, and floating castle: it is for this reason I desire you will meet me upon equal terms, that we may prove our fortune and valour: if you conquer me, I shall be your slave; but if fortune should be propitious to my endeavours, I shall rest satisfied with the glory of victory. Grant me this request, and if I prove backward, rank me among the number of timid spirits. Receive the compliments which I send you." De Ruyter accepted the challenge, and appointed the time and place for the engagement; but he heard no more of the Algerine bravo. His constancy on this occasion inspired the Turks with the highest opinion of his courage and generosity; they wished to be friends with the man whom they equally dreaded and admired. The prince of Tunis immediately made concessions; but the Algerines would have persisted in their defence, had their ships been any way proportioned to de Ruyter's strength. This inequality alone obliged them to bend the neck, make apologies for their conduct, give security for their

Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 305. Basnage, *ibid.*

future

future behaviour and enter into the strictest engagements not to molest the Dutch commerce^c.

The education of the prince became again the subject of vehement disputes between the provinces of Holland and Zealand. Holland insisted, that, by the Roman law, and the particular laws of the Netherlands, the tutelage of a nobleman, or young prince, rightly belonged to that sovereign power in whose obedience the father of the minor was at the time of his death. They affirmed, that Zealand had no pretensions, either by sovereign right or testamentary election. The Zealanders replied, that the young prince of Orange was not to be regarded as a mere noble minor, subjected to certain laws, and chambers erected for managing his estate; the prince's chief territories were situated in Zealand; it was therefore reasonable he should have his education under the direction of that province. This dispute begot other subjects of contention, which greatly disturbed all persons attached to the true interest of their country, though de Wit alone, whose influence was every day increasing, laboured to apply the proper remedies. The dissensions were not confined to Holland and Zealand; they spread to Groningen and Utrecht, and at last terminated in an altercation with the duke of Newburg, which was soon compromised^d.

France and Holland appear at this period to have been under the direction of the same spirit, and to have co-operated in the same measures. There subsisted a thorough understanding between the pensionary de Wit and the count d'Estrades, who was French ambassador at the Hague. The letters of the most Christian king are full of acknowledgements of the services done him by the pensionary; and, speaking of the treaty in agitation between the crowns of France and England, he expressly declares, that nothing should be concluded in it contrary to the interest of the United Provinces. But this intimate union was neither formed nor continued without warm opposition and loud clamours. The English and Spaniards had each their faction in the states general, and both joined with the Orange family to distress de Wit, who was thus forced into a dependence on France, by which he triumphed for a time over all his adversaries. Spain, jealous of the growing power of France, laboured to form a federal union between the republic and the other ten provinces, for their mutual security. This d'Estrades traversed with all his address, and influence with the pensionary. De Wit drew

A.D 1661.

*Collusion
between
the king of
France and
the pen-
sionary de
Wit.*

^c La Viede Ruyter, p. 56.

^d Basnage, p. 674.

up a counter-project ; the apparent design of which was to graft a new republic upon the old, though the effect would probably have been to gain France possession of the ten provinces, without the trouble, hazard, or expence of a war. Lewis, however, was unwilling to be put off with the bare possibility of obtaining what he was now contriving to possess ; for this reason he continued the negotiation, but found a variety of pretences to avoid bringing it to an issue. When this could no longer be done, without exciting the jealousy of the states, he laid aside the mask and the project together.

*Causes of a
rupture be-
tween Eng-
land and
the United
Provinces.*

All this while sir George Downing, the English ambassador, was supporting the negotiations of Gamarra, the Spanish minister, to form the league of the seventeen provinces we have already mentioned ; but Charles, incensed at the secret transactions between de Wit and d'Estades, had given him instructions to demand reparation of the injuries done by the subjects of the states to the British commerce. A variety of circumstances indeed contributed to bring on a rupture between the two nations, to which this remonstrance was a prelude. They were rivals in commerce, and open enemies in every emporium of trade on the face of the globe. Reciprocal injuries were committed by fraud and violence. Holland had, it is true, left unperformed several of the articles of the treaty of peace made with Cromwell ; but England had ballanced these by similar neglects. One circumstance indeed highly reflected on the dignity of the British crown ; namely, that no satisfaction was yet made for the depredations on her commerce in Asia ; or atonement for the massacre at Amboyna, except the unexecuted promise of a trifling sum of money. The Dutch contented themselves with penitential protestations on this head, by which even Cromwell had been duped, and prevailed on to withhold punishment, when he had the whole nation at his mercy ; can we wonder if the incessant, irresolute Charles, should be over-reached by their artifice ? The Dutch, perceiving the humour of the English, knew that the king would be forced into violent measures, they therefore published a long charge against the English East India company, which likewise answered the purpose of an apology for their own conduct. This was answered by a paper, proving that the charge was a deliberate assemblage of frivolous pretences and unjust and insolent demands, made without any regard to honour, truth, reason, or the law of nations. Lists of damages

were mutually delivered, which both sides supported by several strong memorials. It will be unnecessary to enter into a particular detail of those disputes in this place: Charles declared to M. Cuneas, the Dutch resident in London, that he would receive no memorials from his hands, as he expected the states would send an ambassador in the manner promised by M. Beverwert, when he took his leave. His majesty, besides, laid a great restriction on trade, under pretence of a plague that raged in Holland; and he considered it as a particular mark of his regard for Amsterdam, that he confined the usual time of performing quarantine to thirty days, instead of forty. The precaution would have been, just, had the fact been true; but in any event it ought to have been extended to all the other maritime provinces as well as Holland, which, on this occasion, was singled out, in enmity to the pensionary and the states of that province.

Downing, indeed, by his violent remonstrances to the states, and the partial accounts remitted to England every day, widened the breach between the two nations. He insisted in his memorials upon the restitution of two India ships, called the Bonadventure and Good Hope, as likewise of several other English ships, rather as scaffolds than the building, as collateral circumstances, but not the main foundation of the proposed rupture. This is obvious from that treaty concluded the preceding year between the two nations, in which not one of the forty-five articles of damages now presented was contained. As to the India ships, the English were left, by agreement, to prosecute their claim, and eighty thousand florins were deposited by the Dutch company, by way of indemnification, should the decision turn out favourable to their adversaries. The Dutch alleged that the English greatly over-rated their damages, particularly with respect to the India ships. They complained that the demand was exorbitant; but this was only a part of the dispute. Perhaps the real grounds of the war are to be found in the natural interest of both parties in the Guinea trade, and the extension of their commerce in America. Sir Robert Holmes had been dispatched with a squadron to the coast of Africa, to assert the rights of Great Britain, and check the encroachments of the Hollanders. This service he performed very effectually, by dispossessing them of Cape Verd and Cabo de Corso; after which he proceeded in his voyage, and rendered himself master of Nova Belgia, since called New York. These hostilities the Dutch commissaries on the coast of

Guinea resented by detaining the English shipping and merchandize in the ports belonging to the republic. Those vessels and effects belonged to the new-established Africa company, of which the duke of York was governor. Downing exclaimed against the insult offered to the king and duke, instead of giving satisfaction for the hostilities which had occasioned this retaliation. It is for this reason we cannot join issue with the English historians, who are unanimous in throwing the whole odium of the war upon the states general. Had they attributed it to Charles's resentment of the unatoned barbarities committed in the East Indies upon English subjects, their plea would have been passable; but to charge the Dutch with being the aggressors on the coast of Guinea, evidently proceeds from national prejudice, and a superficial enquiry into the facts asserted by both parties, and incontestibly proved by the Hollanders².

The grievances of the Dutch were still greater on the side of America. Hudson, an English captain, had made a descent on the Dutch colonies, situated at the mouth of the river which now bears the name of that officer, towards the north side of the continent of America. This was in the reign of James I. From that time the claims of the Dutch and English were extremely intricate. The situation was too remote to admit of a clear state of the objects in dispute. Mutual hostilities passed, and each endeavoured not only to support, but to extend, their settlements by force, fraud, and violence. Holmes attacked the Dutch by the king's authority; the Dutch West India company therefore carried their grievances before the states general; but before they could take any measures for redressing them, advice arrived that the English had landed on the island Monchattan, and had made themselves masters of the town of New Amsterdam. Downing not only supported this action by affirming it was a consequence of the insults offered to the British commerce on the coast of Guinea, but he so warmly espoused the interests of Sweden and Denmark with respect to the Baltic trade, that it was manifest no terms could be long preserved. By this canal he had the address to involve the states in disputes with the Northern powers, the elector of Brandenburg, and even the French monarch, from whom Sweden received a subsidy. His conduct towards the house of Orange had inspired the elector with a personal animosity to the pensionary of Holland; the same cause had irritated the king of England against

² Basnage, p. 713.

this minister; de Wit, therefore, conceived the only method of guarding against the impending blow, was to unite closely with France, and sacrifice trivial claims to the real and necessary protection of that powerful prince. The project with respect to the cantonment of the Spanish Netherlands was again renewed; and the occasion seemed natural, as the king of Spain's life was in great danger, and the infant labouring under an ardent fever. Matters proceeded so far, that four deputies were sent from the ten provinces to confer upon the subject with M. de Wit. At last, after several conferences and proposals, they were dismissed without coming to any resolution. †

No sooner the project of forming a new republic vanished than another was substituted. De Wit laboured to conclude a treaty of partition with France, whereby the house of Austria should be excluded the possession of the Spanish Netherlands, in case the emperor Joseph married the infant of Spain. This was no other than a division of the provinces between France and the republic. But several difficulties arose in the execution. A mistake committed by d'Estades, in decyphering a letter of instructions from his court, had almost broke off the negociation. The ambassador insisted that Ghent and Mechlin should be assigned to the king, by which means the frontiers of the republic would be exposed to his mercy; but the king cleared up this blunder, by affirming that he had never demanded the latter, and that his minister had mistaken the former for Cambray. Now the greatest difficulty was to engage the deputies of the towns in his design; and this the pensionary effected by a very extraordinary stroke of policy, which at the same time displays his knowledge of mankind, and the ignorance of the deputies. He insinuated to them his apprehensions lest the infidels should, after having conquered the empire, penetrate into the Netherlands, and establish a footing in the neighbourhood of the republic. The court of France laughed at the wildness of M. de Wit's project; but they were astonished when they perceived its effects, and that he drew from it the very consequence he proposed. He persuaded the deputies of the necessity of entering into a closer alliance with the king, whose power alone could stem the torrent of Turkish conquest, and protect the republic of Holland. To carry his point more clearly, under pretence of visiting his uncle he made the tour of Holland, and conferred in person with all the magistrates, while d'Estades was taking the same measures in some of the other provinces. A fortunate accident to promote his scheme happened at Constantinople, where

Fresh intrigues with the court of France.

where the Dutch resident was arrested, because a Dutch ship, freighted by the grand seignor to Alexandria, had fallen into the hands of the Maltese. Warner, the resident, was at length forced to pay the damages; upon which he was set at liberty. De Wit turned this circumstance to his advantage, and inflamed the people to such a degree, that the states laid an additional duty on all commodities from the Levant, until the losses of the resident should be indemnified. All the magistrates of the principal towns were now unanimously of opinion that the republic ought to enter into the strictest ties with the French king. Some towns, however, opposed the scheme of a partition of the Netherlands, from an apprehension that this must embarrass the republic with Spain and the emperor^a.

A.D. 1664. While things were in this train, the rumour of a treaty between France and England, and of an armament equipping by the former against the pope, excited the jealousy in the states, and even alarmed the pensioner, lest France might have secret designs of becoming entirely master of the Netherlands. The Spanish minister at the Hague likewise propagated a report, that a treaty between Spain, France, and England, was in agitation; which report produced an extraordinary effect upon the minds of the people. To this we may add the revival of the old disputes between the provinces of Holland and the states general, upon the variety of topics already mentioned. Both de Wit and the states began to apprehend they might bewilder themselves in such a labyrinth of intrigues as should incur the displeasure of all the other neighbouring powers, the emperor, the kings of Spain and England, while they could have no reliance upon the friendship of the French monarch. This consideration determined the pensioner to act with more caution, and to cast about for the means of avoiding a rupture with England, until the republic should be fortified by alliances, or at least secured against the resentment of Spain and the empire. But this point was found impracticable. Hostilities had so long been pursued on the coast of Africa and in America, that both nations were highly exasperated, and there appeared a necessity of terminating the quarrel by the sword. Walchenberg, director-general for the Dutch East India company on the coast of Guinea, had imprudently, not only in the name of the company, but even of the states general, set forth a claim to the whole coast, and prohibited all other nations

^a Lettres de Comte d'Estrade.

from settling in that quarter. The insolence of this order extremely irritated the English in particular. The affair came before the parliament, and that body resolved, that the wrongs, injuries, and indignities done to his majesty by the subjects of the United Provinces, by invading his rights in India, Africa, and America, and the damages done to the English commerce, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade; his majesty was therefore intreated to take speedy and effectual methods for redressing the grievances of the nation; the commons assuring him they would assist him with their lives and fortunes.

Notwithstanding the zeal of the English parliament, and the mutual resentment of the parties, it was still a doubt whether a rupture would ensue, as de Wit strenuously opposed the coming to extremities. The states, however, determined to provide against the worst, and make the necessary preparations for war. The East India company offered to defend the settlements on the coast of Africa, at their own expence, on condition they were ceded to them in form. D'Estades endeavoured to prevail on de Wit, and the leading personages, to embrace the proposal, as the most certain means of distressing the English, and putting the African trade on a respectable footing; but as de Ruyter was now upon that coast with a squadron, the states were willing to be first acquainted with the success of his expedition. Meanwhile a squadron commanded by admiral Opdam put to sea, and cruised upon the Flemish shore, to watch the designs of the British fleets; but he could not put a stop to the depredations committed by prince Rupert, who, before war was declared, had taken above a hundred Dutch merchantmen, laden with wine and fruit from Bourdeaux, and other French harbours. It was this circumstance that determined the states to send Van Buiningen in quality of ambassador to France, to implore a more effectual mediation than the king's promised guarantee, and to signify, that de Ruyter had been sent to the coast of America, not to attack the ships, forts, and settlements of the English, but to protect the Dutch trade; an artifice which served only to exasperate the English, who now regarded the whole conduct of the states as insidious and designing. In the beginning of the year, they had invited Charles to act in concert with them, against the Algerines. The king complied, and a squadron was sent to the Mediterranean to join the Dutch. On the meeting of the squadrons, some difference arose about the honours of the sea; de Ruyter complained that he was affronted; Lawson, the English admiral, denied it; but the Dutchman, under
this

this pretext, parted company, sailed for the coast of Africa, and reduced all the places lately taken by the English, except the fortification at Cape Coast. He besides battered and took fort Cormantin, which had always been an English settlement. He also seized upon eight English merchantmen just arrived, and appropriated their cargoes to the West India company. To render their treacherous schemes still more unsuspected, they came to a resolution of communicating to the court of London their intention of sending a small squadron to the coast of America, such as could afford no apprehension that they proposed acting offensively. This, at least, is the charge of the English historians: and indeed it must be confessed, that the conduct of the states was extremely ambiguous; but whether from necessity, irresolution, or design, we cannot pretend to determine¹.

While Europe was in suspense about the issue of the intrigues carried on in France, England, Spain, and Holland, the Dutch, upon the eve of a war with their great rival in commerce, were disturbed by some alarms from Denmark, the empire, and the busy restless bishop of Munster. The Danes complained that the Hollanders had monopolized the trade of Africa; and every measure which might accelerate and insure the ruin of the republic was eagerly embraced by the court of London. It was artfully insinuated at Copenhagen, that the states proposed excluding all other nations from any communication with the coast of Guinea; the court of Vienna was reminded of the injuries and oppressions sustained by the subjects of the empire; of the enterprising disposition of the Dutch, and their tyranny over all the petty neighbouring princes; and the bishop of Munster was sensible, that now the opportunity offered of revenging himself upon a republic, whose meddling policy had obstructed the accomplishment of his favourite projects. The Dane however was awed by the importance of the Dutch trade to his dominions, and the revenue arising from the duties they paid in the Sound; the emperor's whole attention was employed on the means of repulsing the infidels; he even went so far as to propose an alliance to the states general, which they rejected, from an apprehension it might give umbrage to the French monarch. As to the bishop of Munster, Downing, the English minister, found him more ready to listen to his projects. This prelate was now engaged in a controversy about some lands, with the prince of Lichtenstein. The process was determined in his favour by the imperial chancery.

*Dispute
with the
bishop of
Munster.*

¹ Basnage, p. 723.

ber at Spire; and believing it necessary to profit by this award, the bishop used force, and thereby incurred the displeasure of the states general. He surprised fort Eydeler, garrisoned it, and repaired the fortifications. Alarmed at this step, the states complained that their frontier was in danger: and the bishop replied, that the republic had no right to the fort, as her borders were sufficiently guarded by other fortifications. France and Spain wanted to accommodate the difference, and offered their mediation; but the bishop rejected their offers, relying upon the protection of the emperor, who declared he would suffer no violence to be done to the prelate, and the approaching war between England and Holland, which he foresaw would give sufficient employment to the states general.

The states presented spirited remonstrances to the court of Vienna, and shewed the necessity they were under of securing the frontiers of the republic, keeping at a distance so enterprising a neighbour as the bishop, and depriving him of his late acquisition. As this remonstrance produced no effect, they wrote to the bishop, that unless he immediately withdrew his troops, they would march a body of forces to invest Eydeler. The firmness of the states staggered the resolution of the bishop; he now dispatched an envoy to the Hague, begun a negotiation, and had the address to prevail on the states to recall the prince of Nassau, who was laying siege to the fort. However, the conferences were broke off, the war was renewed, and the prince of Nassau sent with an army to lay siege to Wilderfkan, a strong place, before which he died of a putrid fever^k.

The situation of the republic was now critical. She was engaged in actual war, with a bold, restless, ambitious priest, protected by the emperor, and upon the verge of a rupture with England, the most powerful maritime nation in Europe. The king of England, instigated by his brother the duke of York, who never forgot the usage he received at the Hague during his exile, and was besides inflamed with a violent desire of signalizing himself against a republic he mortally hated, had now determined to keep no terms with Holland, and to terminate the differences of the two nations by the sword. Mutual animosity rather than interest actuated both parties. Battles fought on land generally brought some advantage, and acquisition of territory to the victor; but the naval engagements which now cost such seas of blood, produced nothing but glory. The prodigality of the

A.D. 1665.

The situation of the republic at the commencement of the war with England.

^k Id. *ibid.*

king

king of England urged him to a rupture. From the supplies which might necessarily be granted for the prosecution of the war, he foresaw he should be able to withhold considerable sums for the support of his pleasures. Besides, that prince had a taste for ship-building, and a passion for equipping such an armament as should give law to all the maritime powers of Europe.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, the states solicited the mediation of France, by means of Van Buiningen, whose vivacity, genius, and oratory, began now to give him distinction, and raise his reputation high in the esteem of Lewis. The French king seemed to yield to the intreaties of the Dutchman, at the very time it was suspected he was supplying his brother the king of England with money to maintain the war which now appeared inevitable. Another circumstance likewise contributed to render the situation of the republic, with respect to France, very dubious. Several French ships, under various pretences, had been detained in the ports of Holland; particularly five large vessels bought up for the service of the East India company. These the Dutch fitted out for the use of their own company; they were reclaimed by d'Estrades, in divers fruitless memorials; but the states alleged, that the embargo, which the approaching war with England rendered necessary, ought to extend to the shipping of all foreigners. Nothing can be more ambiguous than this conduct: the Dutch were soliciting the friendship of France publicly by their ambassador; they were imploring his mediation between them and the king of England; and yet they were privately taking such measures, as they ought to know must have confirmed France in the interest of their enemies. Such unsteadiness can only be accounted for, by the little harmony that subsisted among the different departments of the republic, and the factions supported by de Wit on the one hand, and the friends of the house of Orange on the other. That minister was fixed in the interest of Lewis, while the opposite party wavered between their respect for England, and the necessity of keeping upon fair terms with France, at the same time that they secretly obstructed the designs and projects of the pensioner. The nation in general had no opinion of the sincerity of France; they complained, that Lewis only watched an opportunity of seizing upon the Netherlands; yet, to gratify his indignation, and stop the cravings of his ambition, they joined issue with de Wit about restoring the

¹ Wicquefort, Hist. p. 15. Lettres d'Estrades.

shipping;

shipping; which they did in terms the most honourable and submissive^m.

Nor was this the only difference between the king and the republic. The dispute about the shipping was no obstacle to the negotiations of Buiningen, who kept his majesty steady in the overtures to England, of his meditation. However, the ambassador by express order of the states, had given such a turn to affairs as highly displeased Lewis. While they pretended to relax in numberless points, they closely adhered in fact to their old terms; this conduct obliged the king to complain in the most lively manner, that they trifled with him, by offering to England conditions which that court had frequently before rejected; that, in the present state of affairs, he could not afford the least hope of accommodation, and that, if some proposals were not made relative to the future settlement of trade, he should have reason to suspect their designs were to engross the whole commerce of the world. The states knew it was Lewis's interest to support the Louvestein faction against the prince of Orange, who naturally claimed the protection of his uncle, the king of England; and in fact, notwithstanding the firmness of the states, and the many causes of displeasure they had given, Lewis, strongly inclined in favour of the pensioner, and particularly respected the creature of that minister, Van Buiningen. Yet he was apprehensive of declaring against Charles, lest he should throw himself into the arms of Spain, whither that prince had now dispatched an ambassador. To gain time, this politic monarch sent the duke de Verneuil, at the head of a splendid embassy to London, with farther offers of mediating a pacification; and the duke continued at that court for several months, though his conferences proved fruitless. The truth is, he found that the republic had not prepared a sufficient fleet to oppose the English; he had been misinformed as to the strength of the Dutch naval armament, and had strongly recommended a defensive war, and keeping close in their harbours. It was matter of astonishment to him, to find that the states had actually in commission a fleet of three hundred men of war, besides traders, yachts, and fireships, manned with twenty thousand seamen. The low condition of his own marine, when compared with that of Holland, made him now regard the republic with more respect. To find that such an armament should be equipped without any noise, or extraordinary means, could not fail to inspire him

*Differences
with the
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^m Lettres de Compte d'Estrades.

with

with sublime notions of her formidable naval power, and the vast extent of her commerce ^a.

While the French king was thus balancing between England and Holland, the duke of York set sail in the month of May, and cruized for fifteen days before the Texel, during which time he took a great number of the enemy's ships homeward bound, before the Dutch fleet had assembled. On the duke's return to Harwich the fleets of Holland and Zealand joined; but they were dispersed by a storm, and several ships forced into the English ports. Again they rendezvoused at the mouth of the Meuse, to the number of a hundred and twenty sail, exclusive of frigates, ketches, &c. under the command of the admirals Opdam, Evertzen, Cartenaar, and Van Tromp, nephew to the celebrated Tromp, who had lost his life in the last war. The utmost resolution and spirit appeared in all the officers and seamen, all emulous of the opportunity of signalizing themselves, and of recovering the lost honour of the republic; for such they deemed the humble supplications made to the usurper Cromwell. The pensioner himself went on board the fleet to acquaint the officers with promises of rewards, and he accompanied it in a yacht for two leagues to sea, where he delivered the order of the states to fight the English at all hazards. Opdam, in compliance with his instructions, proceeded in quest of the enemy; but the wind blowing in such a manner as to give the English the weather-gage, he chose rather to deviate from the orders of the states, and bear away for the Meuse than risk a defeat by fighting under a disadvantage. His conduct incensed the pensioner, whose interest now predominated in the republic. De Wit had resolved to hazard an engagement, knowing that even a defeat would induce France to declare for the states; he therefore obtained an order, requiring Opdam, under pain of death, to seek out the enemy and give battle. The admiral was piqued at instructions which strongly reflected on his courage. He perceived that the orders had been dictated by de Wit, who had become his enemy on account of his attachment to the house of Orange, and resolved to take a glorious revenge, by faithfully discharging his duty, and demonstrating the injustice of the aspersions. With this view he weighed anchor on the 3d day of April, and in a few hours fell in with the English fleet, of equal force, under the conduct of the duke of York, the earl of Sandwich, sir George Ascough, and the admirals Pen and Lawson, who had so eminently

The Dutch fleet is defeated by the English.

^a Basnage, p. 742.

distinguished themselves under the protectorate. The fleets met between Yarmouth and Harwich; the engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides maintained it with their usual intrepidity, conduct, and animosity. Opdam is blamed for allowing the English to gain the weather-gage, but unjustly; circumstances would not suffer it should be otherwise, and yet he was under the necessity of fighting. He called a council of war, laid his own opinion before the officers, and shewed them his instructions. "We must (says he) pluck laurel or the cypress, there is no alternative." He would even seem to have some foreboding of the unfortunate event, for he sent all the money back to Holland immediately upon his clearing for battle. Never was a sea-fight more confused or terrible; scarce a ship kept to its proper station, yet all were deeply engaged. Both admirals committed egregious blunders, which they endeavoured to regain by valour. The duke and Opdam, by a reciprocal mistake, fought ship to ship with the most desperate firing. Three persons of quality were killed by the side of the duke of York, and his cloaths covered over with their blood; and soon after admiral Opdam, with a great number of volunteers of distinction, was blown up into the air. Above six hundred men perished by this accident, which arose from a spark of fire falling into the powder-room. His flag was hoisted by Cartemaar, who was soon killed by a cannon ball. Still, however, the battle raged with doubtful event, and it is probable the night would have separated the combatants, had not several Dutch captains withdrawn themselves from the line. They had been promoted, by the interest of the prevailing faction as spies on the conduct of Opdam, without any regard to merit. Many were deficient in ability, and some in courage. The enemy profited by their negligence, and pushed with redoubled vigour the ships that continued in the line. Evertzen, and even Tromp, defended themselves with the utmost obstinacy; but the former was obliged to shift his flag, and have his ship towed away. This circumstance, and the destruction of several of the ships, either devoured by the flames, or swallowed up by the ocean, first introduced confusion, which was succeeded by an unusual despondency; in a word, the Dutch were defeated, with the loss of eighteen ships, either sunk, burnt, or blown up in the action, with near six thousand mariners, besides two of the best admirals in Holland. Van Tromp, however, made an admirable retreat, and, by his valour and the skill of his disposition, prevented the enemy from pursuing a victory they had purchased with the loss of the brave

admiral Lawfon, two thousand feamen, and seven capital fhips°.

Admiral Evertzen was the first who brought the report of this defeat to the Briel, where the people were fo exasperated as to attempt his life, though they had every reason to approve his conduct. It was with the utmost difficulty he could pafs under cover of the night to the Hague, to lay the fituation of affairs before the ftates: his narrative overwhelmed them with confternation. The Orange party demanded an immediate peace with England, and the elevation of the prince of Orange to the ftadtholderfhip. M. de Wit was greatly difappointed in his fanguine hopes of victory. However, he fupported his opinions with a refolution that fhewed he was prepared for the worft that could happen. He did not, neverthelefs, openly oppofe the faction; but he answered their demands, by affirming, that now was the time to expect the open declaration of the French king. He procured an immediate order for Van Tromp to keep the fea, with the remains of the fleet, in order to diminifh the glory of the conquerors, fustain the reputation of the republic, and perfuade the people that the defeat was lefs decifive than the enemies of the government had reported. Three deputies were accordingly fent to Tromp; but he refufed to run farther hazards with officers, in whole fkill, courage, or fidelity, he could have no dependence. Several captains were tried for cowardice, and neglect of duty; three were fhot, four had their fwords ignominioufly broken over their heads by the common hangman, two were fuperseded and declared incapable of fervice, and the chief pilot was fentenced to walk under a gibbet with a rope about his neck, after which difgrace he was banifhed.

By thefe rigid and juft punifhments the ftates gratified the officers of merit, answered the public expectation, and infpired the feamen with a fpirit of emulation, a dread of the confequences of neglect, and with refpect for the officers promoted in the room of the delinquents. The utmoft expedition was ufed in repairing the fleet, as it was known that the enemy lay in wait for de Ruyter, who was daily expected from the coaft of Africa, with his greatly inferior fquadron. The armament was manned with little difficulty, but it was no eafy matter to fix upon an admiral every way unexceptionable. Van Tromp had fkill, courage, and popularity; he was exceedingly beloved by the feamen, but he had difobeyed the deputies fent with orders

from the states. He was besides attached to the house of Orange, which, by rendering him suspected by the pensioner, proved a great obstacle to his elevation. It was not, however, upon this occasion only that de Wit subjected his private resentments to the public good; he had often raised merit without respect to party, though where an equality appeared in candidates of opposite principles, he gave the preference to the friend of his own faction. Van Tromp was now without a rival in talents, and he was set at the head of the navy until the arrival of de Ruyter, an old officer, of at least equal merit, equally beloved by the nation, and particularly esteemed by the pensioner. In this post he had not continued long when de Ruyter arrived, after having happily escaped under cover of a thick fog. He was no sooner in the port of Delfzil, in Groningen, than the sailors mutinied, insisting upon being set on shore and disbanded, before any orders came from the states. They were disgusted with the toilsome, tedious, and sickly voyage; they dreaded being immediately again sent to encounter with fatigue and danger, and they pretended they were told that the English had used their prisoners, after their late defeat, with great barbarity. At length the confidence which the admiral reposed in their honour, and the leave he gave them to visit their friends upon their promise to return on the first notice, secured them in his interest so strongly, that not an individual deserted.

The safe arrival of de Ruyter was particularly agreeable to the pensioner, whose intention was to give him the chief command of the armament now equipping, and to raise him to the rank of lieutenant-admiral-general. The council of state made the proposal to the states of Holland, who immediately accepted it, ordering de Ruyter to take the oaths, receive his commission, and enter upon his employment. Van Tromp complained of the preference given to his rival, and refused to serve in a subordinate capacity; but the states sent orders for the fleet to sail immediately to sea, for Van Tromp to keep the station appointed him, and denounced vengeance against the least opposition to their will, being determined to pursue the general good, without regarding the humours of party and of disappointed ambition. So impatient was de Wit for the departure of the fleet, that, to accelerate matters, he accompanied the other deputies on board, though he exposed thereby his fortune and character to the censure of his enemies, who did not fail to make a handle of his desertion of his proper business on so critical an occasion. The French king was alarmed at so unprecedented a measure;

sure ; and his own party imagining he intended serving in the expedition, being left without a head, sunk into despondency. His friends applied to him, and M. de Wit's answer plainly indicated what were his resolutions. He resolved to hazard his life, and replied, " My person and my interest are inseparable from the preservation of the state ; a second naval engagement will determine the fate of my country. Van Tromp has ability and courage ; but he may be wanting in obedience to the orders of his superior, and in experience to conduct an important action. The impetuosity and ardour of the officers may blind their judgment, and occasion the loss of the fairest opportunities, and those rivalships may generate divisions ; I therefore think my honour, my conscience, and my duty to my country, require that I should prevent the fatal consequences either of too much pride or too much valour."

De Wit's inflexibility raised a universal clamour ; he was accused of having brought the republic into the most imminent danger, and then deserting the helm, at the moment his steadiness and ability were most required. At Paris it was believed, that he took this step to avoid the persecution of his enemies. The clergy in Holland, always attached to the house of Orange, declaimed violently from the pulpit against the administration, and the states were under the necessity of prohibiting them to meddle with public affairs : however they still persisted, and some of them were suspended by authority. As an addition to the calamities of the state, a mutiny broke out among the sailors, which could only be appeased by violent remedies, and the execution of the ring-leaders. Afterwards the fleet was detained by adverse winds, shallow water, and other accidents, while the king of England was meditating a project, the success of which would have deeply affected the commerce of Holland, and struck at the very being of the republic. A vast fleet of East India and Turkey merchantmen, having sailed north about to avoid the English cruizers, put into Bergen in Norway, where they proposed lying till de Ruyter should conduct them to Holland. It was proposed to the king of Denmark, by the English envoy at Copenhagen, that he should seize upon that rich fleet, by way of indemnification of his losses in the Swedish war, in which the Dutch had involved him. The northern monarch could not withstand the powerful temptation ; but he told the envoy, that though he thought the measure highly prudent and convenient, he was in no condition to execute so important an enterprize. This was directly his language to the Dutch some years before, when they advised

vised the seizure of the English merchantmen put into Copenhagen to avoid their squadrons. It was giving the envoy an opportunity of making offers of the king of England's assistance, which he did not fail to embrace; upon this assurance the bargain was concluded, on condition that the prize should be equally divided. Lord Sandwich had orders to sail immediately to Norway to execute the project; but he contented himself with dispatching part of the fleet, under an inferior officer, who attacked the Dutch with great impetuosity. As the governor of Bergen had not yet received orders to join the English, or even remain passive, he thought himself bound by the law of nations to protect a fleet that had taken shelter in a neutral port; accordingly he joined the Hollanders, and gave so warm a reception to the English admiral, as forced him, with considerable damage, to abandon the enterprize.

Scarce had the count d'Alfeldt delivered the Dutch merchants from the hands of the English, when he put them in equal danger, by the demand of a large sum of money, by way of indemnification of the damage his Danish majesty had sustained upon their account. This unjust claim he was preparing to enforce by violent measures, when, fortunately, de Ruyter arrived, and took them under his protection; upon which the whole fleet set sail for Holland. In the voyage they were overtaken by a violent storm, dispersed, shattered, and some of the ships thrown into the hands of the English; but the remainder arrived, in a wretched plight, in different parts of the United Provinces. The utmost expedition was used in collecting and repairing the ships, so that in a short time a more powerful squadron than the former put to sea, under the same commanders, and with much the same fortune. A storm arose more furious than before, and drove the admiral back into port with his shattered armament.

Norwithstanding the elements seemed combined against the republic, the states, encouraged by de Wit, resolved upon one more effort, for fear the English, who had suffered in the same tempest, should have time to refit, or before they could be enriched by captures, and the spoils of the Dutch commerce. The vigilance and activity of the pensioner met with the thanks of the states; he was the actuating spring of every motion, and laboured now with the utmost diligence to strike some decisive blow, which might at the same time silence the clamours of his enemies, and oblige the enemy to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation. It must, however, be confessed, that the terrible plague which was at this time desolating the capital of

Great Britain, contributed more to the security of Holland than all the endeavours of the states and M. de Wit. This dreadful calamity, together with the natural indolence of the king's disposition, damped the spirit of the English, enfeebled every resolution, and infused a languor into the councils of that nation.

While the third expedition was preparing, the states general proposed revoking the commission granted to the deputies de Wit, Huygen, and Boreel, to attend the armament, which they believed dispirited the officers, and rendered men who had not studied the art of war the chief directors of military operations. This motion was opposed by the states of Holland, who not only refused to comply with the states general, but confirmed and enlarged the former powers of the deputies: however, as the winter was far advanced, the pensioner resigned his naval employment. De Ruyter was recompenced for his services with a present from the admiralty of Amsterdam, and invited to sit as president of that college, until the season permitted his putting to sea.

All this time the king of France kept aloof. He apprehended that de Wit's party would, in his absence, be forced to sink under the weight and popularity of the opposite faction, now greatly strengthened by the pensioner's quitting his civil employment, to act in a military capacity. Van Buiningen plied his majesty closely, and endeavoured, by every artifice, to draw France into the quarrel; but could obtain only general assurances, until the arrival of M. de Vaal from Bergen, when he ordered his ambassador to declare to the states, that he was determined to keep up to the conditions of the promised guarantee. To give this declaration the stronger air of sincerity, the ambassador presented to the states a memorial, drawn up by his court, respecting the operations of war, should it be found necessary to come to an absolute rupture with England.

In this fluctuating situation was France upon the return of M. de Wit, and his resuming the employment of pensioner. It soon appeared what the presence of one great man can effect in a state, whose councils are languid and distracted by opposite opinions and interests. The pensioner no sooner arrived at the Hague than the face of affairs were changed, and fresh vigour and spirit re-animated every department of the republic. The murmurs of party were silenced, and all joined in admiring the activity, the wisdom, the policy, and the sagacity of the pensioner, who now was deemed the life and soul of the states. The enemies of the republic were multiplying, but her resources

and

and strength seemed likewise augmented, by the ardour inspired by de Wit, who made sure that his return would engage France openly to declare against Great Britain. Van Galen, bishop of Munster, excited by ambition, and engaged by a considerable subsidy from Charles II. determined to prosecute his inflexible animosity to the states. *War with the bishop of Munster.* This prelate perceived that the whole attention of the provinces was employed in equipping a powerful naval armament, and that they had neglected repairing and garrisoning their strong holds, in order the more readily to man and fit out their squadrons. In Guelderland and Overysfel the fortifications were totally neglected, and all consideration for so petty, though implacable an enemy as the bishop of Munster, was absorbed in the more important object of a vigorous defence against the powerful monarchy of Great Britain. Van Galen resolved either to profit by this conjuncture, or to lose his life in the attempt. With this view he made an irruption into the province of Overysfel, at the head of eight thousand men, seizing upon Almelo and other places, before any measures were concerted to stop his progress. Berkelo alone made any resistance. Here the commanding officer, after a vigorous defence, capitulated upon honourable conditions, which were little regarded by the bishop, who, as soon as he had it in his power, slaughtered the soldiers and burghers without distinction. Terror diffused itself through all the provinces, and the states of Holland and the pensioner laboured diligently to apply remedies to a disorder observed when too late. New levies were made, a treaty was entered into with the duke of Lunenburg, and instructions were sent to Van Buiningen to demand of the French king the six thousand auxiliaries stipulated by treaty ^p.

Every day the bishop was increasing his strength, and acquiring fresh vigour by his successes. Not satisfied with ravaging Overysfel, he meditated an enterprize against the city of Groningen. Leaving a part of his army to resist the forces then raising by the dukes of Lunenburg, Zell, and the bishop of Osnabrug, he marched into the heart of Groningen, with intention first of surprising Delfzil, in which enterprize the English promised to assist him; but a party of his troops being repulsed with loss by a small corps formed out of the neighbouring garrisons, defeated his design. However he proceeded to lay siege to Groningen, into which the princess of Friseland threw herself and family to animate the garrison by her presence; a re-

solution worthy of the daughter of prince Frederic Henry of Orange. She had sold her plate and jewels to raise a sufficient body of men for the defence of the city; and took such vigorous measures as retarded the operations of the enemy, giving time for the Dutch forces and the French auxiliaries to come to her relief. In a word, her attachment to her country prevailed over maternal duty and affection, and she was the instrument of the safety of Groningen, expressly contrary to the commands of the prince of Orange, who wished to see the bishop successful; that the administration of the pensioner might become more odious. On the approach of the allied army the bishop was forced to raise the siege, retire into winter-quarters, and defer his operations to the ensuing campaign.

A.D. 1666.

Lewis's first step towards a declaration in favour of Holland, was the body of auxiliaries he had sent to check the aspiring views of the bishop of Munster. He now went farther, in recalling his ambassadors from England, and taking every measure that portended an entire rupture with that nation. The suspense he was under which faction might prevail, and his high opinion of the wealth, and consequently the power, of the republic, occasioned his so long deferring his declaration. He feared driving king Charles into an union with Spain; but he now was more apprehensive of the ruin of the republic, since the real state of affairs had been presented to him by the count d'Estades, who demonstrated, that the strength of a commercial people was not always to be estimated by their wealth, as the king had always before imagined. It was immediately upon this representation that he recalled his ambassador from London, and in the month of January declared war against England, though he never entered heartily into the quarrel, or supported his allies with the expected vigour and spirit. The states found means likewise to engage the king of Denmark in their interest, by virtue of a large subsidy, in consideration of which he obliged himself to maintain a fleet of thirty sail for their service. The judicious distribution of their money had indeed wrought a thorough change in their favour; and the bishop of Munster, who had lately been so formidable an enemy, was now flying before the powers raised against him by the republic. Little confidence, however, was placed in the doubtful conduct of Lewis, who seemed equally inclinable to serve the states, and avoid entering the lists with Charles. Friends and enemies in vain looked out for the French fleet, to give the English battle, and join the Dutch squadron; but the admiral had the address

address never to be found, while his court was stipulating with the states about the command of an imaginary junction, and whether it should belong to Beaufort, the king's admiral, or to the lieutenant-admiral of Holland. The mode of operations was likewise disputed, and at last each determined to pursue their own particular views and interests, without regard to the common cause. It was the design of the Hollanders to come to a general engagement, to which Lewis was averse, lest his own infant marine might be destroyed, or the English power sustain such a blow as would give too great a naval superiority to the republic.

When the Dutch fleet was ready, de Ruyter put to sea, in three divisions, assisted by the admirals Evertzen, Tromp, Meppel, Nes, and Vries, the whole fleet consisting of eighty-three capital men of war, besides the ketches, tenders, and fireships. To prevent confusion, each of these squadrons was subdivided under the conduct of an admiral; the signals were all agreed upon; and in this order they proceeded in quest of the enemy. As to the English, they were equal in number; but the duke of York, declined taking the command, because his force would have been unequal, if the French fleet had joined the Hollanders. The command therefore was given to prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle, the same officer who had distinguished himself by the name of Monk in the last war. On advice that the French squadron approached, prince Rupert sailed, with twenty-five ships, in quest of the duke of Beaufort, who was said to be cruising off Belleisle, ready to enter the Channel. By this separation the advantage was greatly on the side of the Hollanders; however, Albemarle bravely resolved upon giving battle, for which purpose he bore down upon de Ruyter on the 1st day of June, with the advantage of the weather-gage. The Dutch admirals, no less eager to engage, slipped their cables, that they might be the more able to close with the enemy. Both sides were determined to exert their utmost valour; and, indeed, the event left it doubtful which had shewn the most skill, obstinacy, or conduct. The battle began with unparalleled fury, and was maintained with unexampled intrepidity. Tromp and de Ruyter were both forced to shift their flags, because their ships had sustained such damage as rendered them unfit for service. While sir William Berkeley, an English admiral, sailed with his division into the midst of the Dutch fleet, where, after a gallant resistance, he was killed, and his ship taken;

Sea fight between the Dutch and English, which continued for four days.

Evertzen was engaged in person with Albemarle, and after an obstinate engagement killed, just as two of his ships blew up. Several ships were sunk and destroyed on both sides ; yet the battle raged with unremitting fury, until night parted the combatants, leaving the admirals on either side full of admiration of each others ability, and obstinate valour.

Next day the weather proved more moderate, and the fight was renewed with redoubled violence. Van Tromp, as if the preceding engagement had only whetted his ardour, desperately crowded into the midst of the English ; but his strength proving unequal, he was reduced to the last extremity, when de Ruyter, his mortal enemy, generously came up to his relief, rushed in among the enemy, and brought off his rival, with a dignity of mind that cannot be sufficiently applauded. By this time the Dutch were reinforced with sixteen ships, and the English shattered in such a manner, that not above thirty sail remained fit for action. This circumstance determined the duke of Albemarle, who, though in the vale of life, had fought with the fire and ardour of a youthful warrior, to make the best of his way for England, and leave the glory of victory to the Dutch, after he had shewn them how deserving their enemies were of the empire of the ocean. He drew off his fleet in the best order possible, and was closely pursued by de Ruyter, when a calm ensued that prevented the Hollanders from beginning a fresh attack.

Not all the horrors of the battle, which was desperate beyond description, could discourage the Dutch ; they determined to pursue the advantage obtained by their superiority, while the duke of Albemarle, calling a council of flag-officers, was, by their advice, disposing his fleet in a real-line of battle, to make a fighting retreat. A breeze springing up about four next morning, de Ruyter bore down a third time, and begun the action, when the duke discovered prince Rupert and his squadron to the southward, making all the sail in his power to come in for a share in the action. Immediately he hauled upon a wind to join this seasonable reinforcement, and baffled all the endeavours of de Ruyder to prevent their junction, though with the loss of a first-rate, commanded by admiral Ayscough, which had the misfortune to strike upon the Galloper Sands, where she was surrounded, attacked, and taken, after a vigorous resistance. The endeavours of the several admirals to gain the advantage of the weather-gage by a variety of different motions, consumed the third day ; but on the fourth, the battle was again renewed with the same impe-

impetuosity as if all the ships had come fresh to the engagement. Four successive charges were sustained and given by both admirals; at last, a thick fog interposed, under cover of which the English retired, but with so formidable an appearance as to give them some title to dispute the victory, which the Dutch claimed. De Ruyter twice broke the enemy's line in the last day's engagement, and obtained immortal honour. During the four days he took eleven great ships, and burnt or sunk an equal number. The slaughter on both sides was prodigious, and hardly a ship of either side escaped undamaged (A).

Though, in consequence of these bloody engagements, neither the English nor Dutch were able to keep the sea, both had vast resources; they exerted them to the utmost, and both fleets soon set sail as formidable as before. De Ruyter had orders to join the French squadron under the duke of Beaufort, who had artfully suffered the two great maritime powers to weaken each other, before he ventured to engage the king's squadron in the quarrel. Even the English themselves allow, that had he joined de Ruyter when he might, the victory must have been decisive, and the consequence fatal to the naval power of Great Britain,

Another engagement.

(A) Though bonfires were made in London, and thanksgivings for the victory ordered to be observed in all the churches, candour must confess, that victory declared clearly on the side of Holland, though obtained with the most terrible carnage. Three admirals and seven captains were killed: above two thousand seamen were thrown dead into the sea to clear the decks, and a greater number were wounded. They had no ships taken by the enemy, but seven were sunk, or otherwise destroyed, and the whole miserably shattered. Ruyter and Van Tromp had shifted their flags to six different ships; but the trophies which they earned were thought a full recompence of all the labour and danger they had undergone. Lord Arlington, the English secretary of state, in fact ac-

knowleges that the king's fleet was defeated. In a letter to sir William Temple he expresses himself thus: "Neither do I take pleasure in repeating any thing of this engagement. This advantage I am sure they had of us, that they have carried home their trophies; whereas we have not one, what we took being all drowned or burnt." He might have added still more indisputable proofs, though this testimony from a minister will alone appear sufficient. As to what bishop Burnet, and other writers allege, of the pensionary de Wit's being in the engagement, it has no foundation in truth. The pensionary, indeed, visited the fleet before it set sail; but the clamours raised against his last expedition deterred him from repeating the experiment.

which

which, however, was by no means the intention of the most christian monarch. De Wit applied with his usual activity to repair the fleet, and the great object of the states was, to destroy the English shipping, in the docks and yards, in the river Thames. With this intention they set sail on the 10th of July; but some accounts received from England, and the ignorance of the pilots with respect to the soundings, obliged him to lay aside the enterprize. It was next proposed to make a descent on the coast of England near Harwich; but all the places of landing were found so well lined with troops, that this scheme too was found impracticable, and a resolution formed to wait for the enemy, and decide the fortune of the war by another general engagement. By the 24th he fell in with the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, who commanded a fleet of one hundred sail, while de Ruyter's did not amount to eighty-two men of war and some fire-ships. Flushed by the late victory, the van advanced with too great impetuosity, and for a time the battle was maintained with equal zeal, emulation, and spirit; but Evertzen, brother to the admiral of that name, who had been killed in the last engagement, was at length furrounded, overpowered, and defeated, by Sir Thomas Allen, vice-admiral of the white, with the loss of three inferior admirals, and a dreadful slaughter of the seamen. Van Tromp, in the mean time, engaged and defeated Sir Jeremy Smith, admiral of the blue squadron; but, pursuing the chase too eagerly, he was entirely cut off, and separated from the center, where the battle raged with unparalleled fury between de Ruyter and the duke of Albemarle. Here de Ruyter sustained for three hours the utmost efforts of the whole British fleet. He maintained the fight with seven ships only in the line, and at last yielded the victory, when his men were so exhausted, as to be unable to work the ships, and keep up a continued regular fire. It was now only he made that signal to retreat, which was readily observed by all the fleet, though it was saved from destruction by the seasonable calm that ensued. De Ruyter's conduct through the whole action was so cool, resolute, and determined, that even his defeat added lustre to his former glory. Had he been duly supported by Van Tromp, the victory would at least have proved doubtful.

Now the English crowded in pursuit of Van Tromp, who had been separated from the main fleet ever since that desperate effort, by which he broke through their line. They discovered him near Harwich, and attacked him with vigour; but that gallant officer sustained the shock with

with such admirable firmness as foiled all attempts, and enabled him to retreat with little loss to the Texel; notwithstanding which, loud complaints were made by de Ruyter to the states, that the loss of the battle was owing to his rashness and misconduct. The number of killed and wounded was very considerable on both sides; some writers alledge, that the Dutch lost above two thousand men, besides three admirals. Twelve captains were besides slain, and seven ships sunk and destroyed, but none taken. Upon the whole, we may judge of the certainty and value of the victory to the English, by its consequences. The Dutch took sanctuary in their ports, before which the enemy rode in triumph, insulting their coasts, and interrupting their commerce. The late rejoicings of the states were turned into mourning; and as the expectations of the populace are always sanguine upon every instance of prosperity, their clamours and discontents rise in proportion upon any change of fortune. To embarrass the government still more, the animosity between the two best admirals of the republic broke out with redoubled violence: the seamen likewise, entering into the quarrel of their commanders, formed two opposite factions, came to blows, and threatened the dissolution of the government. Van Tromp was supported by the house of Orange, and greatly beloved, on account of his generosity and valour, by all the seamen; yet had the states courage enough to supersede him, and prosecute his family for a paper they published in his justification, because it reflected on their conduct. The French king, however, did justice to his merit, by sending him the order of St. Michael, his picture finely set with diamonds, and a letter of compliment wrote with his own hand, testifying his sense of that gallant conduct which had brought off a small squadron of no more than eight ships, though furiously attacked by thirty ships of the enemy. It was, nevertheless, true, that his impetuosity in the beginning of the action had occasioned the succeeding misfortunes, though he now gloriously effaced that error*.

*Van Tromp
is superseded.*

Meantime M. Buat, a discarded domestic of the prince of Orange, had, by the instigation of lord Arlington, the English minister, entered into secret measures for concluding a peace, separating France from Holland, and restoring the prince of Orange to all the honours held by his ancestors. This plot was discovered by a blunder committed by Buat, who, instead of another letter, delivered lord Arlington's to

* Bafnage, *ibid.*

the pensionary. De Wit was astonished with the contents, which were afterwards confirmed by Buat, who was seized, imprisoned, and tortured. While he was upon the rack, he named above sixty accomplices, some of them the principal personages in Holland; but it was thought proper to wink at his information, and attribute it to the criminal's desire of saving his own life, many of the persons pointed out having great influence and popularity. In the end, Buat suffered upon a public scaffold, and the plot was suppressed.

The English insult the coasts of Holland.

To fill up the measure of the calamities of the republic at this period, a detachment from the English fleet entered the road of Vlie, under Sir Robert Holmes, piloted by a Dutch skipper, and burned one hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, and a village on the coast (B), the whole damage being computed at six millions. It is the opinion of some writers, that this enterprize formed a part of the conspiracy for which Buat was executed, but the conjecture is rejected by the best historians. The merchants on whom this immense loss fell, raised loud clamours against the government, and endeavoured to stir up the people to revolt. The Orange faction reared her head, and it was natural to expect that the republic, overwhelmed with such a torrent of misfortune, would now have humbled herself, and implored a pacification; but the spirit of de Wit was invincible, and the resources of his genius inexhaustible. He applied himself diligently to the means of quieting the seditions in the provinces, and the factions in the government, in order to prosecute the war with vigour. In this design he gained the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and paid little regard to the murmurs of the other provinces, as they contributed but little towards the public expence. By the proper and judicious distribution of a large sum of money, he appeased all the mutineers in the fleet, and the discontents among the seamen; while d'Estades, the French minister, was no less successful in his practices upon the states. The very existence of the states at this period, depended on the pleasure of the French king; his sentiments determined the fortune of the whole nation. It was his policy, however, to preserve a rival to the maritime power of England: accordingly, he

(B). This village was called Brondaris, in the island of extreme misery, their effects Schelling, a rich, populous, having either been pillaged or and flourishing place, containing consumed in the flames. above a thousand families,

no sooner received advice of the defeat of the Dutch fleet, and the dispirited condition of the government, than he determined to risque his infant naval force, the first and dearest child of his policy, reared by the hand of the sage Colbert. The duke de Beaufort now had express orders to join the Dutch fleet, and to act in the most vigorous manner against the common enemy. Accordingly, he returned to Rochelle, there to wait the proper opportunity of effecting a junction as soon as the allies of France should be ready to put to sea. M. Bellefonte was dispatched to the Hague, to concert, with the pensionary and the count d'Estrades, the most probable means of accomplishing this delicate and important measure, with the utmost safety and expedition; yet, after all, de Wit harboured suspicions of the French sincerity, and a warm altercation passed between him and M. de Lionne^t.

These disputes did not divert the pensioner's attention from the principal object. The fleet was refitted by his indefatigable diligence in an incredible short time. It put again to sea under de Ruyter, with instructions to cruise between the streights of Dover and the mouth of the river Thames, to watch every motion of the English, until it was certainly known in what manner the French king intended to dispose of the duke de Beaufort's squadron. De Ruyter set sail on the 10th of September, and had no sooner arrived at his station, than prince Rupert's fleet was descried at a distance, bearing down full sail before a favourable gale. The Dutch writers allege, that de Ruyter had thrown out the signal to engage, and his ships were clearing for that purpose, when the interposition of night and a calm, obliged prince Rupert to retire. Others go so far as to affirm, that his disposition disconcerted the prince, forced him to retire, and gave de Ruyter an opportunity of clearing for several hours; the very contrary of which is reported by English historians. It is certain that a storm came on, which damaged both fleets considerably, and reduced the Dutch admiral to take shelter in St. John's road, near Boulogne. Here he was seized with a fever, and the whole fleet grew sickly, upon which the states sent orders for him to return to Holland. As to the duke of Beaufort, he sailed up the Channel as far as Dieppe, upon a supposition that the Dutch were still in the neighbourhood of Boulogne; and finding his mistake, directed his course to the coast of Brittany, where three ships in the rear of the squadron fell in with the

^t Wiequefort, lib. xv.

English, maintained an obstinate engagement, and were defeated with the loss of one man of war.

It was upon the return of the fleet that the states resolved to send three deputies on board, with full powers to regulate the naval operations, with the assistance of a council of the principal officers. The provinces of Zealand and Friseland, which were each to send a deputy, disapproved of the measure. This circumstance determined M. de Wit, who was nominated by Holland, to charge himself with the whole care and conduct of the armament. On his arrival he found de Ruyter in so bad a state of health, that he was sent to Amsterdam, where he remained until the month of September. However, the fleet proceeded to sea, under admiral Van Nes, subject to de Wit's orders, arrived on the coast of England, with intention to fight the enemy, and was a second time driven back by a furious tempest, which occasioned the French king to complain that his squadron was exposed to the mercy of the English. In fact, however, the English were incapable of embracing the opportunities that offered. A terrible fire had destroyed great part of the capital; public credit was affected; universal despondency had seized the minds of the people; and all was fear, suspicion, distrust, and dissension; the ministry and the nation being divided among themselves. The conflagration, which had destroyed above six hundred streets, was supposed to be the effect of malicious design, and erroneously attributed to the Roman catholics and the republicans, as the stream of faction happened to be directed. Hence arose the jealousies and dissensions we have mentioned, which were augmented by the disturbances in Scotland, arising from the persecution of the presbyterians in that kingdom, and the decline of parliamentary complaisance for the king and ministry. The situation of the British nation was the great security of the republic. Charles, now tired of a war, from which he had not reaped the proposed private advantages, made overtures of peace, and the king of Sweden offered his mediation. Yet still he kept in view the ancient pretensions of his crown, and the indemnification required at the commencement of the rupture, for the damages done his trading subjects in India, and elsewhere. He demanded that the states should send their deputies to London, to adjust the preliminaries of peace. Other marks of submission were besides required, which produced various opinions in the provinces. Some asserted that the advantages gained by England were not so considerable as to give them a right to dictate; while others thought those instances of

*Proposals
of peace
made by
the king of
England.*

of an assumed superiority and pride, of too little consequence to obstruct a necessary accommodation. The states, however, declared, that they had no objection to the proposal of holding the congress at London, but the consideration for their allies the kings of France and Denmark, who refused to treat in any part of England. Several towns of Holland and Zealand were earnest for a congress, without regard to punctilios; but de Wit found means to secure the states, and exerted his utmost influence with the court of France to keep her firm in the alliance, and difficult with respect to the terms of negotiation. Lewis, however, had now sufficiently established his credit in Holland, and disappointed the extensive schemes of England. Growing jealous of lord Sandwich's negotiation at Madrid, and that an union between Spain and Great Britain might take place, he resolved to establish peace; and for this purpose not only recommended, but enjoined the states, not to be too delicate about formalities. Nor was this all; he permitted Ruigny to correspond with the earl of St. Alban's, to bring the court of London to the most pacific dispositions; with which view a letter was directed to that nobleman, in such terms as should excite the jealousy of the Hollanders. However, that the states might have no reason to tax the king of France with duplicity, the letter was first communicated to the pensioner, and he found it so general and ambiguous, that it was impossible to make objections. On receipt of Ruigny's letter the earl of St. Alban's signified to the court of France, that his Britannic majesty was not averse to treating in a neutral place, provided France would preserve a neutrality. The English ministry took advantage of this clandestine correspondence to insinuate notions that his most christian majesty was treating without the participation of his allies. This report alarmed the provinces in general, and especially the towns and cities of Holland, who cried out, that the republic was betrayed. To refute the report, and stop the torrent of abuse thrown out in Holland against the insidious conduct of his ministry, the king ordered the count d'Estrades to give the states the most solemn assurances of his resolution to adhere strictly to the terms of his alliance, though he was desirous of effecting a peace, in which he should chiefly have an eye to the good of the republic.^b

A.D. 1667:

In the mean time the king of England, as if perfectly satisfied with the apology made by the states for declining to

^bBasnage, p. 779. Smollett, lib. ix. cap. i. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, vol. ii.

open the congress in London, immediately veered round, and offered to treat of preliminaries at the Hague, where the ambassadors of the allies then resided. This motion gave the alarm to M. de Wit and the French party, who concluded that it must imply some deep and dangerous scheme, to divide the republic, and dissolve the confederacy. The proposal immediately begot dissension, no less than four provinces taking the occasion of expressing their animosity to the pensioner. To oppose so growing and imminent an evil, the utmost address of the French and Dutch ministry was necessary. It was not thought adviseable to shew any suspicion of the king of England's design; a letter was therefore sent to him from the states, recommending the choice of Maestricht, Boisleduc, or Breda, for holding the congress, as more convenient and secure than the Hague, which being an open town, afforded no protection to the ministers of the different powers; that consequently, while those powers were at variance, they were exposed to a variety of fatal accidents, too many melancholy instances of which had already happened, in violation of justice, and defiance of government. They concluded with thanking his majesty for the honour intended them, which they were obliged to decline, for the considerations mentioned. To this letter from the states to the king of England, succeeded one from the French king to the states; in which he enlarged upon the danger, to a popular government, of admitting the ministers of a hostile prince, who would not fail to raise suspicions, foment divisions, and promote cabals, among a people equally open to the impressions of false and real suggestions. Afterwards he proceeded to recommend Dover, as a place not improper for carrying on the negociation; though it appears, from Mr. Lionne's letter to d'Estrades, that the court was sensible that the proposal would not be relished in England.

It was plain, from the strange conduct of Lewis, that he must have had farther designs than mere friendship to the states; and indeed the Orange faction began thus early to declare their suspicions, that he would prove himself more dangerous as an ally than he could as an open enemy. The pensioner was, perhaps, not blind to the motives of the French king; but he was now deeply engaged with that prince, and his countenance afforded the best support against the house of Orange, which was bent upon his ruin. It was visible indeed to all Europe, that the court of France was paving the way for the execution of their schemes upon Flanders. The emperor, who had a reversionary claim to this fine country, began likewise to think it his interest to interpose in the quarrel of the two maritime powers. The
baron

baron d'Isola was dispatched to the court of London, under pretence of offering his imperial majesty's mediation; though it is probable the real business was to dissuade Charles from an accommodation, as Lewis would thereby have less leisure to pursue his ambitious projects. Some attribute to this consummate politician the proposal made by Charles of opening the congress at the Hague; and, indeed, he could not have formed a more effectual measure for keeping up the resentment of both nations, and frustrating the pacific intentions of the more moderate and prudent members of either state. At length Breda was fixed upon, all parties agreeing that the conferences should be opened in this city; and thither the several parties sent their plenipotentiaries.

The first point debated at the congress was the restitution of the two English ships, which had partly given birth to the war; and of the island of Poleron in the East Indies, which had been first violently wrested from England, then restored by a subsequent treaty, and now retaken since the commencement of the present rupture. Upon this Charles insisted as an essential preliminary; but the Dutch deputies appearing determined in their refusal, he relaxed in the last article, and thought there would now occur so little difficulty, that he looked upon the peace as in a manner concluded. Full of these sentiments, and eager to appropriate to his own use the sums granted by parliament for the prosecution of the war, he ordered all his large ships to be laid up and unrigged, keeping only a small squadron of cruizers for the protection of the coasts. Of this precipitation de Wit resolved to make his advantage, retrieve his own reputation with the republic, and oblige Charles to make peace upon such conditions as should be thought requisite for the honour and security of the republic. While he cruised during the preceding year upon the English coast, he had taken care to have the mouth of the Thames exactly sounded, with a view probably of pushing his way into that river, whenever an opportunity should offer. Now he determined to execute his project, and to attend the expedition in person. France disapproved his quitting the helm of state to direct warlike operations; and the arguments urged by d'Estrades prevailed on the pensioner to substitute his brother, Cornelius de Wit, in his room, to assist de Ruyter to regulate and determine his motions. The fleet set sail from the Texel in the beginning of June, and was hardly out of sight of the coast when it was driven back by a furious tempest, in which four transports filled with soldiers perished. When the storm abated, de Ruyter again set sail with a fleet of fifty large ships, besides

Congress at Breda.

The Dutch enter the river Medway.

frigates and transports, steering directly for the river Thames, at the mouth of which he arrived on the 10th of June. He began his operations with reducing Sheerness fort, which he took with little difficulty. Next he broke down a strong boom, laid across the mouth of the river Medway, and destroyed three guardships, moored within side for its protection. M. de Ghent, advanced in boats as far as Rochester, burnt and carried off a great number of small vessels, which rode in the river without apprehension of danger. De Ruyter cleared a passage through some vessels which had been sunk, by order of the duke of Albemarle, in the channel: then sailed up as far as Upnor-castle, which he took and demolished. His last exploit was the burning three ships of the line, in executing which he met with an obstinate resistance; and then he fell down the Medway, with intention of attempting the river Thames ^b.

The sailors, who had escaped the conflagration at Chatham, spread the alarm through London, and filled that capital. Troops immediately filed off towards Gravesend; ships were sunk at Woolwich and Blackwall; platforms were raised in different places, and mounted with artillery; the train-bands were drawn out, and the city put into the best posture of defence that circumstances would admit. Yet it must be confessed, that, after all the preparations made, nothing could have prevented de Ruyter from pillaging and destroying the most flourishing city in Europe, besides the want of a sufficient number of boats, and of land-forces. Without these he found it impossible to succeed, and therefore set sail for Portsmouth, which he attempted in vain to reduce. Then he directed his course to Torbay, where he made prize of a great number of vessels, with which he proceeded to bombard Plymouth. This enterprize failing, he sailed up the Channel, insulted Harwich, gave chase to a squadron commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, once more entered the Thames, and overwhelmed the whole kingdom with terror and confusion: after which glorious exploits he returned to Holland, where he was presented by the states with a rich gold cup, upon which was engraven the actions at Sheerness, Chatham, and Upnor-castle. He made a kind of triumphal entry at Dort, amidst the acclamations of the people, the roar of cannon, and the blaze of bonfires, attended by all the magistrates, and supported by the two oldest burgomasters. De Wit met with the same honours, and had besides the particular thanks of the states general. Nor was M. Van Ghent, the lieutenant-admiral forgot. He

Id. ibid.

received

received the thanks of the states, and a cup of gold, with his own exploits engraved round his arms.

The kings of England and France equally exclaimed against this expedition, while the English nation was fired with indignation at seeing itself exposed to the insult of an enemy to whom it had always given law. Charles complained that the Dutch, taking advantage of his security, ravaged his coasts with the utmost barbarity, while he was treating of peace with them in a friendly manner. He alleged they had violated the faith of treaties, though in fact no armistice had been agreed upon. On the other hand, Lewis disapproved of an enterprize which tended to retard the pacification. It was obvious, however, that this expedition, instead of retarding, served actually to accelerate the pacification. The power of de Ruyter's squadron, the bad terms upon which the king of England stood with his subjects, and the defenceless state in which he had left the nation by laying up all the large men of war, obliged him to set aside all airs of superiority, and treat with the Dutch deputies upon a footing of equality. Thus every difficulty vanished, and the peace was signed upon the following conditions : that Acadia should be yielded to the French king, who had agreed to restore to the English the island of St. Christopher's, and some other inconsiderable conquests he had made in the West Indies : that England and Holland should reciprocally retain their acquisitions ; by which means the colony of New York, in North America, remained with the former, and the island of Poleron, one of the Moluccas, with the latter. The rights of the flag were the most difficult to adjust : though merely titular, it was thought of more importance than even the real advantage of additional territories. France was so sensible of the consequences of these honours, that she now insisted upon being equalled with the two great maritime powers. Lewis refused to suffer his men of war to lower their top-sails to those of England. Charles pleaded his right to this mark of regard. Both were obstinate ; and, to avoid its breaking off the negotiation, this article was omitted in the treaty, whence violent contentions some years afterwards ensued.

Peace concluded at Breda.

While France, England, and Holland were negotiating at Breda the tranquillity of Europe, Lewis was meditating the execution of a project, which, by aiming at universal empire, again threatened to involve Christendom in the flames of war, and particularly the empire, Spain, and the United Provinces. His ambition grasped at every thing, and his power enabled him to gratify every aspiring

wish. On the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV. he prepared to invade the Netherlands, though, before the solemnization of his marriage, he had formally renounced all pretensions to the Spanish succession. His claim was examined by the clergy, and pronounced legitimate; and their decision was supported by the secular arm, and M. Turenne at the head of forty thousand men. Already Aëth, Lisle, Tournay, Courtray, Charleroi, and Oudenarde confessed his power, by receiving his garrisons; and Lewis waited only for the death of the sickly Charles II. of Spain to lay claim to the whole monarchy. Every state in Europe took the alarm. The Dutch, from the nature of their situation, were immediately exposed to his designs: they wished for nothing more than an opportunity of uniting with England in a confederacy, that should be able to oppose a sufficient barrier to the soaring ambition of the French monarch. Now, when too late, the artifice of Lewis's friendship was discovered: still, however, the states imagined they could prevail on him to adhere to the moderate terms he had often promised; and that by ceding Courtray, St. Omer, Aire, and Franche Comté to France, the rest of the Netherlands might be put under the protection of the empire, England, and the republic. It was the Dutch that suggested the idea of the triple alliance, which took place soon after. The king of England, finding his credit on the wain with his subjects, willingly embraced any measure that was likely to retrieve his popularity; and no scheme promised so fair as his becoming the head of a league, formed in support of the liberties of Europe. The court of Spain too was indefatigable in her endeavours to raise a powerful confederacy against Lewis: though she entertained the highest opinion of her own strength, and the courage and ability of her forces, yet it was impossible to avoid seeing the superiority of the French, as far as could be judged from the most rapid successes. The Spanish ambassadors represented to Holland the proximity of the danger, while they flattered England with the glory of holding the ballance of power. True policy, indeed, required that a barrier should be formed to stop the progress of Turenne; and with this view it was that the triple alliance was formed by the address of Sir William Temple, who subdued all the scruples of M. de Wit, the pensioner, with a facility that will ever bear ample testimony to the abilities of that elegant and refined statesman. At first, England and Holland were only the contracting powers; but Sweden soon acceded to the treaty as a principal. Then the confederates assumed to themselves the

office

A.D. 1668.

*Treaty at
Aix la
Chapelle.*

office of arbiters in the differences between France and Spain, with respect to the Low Countries. They even pretended to take cognizance of the dispute between Spain and Portugal. The object was to restrain the power of Lewis, support the tottering Spanish monarchy, and prevent the direful consequences of a war, in which all Europe would probably be involved*.

The next step was to repair the fortifications of the frontier towns, and to put the army upon a respectable footing. For some years all military employments had been held by the children of burgomasters, because they were generally in the interest of the pensioner; while the old experienced officers were laid aside, on account of their attachment to the prince of Orange, under whose ancestors they had acquired all their knowledge. The bishop of Munster's late invasion convinced the people, that troops ill commanded were perfectly useless; they therefore began to clamour about the distribution of commissions, and to insist that all the old officers should be restored to their employments, and promoted, as if they had remained constantly in the service. It was with reluctance the pensioner had yielded to the necessity of the late treaty concluded against France: the blow now meditated struck deeper at his power, and tended obviously to change the scale in favour of the opposite faction. It was impossible, however, to stem the tide of popularity; he therefore determined to divide its force, and, by making it flow in different channels, weaken its influence. With this view he united all the republicans in the opinion that the chief command of the army should be conferred on a foreigner, notwithstanding this preference was offering the greatest injury to prince Maurice of Nassau, to whose valour, conduct, and fidelity, there could be no reasonable objection. After violent contentions, the command was divided among a number of officers, by which both parties were in some measure gratified.

As the triple alliance was formed merely to oblige Lewis to execute the proposals he had made to the court of Spain, of relinquishing the rights of his queen, provided the Spaniards would either consent to his keeping the conquests he had already made in the Low Countries, or in lieu of those cede to him the Franche Comté, with the towns already specified; the queen-regent of Spain kept aloof, in expectation of engaging the Dutch and the king of England in a war with Lewis, under pretence that he refused standing to the alternative which they guaranteed. But

* Basnage, p. 789.

*Designs of
the differ-
ent pow-
ers.*

finding herself disappointed in this hope, she consented to his retaining his conquests, on the supposition, that, should he ever attempt to extend them, he would necessarily engage the enmity of the two maritime powers. This cession paved the way to a congress, which was immediately appointed at Aix la Chapelle, where it soon terminated in a treaty. The Dutch ordered a pompous medal to be struck, in which they arrogated to themselves the whole honour of having given peace to Europe (A). Nothing could be more absurd than such an instance of unnecessary vanity, at a period too when de Wit was proposing a new alliance to d'Estrades between France and the republic, jointly to oppose the pretensions of his Britannic majesty to the sovereignty of the ocean, and to oblige his ships to pay the due honours to the French flag. D'Estrades adopted his sentiments, and represented to his court, that nothing but embracing the proposal could prevent the pensioner's being forced into the interest of England, however contrary to his resolutions, and disagreeable to his sentiments and inclinations. How far M. de Wit was serious in this proposal, can only be conjectured: perhaps he had already reason to suspect that Charles was falling into his old bias of cultivating the closest union with France. Be this as it may, it is certain that Lewis paid little regard to the

^b Le Clerc, p. 94. Hist. Medul. Sir William Temple's Lett. p. 79. tom. ii.

(A) This medal is preserved by M. Le Clerc. Here Holland is represented by a young beautiful female figure, surrounded by trophies, holding in her hand a pike or javelin, the one end of which is adorned with a hat, as an emblem of Liberty, and the other with the republican arms of the United Provinces. On the reverse is the following inscription: "After having confirmed the laws, reformed the abuses in religion, assisted, defended, and conciliated kings, secured the liberty of the ocean, established by valour and dint of arms a glorious peace, restored tranquillity to Europe, the states general of the United Provinces have or-

dered this medal to be struck, in the year 1668." This pompous inscription gave equal offence to the kings of France and England; but what chiefly incensed Lewis, was the insolence of Joshua Van Beuningen, the Dutch plenipotentiary at the congress. This minister had the weak vanity to have a medal struck, in which he compared himself to Joshua stopping the course of the sun, which was the device of the French monarch. This fact we have upon the authority of the best French and English writers, though Le Clerc omits the medal in his curious historical collection.

scheme

scheme of the pensioner, though supported by all the arguments of his own ambassador, D'Estrades, could urge. On the contrary, he sent M. Colbert de Croissy, brother to the celebrated minister of that name, his ambassador to the court of London, and recalled D'Estrades from the Hague: yet the harmony between England and Holland still subsisted. Sir William Temple was dispatched to the states, vested with a higher character than he had formerly borne, not only to give the strongest assurances of the continuance of the king of England's good intentions towards the republic, but to negotiate a treaty of commerce, and concert a treaty of guarantee on the plan of the late triple alliance.

France was quick-sighted in discerning her own interest, A. D. 1669.
and alert in pursuing it. The acquisitions which Lewis had made in Flanders, served only to inflame his ambition to possess the remainder of that valuable country, and particularly the Franche Comté; the very name of which district seemed to give him a kind of claim. His views were to dissolve the triple alliance, as a necessary prelude to his other designs; and Spain, by refusing to pay the Swedish subsidy, furnished the means of accomplishing this important affair. Such progress indeed had Colbert made at the court of London, that M. Puffendorf, the Swedish ambassador at the Hague, acquainted the pensioner, as early as the month of January, 1669, that England was already changed with respect to all those councils she had formed in conjunction with Sweden and Holland, notwithstanding the secret was yet in few hands; and lord Arlington confessed, about the same time, that a rumour was prevalent about court, that the Swedes were gained over to the French interest. This intimation was followed by a variety of circumstances, which more plainly indicated the designs of his Britannic majesty. Besides the refusal of a proposal made by the states of a defensive and offensive alliance, A. D. 1670.
Sir William Temple was suddenly recalled; and, as if the king had sought an opportunity of coming to a rupture, orders were given to the captain of the yacht, sent for lady Temple, to sail through the Dutch fleet, then in the Channel, insist on the admiral's lowering his top-sails, and continue firing upon him until all due honours should be paid to the British flag. It is evident that Lewis had now fully digested his project to invade the Netherlands; that he had gained the king of England, whose necessities made him the pensioner of France; and that these instructions to the captain of the yacht were intended as a plausible excuse to

*Alliance of
England
and France.*

the nation for entering upon a war equally unjust, unnecessary, and imprudent. Lewis practised the most insinuating arts to séduce Charles from his real interest, to engage him as a tool in aggrandizing the French monarchy, and blind him to the consequences of his ambitious projects. Besides the private subsidies remitted to support the king of England in his extravagant pleasures, the duchess of Orleans was sent to England upon a visit to her brother, where she spent a fortnight in a continual round of diversions. She was accompanied by mademoiselle Querouaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty, bewitching address, elegant accomplishments, and a fund of wit and vivacity sufficient to engage a heart more insensible than that of Charles. This lady was carried with him to London, created duchess of Portsmouth, and retained in the highest favour during the whole course of his life. It was by means of this artful visit, and the address of mademoiselle Querouaille, that Lewis first gained the entire ascendant over his Britannic majesty, and made him the instrument of those bonds he was forging for the liberties of Europe *.

Thus stood affairs when sir George Downing, less beloved by the pensioner, less in the friendship of the states, and the interest of the republic, was sent to Holland to succeed sir William Temple, and probably to complete the rupture begun by the captain of the yacht, who was committed to the Tower for not having sufficiently asserted the dignity of the British crown, and resting satisfied with a salute from the guns of the Dutch admiral. The prince of Orange's visit to England made no alteration in the counsels of that nation; for after that event Mr. Coventry was sent to Stockholm, to exert his utmost abilities in drawing off the king from the triple alliance, so inconsistent with his Britannic majesty's engagements to Lewis. These changes in the English ambassadors were deemed ominous by the more discerning. De Wit had the greatest friendship for sir William Temple; but he regarded his successor as a mean tool of the court, a turbulent firebrand, and an implacable enemy of the republic, and was particularly jealous of his high reputation with the states. Downing, indeed, on his first arrival, solemnly protested that the king his master was determined strictly to adhere to every article of the triple alliance. He gave the strongest assurances that Charles had no other design in the powerful armaments he was equipping, than to render himself respectable among his neighbours, and guard against the designs of the

* Le Clerc's Hist. Med. p. 93.

most Christian king, whom he had good reasons to distrust; and indeed this was all that Charles had acknowledged to the parliament when he demanded supplies, and intimated his intention of taking fifty ships of the line into commission, besides the cruizers and the squadron already in the Mediterranean. Nor was Downing satisfied with these insidious declarations; he complained of the backwardness of the states, in fulfilling an article of the late treaty, which respected the colony in Surinam, and specified some causes of difference between the English merchants and the Dutch East India company. The pensioner had too much penetration to be deceived by appearances; he had the best intelligence of the transactions in the British cabinet, and was well informed of every circumstance of the negotiation between the courts of France and England; he therefore considered every change of measures as a step towards an approaching rupture. But he most dreaded the ambitious projects of France, as they threatened the United Provinces not only with all the horrors of an invasion, but those of domestic faction and confusion. The smallest alarms on the side of Flanders, he knew would stir up the populace to demand the restitution of their former honours to the Orange family; than which nothing appeared more dreadful to the pensioner, in regard to its consequences to public liberty, and the freedom of the republic. On the other hand, should Lewis pursue his designs, how could the provinces provide for their own security without a military force? and how could that force be raised, regulated, paid, and disciplined, while the republic was divided, and the more popular party excluded from all public employments? Under these embarrassments he sought the friendship of Spain; though his advances were but coldly received, until the joint views of Lewis and Charles became so very apparent, that the Spanish ministry were at length reduced to the necessity of ordering Don Emanuel de Lira, the king's ambassador at the Hague, to enter into a defensive treaty with the republic. This affair was conducted by de Lira and count Monteroy with so great secrecy, that it remained for some time unknown to all the powers in Europe besides the contracting parties^b. Both de Lira and Monteroy were the declared enemies of France: the former detested the perfidy of her politics, the ambitious schemes of her ministry, and the insidious methods she practised to destroy the liberties of Christendom, and establish universal empire: the latter was the son of don Lewis d'Haro, and

A. D. 1671

Treaty between Spain and the republic.

^b Sir William Temple's Letters, *ibid*.

consequently

consequently no friend to measures erected upon the foundation laid by cardinal Mazarin, the implacable rival of his family.

*State of
parties in
the pro-
vinces.*

When the treaty between Spain and the republic was divulged, ambassadors were sent from France and England to use the utmost efforts to render it void. France spoke in a high strain of authority, while the British ambassador endeavoured to sap the foundation of the alliance; but neither the artifice of the one, nor the insolence of the other, could prevail. The court of Spain ordered Lira and Monteroy to proceed in the treaty with the republic, and use every method to draw the knot of union harder, and so blend the interests of the two nations as to render them inseparable. The firmness of Spain proved extremely encouraging to the states; but it was no equivalent to the powerful league formed against them between the crowns of France and England, the elector of Cologne, and the turbulent, ambitious, enterprising, and warlike Van Galen, bishop of Munster, who embraced every opportunity of displaying his implacable animosity to the republic. Besides, the Orange faction openly espoused the claims of England, insisting that the required satisfaction should be given to his majesty, in hopes not only of warding off the impending blow from that quarter, but of cementing the two nations in a strict union of interests. On the other hand the states, under the influence of de Wit, sought to pacify the indignation of the most Christian king, who highly resented the insolence of the republic, which had broke out in various instances, subsequent to the peace at Aix la Chapelle. They made the most abject submissions; they disavowed the medals which had given so much offence; and they promised immediately to redress all his majesty's complaints, to remove from their councils every person who had incurred his displeasure, and to square their conduct entirely by his royal will. But Lewis had another object in view besides the mere gratification of revenge; and this opposite conduct of the two factions was meant not as compliment to Lewis and Charles, but calculated to destroy each other. Neither side appeared to have any thoughts of preserving the republic by a coalition, or even a suspension of their animosity, perhaps from a conviction that it was impracticable; and while the states hesitated about making those submissions to Charles which Lewis refused, the alliance was formed by which their territories were to be invaded by the troops of France, Cologne, and Munster, their commerce ruined, and their fleets destroyed by the combined squadrons of France and England. Nothing re-

tarded

tarded the immediate commencement of hostilities but the indigence of Charles, who was always receiving supplies from his parliament, and always needy and distressed.

Among the schemes projected to fill his coffers, it was proposed to intercept the Dutch fleet of merchant ships from Smyrna, estimated worth two millions of money; although war was not yet declared. Sir Robert Holmes was sent on this service with a small squadron. In his voyage he fell in with Spragge, returning with his squadron from the Mediterranean; but resolving to monopolize the whole honour and profit of this action to himself, he concealed his purpose from the other British admiral, suffered him to pursue his voyage, and thereby failed in the enterprize, because his strength was too inconsiderable. Van Nes, who convoyed the merchant fleet with five men of war, no sooner descried the English flag, than he put his little squadron into an admirable posture of defence. Holmes attacked him with great fury, and the engagement was maintained the whole day with equal valour, skill, and obstinacy. The fight was renewed in the morning, and continued with the same fury until night separated the combatants. On the third day the action was again resumed; but Van Nes had taken such measures that he now got off with the loss of one man of war and four merchantmen, which, however, were sunk, and therefore useless to the enemy, who being disappointed in all their sanguine hopes, had nothing left but the dishonour of having, unsuccessfully, violated the laws of nature and nations. The Dutch exclaimed against the baseness of an action which would have disgraced one of the piratical states of Africa; and the court endeavoured to reconcile it to the public as a casual rencounter, occasioned by the obstinate refusal of the Hollanders to pay the due honours to the British flag. Holmes, however, though he was the instrument of a perfidious attempt, had too much honour to certify the court relation of the engagement: he even acknowledged that the Dutch admiral had actually lowered his topsails, and paid him the usual compliment.

By this action the states were convinced they had nothing to expect from Charles, and that their diligence must be redoubled, in preparing for a rupture between the two nations. The seizure or confiscation of four of their East India ships corroborated these sentiments, which were soon confirmed by the king's declaration of war against the republic. It imported that nothing but absolute necessity, as regard to the liberties of his subjects and the dignity of his crown, could have driven his majesty to carry matters to

A. D. 1672.

*Attempt on
the Smyrna
fleet.*

*England
declares
war.*

to extremities; but the evasions of the states with regard to the claims of the British East India company, their refusal to send home the English families settled at Surinam, agreeable to the treaty of Breda, their denying to pay the due honour to his flag, their ridiculing the king and people of England in arrogant medals and inscriptions, had obliged him to use the power delegated to him by the Almighty, to check their insolence and secure the rights and honour of his crown and kingdoms. The grounds of this declaration appeared so frivolous, and the conduct of this ministry so perfidious, that the whole people of England clamoured against the war, their ancient animosity to the Dutch being absorbed in their resentments against the measures of the administration. As to the Dutch, they answered the king's declaration with great propriety and strength of argument, refuting irrefragably almost every article it contained. They denied that the English families in Surinam were detained, and demonstrated that they had refused to quit the colony: they affirmed, that no treaty had obliged their admirals to strike sail on their own coast to an English pleasure-boat; alluding to the affair of the yatch: they asserted their never having countenanced any medals, pictures, or inscriptions, reflecting upon the king or people of England: they declared it had always been their study to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain, to maintain their engagements, and to procure the repose of both nations, upon which their commerce and the very existence of their republic depended. Next they painted, in the strongest colours, the insolence of Downing, the English minister at the Hague; the intention of the English ministry in recalling sir William Temple, who had engaged the affection of the states, by the justice, honour, and openness of his proceedings, the iniquitous attempt upon their Smyrna fleet, and the insidious capture and unjust detention of their East India shipping.

The court of Spain could not be persuaded that England would ever come to extremities with the Dutch, upon groundless and at best but frivolous pretences. Even France could hardly depend upon the promises and engagements of a monarch incapable of constancy and perseverance. Nor did the states imagine their calamities were so near; all Europe, indeed, stood astonished at this thunder-clap, which was the more dreadful as it was sudden and unexpected.

Lewis now entered upon the scene of action, with such an air of superiority, that Charles seemed little more than

the harbinger to usher in the giant. His declaration of war against the states general was published in the month of April, under the superb title of an Ordonnance by the King. His money and influence had not only drawn over the king of England to his interest, but he retained Sweden by his subsidies, and armed the other princes on the frontiers of the United Provinces against the republic. He did not condescend to specify particulars in his ordonnance: it was sufficient that the insolence of the states had incurred his displeasure, and merited chastisement. It was in this lofty style his minister de Gremonville talked to the emperor when he desired the court of Vienna might not interpose in his quarrel with the Hollanders. At other Roman catholic courts he pretended to call it a religious affair, reproaching the Dutch with the name of heretics, though he was linked in the closest alliance with a heretic monarch, and the head of the protestant church; though four hundred thousand crowns were given annually for the friendship of Sweden, which had by severe laws prohibited the residence of catholics in the kingdom. The bishop of Munster declared war against the Dutch, under pretence of their having attempted to corrupt the governors of his towns; and the elector of Cologne received a body of French troops into his dominions, under the pretext of providing for his own security.

France and the other allies declare war.

The commonwealth of the United Provinces seemed now to be devoted to destruction. Lewis was ready with three armies to burst like a torrent into the heart of the republic's dominions, while on her side there was no army, no general, no fortifications, no unanimity to oppose the inundation; the whole valour and power of the state consisting in her navy, upon which the pensioner had bestowed all his attention. France had no sooner veered round than de Wit lost his credit, and with some degree of reason, as enmity to the prince of Orange had certainly carried him too far in his opposition to England, and complaisance for the court of France had occasioned his extinguishing every spark of military spirit in the republic, by disbanding the greater part of the army, and filling up all commissions in the remainder with the sons and kinsmen of his own friends, raw unexperienced youths, who had never beheld the face of an enemy. His confidence in France prevented his acting with his usual vigilance and caution. Fear of giving offence, by suspicion, hindered his making preparations against the impending invasion. The populace demanded that the prince of Orange, a youth who had just attained the age of manhood, might be placed at the head of

Preparations in Holland.

of the army, if a body of twelve thousand men, little better disciplined than militia, merited that name. There was no resisting the voice of a whole nation; de Wit yielded, and resolved to make one powerful effort by sea, while the prince was endeavouring to augment the army, raise the spirits of the people, revive discipline, repair the fortifications, and provide every necessary for a vigorous resistance. The great difficulty was to form a judgment where the storm would fall, and where to direct the strength of the republic, which was too inconsiderable to admit of being divided. Every thing was kept so close in France, that not a syllable about the army transpired; no letter was suffered to pass into Holland that contained the most distant hint of the intended invasion. It was the general opinion that the king would lay siege to Maestricht; but he rather chose to penetrate in three divisions into the provinces, take advantage of the present forlorn and dispirited condition of the enemy, and by one great effort destroy all presence of mind and hope of resistance. In the history of France we have seen with what rapidity he over-ran the Netherlands, and reduced the Dutch to the necessity of laying their country under water. All Europe stood amazed at the king's irresistible progress, while the republic was given up for lost, and without the smallest prospect of deliverance. The preparations of the states could not keep pace with their calamities. The auxiliaries received from Flanders were just sufficient to draw complaints against the court of Spain, from the two allied kings, but too inconsiderable to do the republic real service. Though the states were negotiating a treaty offensive and defensive at Vienna and Madrid, it was probable their fate would be determined before it could take place. They were besides harassed in every step by the enemy, and their applications to the elector of Brandenburg and the princes of Lunenburg it was feared would be frustrated by the machinations of Lewis, and the terror of the French arms^c.

In this situation it was hoped a bold push with the fleet might produce some favourable change. The ships and mariners of the republic were as numerous, her stores as full, and her commanders as brave and experienced as ever; it was therefore resolved to employ them in the most vigorous manner for the preservation of the last remains of the commonwealth. De Ruyter was accordingly sent to sea with ninety ships of war, and forty frigates and store-ships, Cornelius de Wit acting on board as deputy from

the *flotes*. The first intention was to prevent the junction of the French and English squadrons; but this was already effected: the united fleet lay at anchor in Solebay, under the command of the duke of York, the earl of Sandwich, and the count d'Estrees, to the amount of one hundred and thirty ships of the line. The chief authority was vested in the duke of York, who imprudently affronted the earl of Sandwich, for representing that the ships lay in great disorder, exposed to the utmost danger, if attacked in that situation. He refused standing out to sea, as the earl advised; and, indeed, regarded nothing besides his pleasures, which some political English historians relate he carried, on this occasion, to unusual excess. It is certain the Dutch began the attack early in the morning, before the combined fleet could be properly ranged; several ships were forced to cut their cables with the utmost precipitation, in order to form the line; and the whole was in such confusion, that the vessels ran foul of each other. Van Ghent opposed himself to the earl of Sandwich, who led the van of the enemy; and a most dreadful action ensued, in which the Dutch admiral was killed, after having performed prodigies of valour. Sandwich sustained for a while the whole weight of the Dutch fleet, that the Duke might have time to reduce the rest of the ships into order. He destroyed a large man of war which had attempted to board him; he sunk three fire-ships before they approached near enough to grapple with his rigging, though his whole crew was almost killed or wounded: he continued to ply his artillery with unremitting ardor, until another fireship ran him aboard on the quarter. Even then he might have escaped into another vessel; but he disdained to live after the injury done to his honour by the duke of York: his ship was blown up, and the earl and every person on board were destroyed. The benefit of the disposition he had made was felt after his death: sir Joseph Jordan, his vice-admiral, still pursued the same plan of gaining the windward, and at last succeeded; by which means he was enabled to come to the assistance of the duke of York, who was hotly engaged with de Ruyter. Now the engagement was so close for above two hours, that the Dutch admiral afterwards declared it was the most obstinate of two and thirty actions in which he had been concerned. Both sides fought like men accustomed to dispute the empire of the ocean. The duke and de Ruyter each shifted their flags twice; but the duke did not return afterwards to the engagement. Night came on, the battle was drawn, victory was claimed by the English and Dutch; but it belonged to the latter, if we may

judge by consequences ; for de Ruyter, without interruption, convoyed a prodigious fleet of merchantmen safe into the Texel, and overflowed his country with wealth on the one side, while it sunk under the pressure of misfortunes on the other (A).

A disputed victory, however, could not serve the purposes of de Wit, as affairs were then circumstanced. He had no prospect of standing his ground, and frustrating the views of the young prince of Orange, except by some signal success and decisive blow on the ocean. To have failed in this, was to him equivalent to a total defeat, as he knew it would be impossible to put the fleet again to sea with sufficient expedition, to remedy the mischief that arose from the present disappointment. He saw the French king extending his conquests on all sides, three provinces wholly subdued, and Lewis exercising not only the power of a conqueror, but the authority of a sovereign ; changing constitutions, enacting laws, publishing edicts, creating magistrates, receiving homage, and, in a word, transferring to himself the allegiance due only to the majesty of the states general. Believing longer resistance fruitless, and perhaps dreading more to become vassals to the prince of Orange than tributaries to France, the Louvestein faction determined, as the last resource, to appease by supplications the power they were unable to withstand. Accordingly deputies were dispatched to Lewis and Charles, with hopes at least of breaking their union, if they should fail in subduing their resentment. On the arrival of de Groot at the French court, his proposals were demanded ; but he answered, he was come to know the king's pleasure, his masters deeming it more respectful to receive than to offer conditions. He was told, however, that Lewis expected proposals, in which the states should consider all that his majesty had already conquered as his own, and make allowances for the farther progress of his arms during the remainder of the campaign. With this answer the deputy returned to the Hague, and was immediately sent back with full powers to treat and conclude a peace on the best terms that could be

They implore peace.

(A) Some French writers allege, that d'Estrees was hotly engaged with his whole squadron of thirty ships, with the division of Flushing, whose fire he sustained with the utmost resolution and valour. The truth is, only a few French ships were engaged, and in all probability the count had orders to keep aloof, that the two maritime powers might destroy each other. Voltaire confesses as much (1).

(1) Daniel, tom. v. p. 115. Volt. Siec. tom. i. p. 141.

obtained. After repeated conferences, Louvois gave the deputy a plan of pacification, or rather the pretensions of the king his master, upon their submitting to which he was ready to return to his former amity with the republic. Though the apprehensions of the states were so extravagant as to offer that every thing should be surrendered to the conqueror, provided their liberty, religion, and sovereign power could be preserved; though they offered to cede the whole frontier, and defray the expences of the war, yet this was insufficient. Lewis demanded that the commodities of France should be imported free of duty into all the provinces; that the states should permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion, share the churches between them and the Protestants, and appoint regular salaries for the Romish priests; that they should cede not only all the frontier towns, but Schenk, Nimeguen, Knotzburg, part of Guelderland, the islands of Bommel and Voorn, and the forts of St. Andrew, Louvestein, and Creveccœur; in a word, that they should make him as completely master of all the provinces, as if they had already been conquered by the sword: he requested moreover, that they should pay an immense sum of money to indemnify his expences; send a yearly embassy to Paris with a golden medal, confessing the subjection of the republic, and that to the king she owed the preservation of that liberty which his ancestors had enabled her to acquire. Finally, that in the space of ten days the states should signify their assent to these insolent proposals, in which case he would withdraw his forces^a. Here it is remarkable that not the least mention was made of England: we shall see how that court seemed to be wholly directed by the will and pleasure of Lewis.

The deputies sent to England were met at Gravesend, forbid entering London, and conveyed directly to Hampton-court, where they met with a very harsh reception. There they were kept in a kind of honourable confinement, until the pleasure of Lewis should be known, and whether they were to be favoured with an audience, or upon what terms it might be proper to treat of an accommodation. Bishop Burnet intimates, that the deputies gave lord Arlington to understand that the states were disposed to advance the prince of Orange to the dignity of stadtholder, and all the other offices possessed by his ancestors, as was plain from their giving him the entire command of the army. They requested that his majesty would appoint plenipotentiaries to treat jointly of a peace with the

Proposals made by the kings.

^a Voltaire Siecle, Neuville, *ibid*.

French monarch; and their petition was granted, merely because Charles was at a loss in what manner to act singly, before he had his instructions from Lewis. The duke of Buckingham and lord Arlington were accordingly nominated to attend the French king, who was at that time with his whole court at Utrecht. It would seem, however, that though Charles did not chuse to treat separately of a peace, that he felt uneasiness at the rapid progress of his ally, and at the high strain of authority in which he talked; that he foresaw the entire conquest of the provinces would be a formidable accession of power to Lewis, who might forget his engagements, and think it his interest to have the king of England dependent on his subjects. Besides, Charles shewed an inclination to share in the spoils of the republic. Holland was in such a situation, that he doubted not of procuring whatever conditions he should think fit to prescribe. His demands were exorbitant. In concert with the court of France, the plenipotentiaries delivered the following preliminaries to the Dutch deputies: That the states should do honour to the British flag, without limitation; that whole fleets should strike their colours, and lower their topmasts, to any single king's ship in the British seas, or on the coasts of Holland; that his majesty's subjects at Surinam should have liberty to quit the colony, on the terms prescribed by the treaty of Breda; that all the king's enemies and calumniators should for ever be banished the republic; that the prince of Orange and his descendants should enjoy, by hereditary right, the dignities of captain and admiral-general, and of stadtholder of the United Provinces, in as ample a manner as they had ever been held by his ancestors; that a million sterling should be paid to the king, to indemnify the charges of the war, as well as ten thousand pounds annually, merely for liberty to fish in the British seas; that a treaty of commerce should immediately be set on foot, wherein all his majesty's claims, respecting the affairs of India, should be acknowledged, without contradiction; and that the isles of Valcheren, Cadzant, Goree, and Voorn, with the town and castle of Sluys, and their dependencies, should be put into the king of England's hands, by way of security for the performance of the several articles of this treaty^b.

Grievous as these terms were, to the prince of Orange alone it was owing they were not accepted. He had infused such a spirit into the people, that on him depended the alternative of embracing or rejecting the proposals.

^b Rapin, Smollet, Temple, &c.

Nor were the allied kings ignorant of his importance. They addressed themselves chiefly to him; they knew his ambition, and they plied him on that side with all the batteries in their power, fully convinced that, in the end, he would yield to the temptation. The sovereignty of the provinces was presented to his view, to dazzle his eyes with the lustre of the object; but William's ambition aspired higher. Eager to become the saviour of his country, he spurned the thoughts of trampling on her liberties, at a time when the most wanted his assistance; he despised owing his elevation to tyrants, and sacrificing his honour and integrity to the petty reward of a tributary sovereignty. He called to mind the unhappy fate of the duke of Lorraine: the example was recent, striking, and sufficient to deter any inferior prince from relying upon the friendship, the equity, or the gratitude of a powerful monarch, whose ambition grasped at subjecting all the neighbouring powers. Full of these heroic sentiments, he declared he would defend the liberties of his country, or perish in the last dyke. The spirit of the prince infused life and vigour into his party; and he took this opportunity of inflaming the passions of the populace against the pensioner and his brother, who had now become the objects of hatred and execration, on account of their adherence to France. To this, and the subjection in which the house of Orange was kept, were all the misfortunes of the commonwealth attributed. In their most prosperous condition the vulgar panted for a stadtholder, with the glitter of whose authority they were dazzled: in adversity, they knew no other relief than from an application to the descendants of those heroes who had by perseverance, valour, and magnanimity, rescued the state from the insolent dominion of the house of Austria, and established religion and liberty on a solid basis.

The pensioner de Wit was deemed the source of the strong tide of public calamity, that now flowed with a violence sufficient to overwhelm the constitution. He inherited no titles, no royal blood, from his ancestors; his nobility arose solely from merit, inflexible virtue, and vast abilities: but he was subject to the frailties of humanity. His staunch republican principles, and opposition to the aspiring views of the house of Orange, obliged him to fall into an extreme equally dangerous to his country. His enmity to the king of England and the prince his nephew threw him into the arms of Lewis, by whom he was now deserted and betrayed. In the full lustre of prosperity, the pensioner was envied and admired; in his decline he was loaded with the execrations of a people, who placed to his

*Tumult at
the Hague,
in which
the de Wits
are mas-
sacred.*

account

account every circumstance of the calamity under which they now groaned. Actuated by these prejudices the provinces fell into the most violent ferment: the dregs of the people buoyed up to the surface, and dictated to their masters. The states were disregarded, the whole hope of the public centered in the house of Orange, and the universal cry was a stadtholder. Every voice demanded the repeal of the perpetual edict, by which they had engaged upon oath never to acknowledge the prince of Orange as governor-general, or to vest him with the dignities possessed by his ancestors. The two brothers, John and Cornelius, still continued to oppose the repeal from motives of true patriotism; they saw the madness of the people, and apprehended that, in the transports of their zeal for the prince, they might dispose of their liberty, and, by one act of indiscretion, afford matter of perpetual inquietude. At length the populace broke through all restraint. At Dort, where Cornelius de Wit was ancient burgomaster, the citizens ran to arms, invited the prince of Orange to that place, and forced the magistrates to invest him with all the dignities belonging to his family. The same scene was acted at Rotterdam, Amsterdam, the Hague, Middleburg, and, in general, through all the provinces. Nor did the popular fury stop here; they purged the public offices of all disagreeable persons, called upon the prince to fill the vacancies, introduced into the magistracy all the adherents of his family, and insisted that their own deputies should have seats in the administration, contrary to the fundamental laws of the constitution. At Amsterdam the populace were in continual tumults. At Dort the pictures and statues, erected in honour of Cornelius de Wit, were pulled down and broken. Their rage against both the brothers were inexpressible; but it seems to have risen to the greatest height against Cornelius, who had first refused to sign the instrument whereby the prince was elevated to the stadtholdership. John de Wit had, between resentment and despair, resigned the office of pensioner, after having been assaulted by four ruffians, and left for dead in the street. The gallant de Ruyter was attacked in the same manner at Amsterdam: Cornelius de Wit was beset in his own house, and, being confined to his bed, was, with the utmost difficulty, protected by his servants. This zealous patriot was accused, by an infamous barber, of having offered him thirty-two thousand guilders for attempting the life of the prince of Orange. The charge was improbable and absurd; but the times favoured the accuser, and prevented the magistrates from doing justice to the accused. So strong was the tide

of faction, that the judges, intimidated by menaces, were forced against their conviction, to condemn him to the torture, to confiscate his estate, divest him of his dignities and employments, and sentence him to perpetual banishment. His constancy never shrunk under the most excruciating pains, which he bore with unshaken fortitude, protesting his innocence, and repeating that beautiful ode of Horace, beginning with "*Justum & tenacem propositi virum.*" His brother the pensioner, not only countenanced him through the whole scene, wiped away his tears, and consoled him in his adversity, but determined to share his misfortunes, by accompanying him in his exile. While he was visiting him in prison, the deluded multitude assembled in a tumultuous manner, broke open the prison-doors, dragged out the unfortunate brothers, embued their savage hands in the blood of those sons of liberty, who had merited so well of their country, and treated their dead bodies with the most inhuman indignity.

The elevation of the prince of Orange was almost an immediate consequence of the tragical end of his two greatest enemies. He was promoted, with all possible demonstrations of joy on the side of the people, to the whole administration of Holland and Zeeland. Utrecht, Guelderland, and Overijssel, were in the hands of the enemy; and the young prince, John Casimir of Nassau, now under the guardianship of his mother, had already been in possession of the government of Friseland and Groningen. But the insolence of the populace did not subside with this favourable change of measures. Their prosperity rather increased their arrogance. At Amsterdam the following demands were posted up on the exchange: that the colonels, captains, and other officers of the burgomasters, be immediately cashiered, and their commissions be given to such persons as the prince-stadtholder shall judge worthy: that henceforward none of the burgomasters shall be appointed directors of the East India company, and that those who at present enjoy that office be cashiered: that an account of all money received and expended be laid before the burghers: that all the privileges of the burghers, respecting the liberty of fishing round the towns, be confirmed: that those who refuse to accede to these conditions, shall be treated in the same manner as the *de Wits* were at the Hague: and that, whoever shall presume to pull down this writing, may expect immediate capital punishment.

• *Basnage Introd. Le Clerc, p. 93. Gazette Amster. No. 104.*

In a word, the power of the nobility was every where the object of jealousy; and the great design seems to have been, to share the government between the stadtholder and the populace. Whatever demands were made by the people, the prince immediately granted. All authority was vested in his highness, the states were scarce ever named, the legislative and executive power were wholly at his mercy, and the constitution seemed entirely unhinged.

The stadtholder encourages the states to prosecute the war.

The first good effect which this change of measures produced, was the putting an immediate stop to the treaty with France. At an extraordinary assembly of the states, assembled merely for the sake of form, the young stadtholder represented, in a speech of three hours, the pernicious consequences of accepting the terms proposed by Lewis: he encouraged them to hope, that valour and perseverance would be able to triumph over all difficulties, and yet rescue their liberties: he demonstrated the possibility of raising the necessary supplies for the enormous expence of the war; and concluded with observing, that too great a price could not be paid for the security of religion and liberty. His knowledge was so extensive, his judgment so solid, his arguments so irrefragable, his calculations so clear, and his nervous manner so animating, that the states appeared at the same time astonished and convinced. New spirits seemed to flow through every department of the government; all were inspired with courage and hope from the intrepidity and cool valour of the young stadtholder: that grief and despondency which had long clouded every face, were now dispelled before the radiance of this rising sun: they recovered the faculty of recollection, which seemed to be buried under their misfortunes, and all began to exert themselves with vigour in defence of their country. Wise deliberations paved the way to vigorous resolutions; the proposals of the two kings were rejected, the deputies recalled, and every necessary disposition was made for defending themselves to the last extremity. It was even resolved, rather than submit, to transport themselves, their families, and effects to the East Indies, where the diligence and providence of this republic would appear to have secured a retreat against the greatest calamities.

A. D. 1673.

By this time several of the neighbouring powers, alarmed at the rapidity of the French conquests, began to arm for the protection of the republic; and the prince of Orange had made surprising efforts to assemble an army capable of taking the field. His first attempt was on Naerden; but the vigilance of mareschal Luxemburg rendered it unsuccessful. Still, however, the chief hopes of Holland centered

ed in the English parliament, which, it was believed, would thwart the king's inclinations, oblige him to break off from Lewis, and pursue the real interest of the nation. This expectation, though well founded, proved vain, as was soon perceived by the new levies made in England, and the vast armament sent to sea under the conduct of prince Rupert, the earl of Ossory, and sir Edward Spragge, who immediately joined the French squadron commanded by d'Etrees. It was now that the project was formed of invading Zealand. A considerable body of land-forces were put on board the fleet, and such dispositions made, as threatened the republic with unavoidable destruction. Never did any plan bid fairer for success. The Dutch fleet was not yet put to sea; the prince of Orange could make no detachment from his little army, already greatly inferior to the enemy; the coast was covered with the ships of the invaders, and nothing appeared to give them any interruption; when a tempest came on, which drove the enemy from the shore, and forced them, in a shattered condition, to shelter themselves in their own ports. Nor was this all; the same storm which had removed danger, brought the most seasonable relief to the provinces. In the absence of the combined squadrons a large fleet of India merchant-ships, richly laden, entered the Texel, and added nerves to all their measures of defence. Luxemburg was on his march over the ice to attack Amsterdam and the Hague, when a sudden thaw had almost ruined himself and his army. To proceed was impossible; to return was attended with a thousand difficulties, had the Dutch officer of a fort stood firm, and discharged his duty: but his cowardice opened the way to the safety of Luxemburg, who was equally astonished at the conduct of his dastardly enemy, and his own good fortune. These are events which the republic has cause to remember with gratitude and admiration^b.

De Ruyter was sent to sea with a powerful fleet in quest of the English, whom he found on the coast of Holland, under the command of prince Rupert. Before the action the French squadron had joined the prince; but de Ruyter was not deterred from his purpose. He made the signal to attack, bore down with the most undaunted resolution, and maintained an obstinate bloody engagement with his usual intrepidity and conduct. The fleets parted before victory declared in favour of either side; though both claimed an advantage. They put into their ports to refit, and soon appeared again, with intention to finish the dis-

^b Volt. Siecle.

*Sea-fights
between
the English
and Dutch.*

pute more decisively. On the 14th of June they met a second time off Flushing, and began to cannonade with great fury; but were prevented from coming to a general engagement by tempestuous weather. Prince Rupert was, indeed, supposed to have been averse to the war, and, for that reason, less eager to exert himself than usual, agreeable to his impetuous courage and well-known ardour. De Ruyter would have come to an engagement; but the prince, being destitute of many necessaries, had retired into port. He was no sooner supplied than he again appeared on the coast of Holland, and was attacked by de Ruyter and Van Tromp, now perfectly reconciled by the mediation of the stadtholder, who laboured to unite all parties in the service of their country. The action was scarce begun when each of the Dutch admirals singled out the commanders of the combined fleet. De Ruyter opposed himself to the prince, Van-Tromp engaged sir Edward Spragge, and rear-admiral Bonkert attacked d'Etrees, the French admiral. Never did greater emulation appear between the officers of the different nations: all fought with that regulated ardour, and determined courage, which distinguish true military genius. Bonkert shot a-head of the French division, separated prince Rupert from the division of sir John Chicheley, and closed him between two fires; de Ruyter plying him with fury on the one side, while the rear-admiral attacked him on the other. Though quite surrounded, Rupert fought with undaunted valour and presence of mind, which seemed to rise with the danger. After several desperate efforts he at length extricated himself, and, joining Chicheley, bore down to the assistance of Spragge, who was almost overpowered by Van Tromp. He had shifted his flag from the Royal Prince, in which he had fought until the ship was beat to pieces with the enemy's shot. He then engaged in the *St. George*, and fought her while she could swim; but going in the pinnace to shift his flag on board a fresh ship, he was sunk by a cannon-ball^b, after having gained the esteem and admiration of all men by his gallant behaviour. Van Tromp had been in much the same situation: he had twice shifted his flag after his ships had been disabled, and at last bore so hard on the earl of Ossory, who succeeded Spragge, that he forced him to retire. English writers, however, allege, that had the French obeyed prince Rupert's signal to engage, when he put the Dutch fleet in confusion by his fireships, the victory would have been undisputed. This, however, is conjecture; and all

^b Le Clerc, p. 93. Volt. cap. 10. Smollet, book vii. cap. 21

that

that we know for certain is, that, finding himself extremely roughly handled, he collected his straggled ships, and hauled off to the English coast. De Ruyter was greatly caressed for his conduct; the stadtholder wrote him a letter of thanks with his own hand, though he had been the inveterate enemy of his family, and the fast friend of the pensioner de Wit. Happily, indeed, the spirit of party seemed now extinguished, and all men united in the common defence of their country.

Every thing began to take a turn favourable to Holland. Spain renewed her alliance with the states, was raising an army, and upon the point of coming to a rupture with France. The emperor had sent the famous Montecuculi into the field to oppose his great rival Turenne. The elector of Brandenburg was at the head of a body of troops, making a diversion in favour of the republic: the prince of Orange took Naerding, and, by a series of masterly motions and judicious encampments, left all the French generals behind him, joined the imperialists, and invested and reduced Bonne in the space of a few days. The bishop of Munster had been driven out of Groningen, and several places in the electorate of Cologne, and forced to receive Dutch garrisons; in consequence of which Lewis was forced to abandon all his conquests, and withdraw his army from the provinces, the communication being cut off with France. Immediately upon this event the king of Sweden, seeing the parties grow more equal, and Europe likely to be involved in a tedious ruinous war, offered his mediation, and pleaded so heartily for peace, that a congress was opened at Cologne. The Dutch were no longer under the necessity of abjectly imploring compassion. They refused listening to terms, unless the two kings would recede from the insolent conditions they had before prescribed; they sunk in their own offers, and their ambassadors now again began to assume a more firm and elevated tone, and greater dignity of carriage. The French endeavoured to protract the negotiation; but, at last, finding themselves greatly embarrassed, they retired from Cologne with their allies, on pretence of the violence offered to the count of Furstenburg, plenipotentiary for the elector of Cologne, now apprehended by an order of the court of Vienna, as a subject of the empire who had betrayed his country.

Though the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Hanover had suffered themselves to be seduced from the interests of Europe, the one signing a neutrality with the court of France, the other suffering his troops to enter into the pay of the two kings; yet still Holland was sufficiently supported

*Conditions
of the treaty
with Spain.*

supported not to be discouraged. The treaties with Spain and the empire were full, explicit, and favourable as could be desired: there every measure of defence was stipulated, and a variety of offensive schemes concerted. In a treaty with Spain, the first seven articles provided for a reciprocal guarantee and mutual assistance, in case either party should be attacked. The proportion, time, manner, and other circumstances of such mutual aid, were likewise specified. In the three next articles it was provided, that no peace should be concluded by either contracting party, without the consent of the other; and also, that no engagements should be formed that were not perfectly consistent with the present treaty. In the eleventh and twelfth articles, the emperor and certain other powers were invited to accede to the alliance; and provision was made for the due observance of the treaty of Munster, the guarantee of the treaty of Aix, and the triple league, when the war with his Britannic majesty should be terminated. In the thirteenth article, the king of Spain promised not only to co-operate with the states general in their endeavours to procure an equitable peace; but engaged, should their proposals be rejected, to declare open war against France, and that his governor-general should in the mean time contrive to assist the prince of Orange with all the strength of the Spanish Netherlands. In the fifteenth article it was stipulated, that no peace should be negotiated without full restitution made of all towns, cities, and countries, which had or might be taken from the states; the republic, on the other hand, entering into the same engagements; until all that had been taken from Spain since the peace of the Pyrenees should be restored. By the eighteenth article, the states engaged to surrender the town of Maastricht, territory of Usenhove; and all they possessed beyond the Meuse, to his majesty, together with their pretensions to the villages of redemption. By the nineteenth article, the treaty was to subsist for the space of twenty years, and the ratifications to be exchanged in two months.

It was likewise agreed, that if the means of pacification, proposed by his catholic majesty, should prove fruitless, his majesty should then declare war against the king of Great Britain, in the same manner as against his most Christian majesty. Nevertheless, to shew his good inclinations towards his Britannic majesty, the states general were required to make one last effort to bring the king to a peace, offering him such conditions as must appear reasonable.

Such was the treaty by which Spain and Holland became again united in the same cause, after they had been at variance and open war for near the space of a century. In consequence of this treaty, to which the emperor immediately acceded, the two courts of Vienna and Madrid denounced war against France, and became the avowed protectors of the republic, which they had, during the preceding campaign, assisted with their forces. It was likewise to the peremptoriness of this treaty, and the determined resolution of the catholic king, that the states owed the peace soon after concluded with Great Britain. The parliament, and the nation in general, exclaimed against the ruinous measures supported by the English ministers. They were incensed at the conduct of the French admiral, who never engaged heartily in any of the naval engagements. They attributed the unprosperous issue of the last action to the artifice of d'Estrees, who paid no regard to prince Rupert's signal. They clearly penetrated into the designs of the French monarch, and determined, by refusing the supplies, to force the court to an accommodation with the United Provinces. But first it was resolved to wait the event of an enterprize formed by the earl of Ossory upon Helvoetsluys. As this scheme came to nothing, the Dutch commissioners and the Spanish ambassador renewed their application to detach England from France, and they succeeded. As this was a matter of the highest importance, the states did not scruple writing a submissive letter to Charles, and empowering the marquis de Fresno to conclude peace upon terms nearly similar to those recited in the treaty between Spain and the republic. Charles, finding it would be impossible to support the war without the consent of his parliament, yielded to the inclinations of his people, and the solicitations of the Spanish minister. He made a virtue of necessity, communicated the proposals sent him by the states to the two houses of parliament, and demanded their advice. Their sentiments were well known: they exhorted his majesty to put an end to the war. Accordingly the marquis de Fresno was referred to sir William Temple, and at three meetings the whole affair was finished. The treaty of Breda, and the commercial treaty in 1668, formed the basis of the present pacification. Little more was added, than that the states should compliment the king's flag, whether in fleets or single vessels; and that they should pay a sum of money to defray the king's expenses.

*Peace with
England.*

Though Charles had negotiated the peace with Holland in a clandestine manner, the French king's pride was by this

this time so mortified, that he did not resent the ill usage received from his ally. On the contrary, he readily accepted the mediation offered by Charles, from whom he had reason to expect some partiality and indulgence, as he obliged the English monarch with an annual pension of one hundred thousand pounds. Charles made the offer to qualify his desertion, and Lewis accepted it, as the most rational means of warding against the danger that threatened his crown from a cloud of enemies combined to retrench his power. But the same reasons that induced him to relish the proposed mediation, rendered the overtures from the British king distasteful to the emperor, Spain, and Holland, who scrupled not avowing, that the court of England retained the same attachments it formerly had to the French king's interest, though the king's immediate necessities had obliged him to accommodate matters with the states general.

While the mediation was in suspense, the prince of Orange took the field with a numerous army, and tried every stratagem of war to bring the prince of Condé to a battle; we have seen the progress of this campaign, and the manner in which William of Orange exposed a wing of his army at Seneffe, of which the vigilant Condé did not fail taking advantage^b. The conduct of both generals was such as engaged their mutual esteem; both claimed the victory, and neither had a right to any more than the glory of deserving it. The rencounter, however, was decisive in one respect; it frustrated the scheme of the confederates to carry the war into the heart of France. It likewise facilitated the operations of the enemy in another quarter, and enabled the French to penetrate into Franche Compté, which they soon reduced. Turenne was superior to the allies in Alsace; he defeated the duke of Lorraine and Caprara at Zitzheim; attacked and routed a body of Germans at Mulhausen; drove the elector of Brandenburg from Colmar; obtained a victory over him at Turkheim; and at length forced the enemy to repass the Rhine, and abandon their design of invading the king's frontiers.

These successes did not prevent the king of England from persisting in the offers of his mediation, or animate Lewis to prosecute the war, could reasonable terms be obtained. The states general themselves were disposed to accommodate matters; but the courts of Vienna and Madrid had formed ambitious projects of humbling the pride of Lewis. The stadtholder too was inflamed with the desire of mili-

^b Vide Hist. of France.

tary glory, and he pushed his resentment to France so far, that the pensioner Fagel acknowledged, it would not be possible to convince him of the propriety of concluding a peace, before he had settled the ballance of Europe, on such a footing, as would for many years check the elevation of the French monarch. Animosity, ambition, and policy, united to confirm William in those sentiments, and we find he had already sketched the general plan of that grand alliance, which afterwards took effect, when he was king of Great Britain. Actuated by these principles, he carefully avoided all conference with the English ministers during the campaign, and at last told them, until France received further mortifications, nothing salutary to the peace of Europe could flow from a negotiation. In the second conference, he explained that maxim which had afterwards cost England and Holland such an immensity of blood and treasure, that it was the interest of both to set bounds to the power of France; whence he took occasion to urge, that the king should actually embark in the alliance, in order to convince Lewis, that he had the same views with the other confederates; namely, the security of the repose of Europe, and not a mere temporary pacification. The prince was the more encouraged to pursue his design, as the elector of Brandenburg had again broke with the French king, and joined his troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, to the confederate army. Yet was this reinforcement scarce sufficient to ballance the inconveniences arising from dissensions among the generals, and troops of different princes, since the battle of Zintzheim. The Lunenburghers had openly condemned the conduct of the imperialists in this action; for several hours they singly sustained the whole weight of the enemy, they had suffered extremely, and were with reason loud in their complaints. The Brandenburgers embraced their cause against the imperialists; a diversity of interests produced a diversity of opinions; councils only created confusion, and every transaction was as perfectly known by Turenne as if he had been present. However, upon the whole, the campaign proved fortunate to the allies. Montecuculi again resumed the command, opposed himself to Turenne, reduced all things to order, displayed the most extensive capacity, held the scale equal for a time, and, upon the unfortunate death of his great rival, suddenly turned it in favour of the confederates, and then resigned the command.

It was during the recess from military operations, that the sovereignty of Guelderland had been offered the prince of Orange, under the ancient title of duke, which it was pretended

A.D. 1675.

pretended had been formerly in his family. This affair occasioned various conjectures. Those who had no opinion of William's patriotism, and attributed whatever appeared great in his character to ambition, alleged that he was himself the main spring in the intrigue, and had by divers means influenced the states of Guelderland to make the proposal. His friends and admirers were of contrary sentiments. They insisted that the motion proceeded from gratitude, and that the reward was no more than was due to a hero, who had so bravely driven a powerful enemy out of the country, and rescued almost beyond probability the liberties of the United Provinces. William wisely deliberated on the offer, and submitted it to the states of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. The last temporised, and were for his accepting it; the second were as positive, in dissuading him from being dazzled with a title which would afford his enemies a handle to asperse his character, and stain real patriotism with the infamous blot of hypocrisy. Before Holland came to any resolution, the prince thought fit to decline an honour which would have cost more than it was worth by diminishing his popularity, while it increased his power, and added to his dignities. What ingratiated him particularly with the states of Utrecht, was his conduct in that province, upon his first resolution after he had been elevated to the stadtholdership. In order to reform abuses, and settle the government upon the ancient principles of the constitution, he convened an assembly of the provincial states. Here it was determined, that new members should be elected to compose the body of the nobility and the magistracy. The prince delivered a plan he had drawn up, for the better government of the provinces: it was examined, approved, and put in execution. In consequence of these measures, the old constitution was revived, agreeable to which the provincial government was vested in three distinct societies, the counsellors elect, the body of the nobility, and the deputies of the towns and cities. The judicious behaviour of the prince of Orange upon this occasion rendered him the darling of the people, and gave rise to the motion of rendering the stadtholdership hereditary in the heirs male of his body. The Louvestein faction was now wholly suppressed, and there scarce was heard a murmur against a proposal in which the gratitude of the people, and the interest of the republic, appeared interested. The instrument for this provision was made out, and the example was followed by some of the other provinces.

The

The calamities of war, which had almost depopulated the empire and the Netherlands, excited the compassion of divers princes, who laboured to establish a negotiation. In this none was so hearty as the king of England, for the reasons we have mentioned, rather than from any regard to the interests of Europe. His mediation at last operated so powerfully, that the contending parties all agreed to send plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, where a congress was appointed about the beginning of the year. It was obvious, however, A.D. 1676. that the courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Berlin, would willingly have protracted the time, in expectation of obtaining such advantages as would induce the French monarch to acquiesce in more moderate conditions than they could expect in his present situation. The states general, likewise influenced by the stadtholder, did not express that forwardness for a negotiation which became their former professions. Hence it was that the armies on both sides took the field, and military operations were pushed with vigour, while the ministers were treating about peace in the cabinet. Lewis appeared early at the head of numerous forces, and reduced Condé, Aire, and Bouchain. The prince of Orange retaliated, by laying siege to Maastricht, which he pushed with the utmost impetuosity, until the judicious motions of the enemy, and the scarcity of forage, obliged him to abandon the enterprize. With this event ended the campaign in the Netherlands, when immediately the eyes of all Europe were again turned upon the congress at Nimeguen ^d.

The Spaniards were averse to peace, from a full conviction that the court of England could not long remain blind to the interests of Europe. They persuaded themselves, that rather than see Lewis in possession of the Spanish Netherlands, Charles would join the confederates. On the other hand, the French monarch was bent upon dividing the allies, and concluding a separate peace with Holland. Charles assisted in this design, and the states general lent an ear to the proposal; but the stadtholder of himself refused to enter upon a measure which might have given the confederates a fair handle to complain that they were betrayed by the republic, in whose defence they engaged in the quarrel. Perhaps ambition and revenge, as some writers assert, might have some influence with the prince; yet it must be confessed, that his sentiments are founded upon justice and generosity. Besides, he perceived that the English nation in general detested their

^d Le Clerc, p. 99.

sovereign's attachment to France; and that the people were now highly inflamed by the indiscriminate depredations of the French privateers, who made no distinction between Dutch and English merchant ships, and regarded as lawful prizes whatever fell in their way. In fact, the prince was extremely popular in England. The ill humour of the English was increased by an indignity put on the flag by a French squadron, which refused the compliment to captain Herbert of the Cambridge. The tame conduct of Charles, who contented himself with demanding satisfaction by a letter, farther incensed the people, and at last the house of commons exhorted the king to contract such alliances as would be sufficient to check the ambition of the French monarch.

Another circumstance likewise contributed to prevent the separate peace between France and Holland: so successfully had the French ministry laboured in establishing the navy, that France might now be regarded as one of the principal maritime powers in Europe. One of the first remarkable instances of the strength and spirit of her navy, appeared off the coast of Sicily. Messina had lately revolted from the Spaniards, and the duke de Vivonne was sent with a squadron to support the citizens in their rebellion. This incident occasioned the junction of the Spanish and Dutch fleets, who set sail to oppose Vivonne. On the 7th of January they fell in with the enemy, consisting of twenty-two men of war, six fire-ships, and several bomb-ketches. The engagement began next morning, before which time the wind freshened, and the sea rolled so high, that the Spanish galleys were forced to put into Lipari. De Ruyter however did not decline the combat. He bore down upon the enemy, began the action early, and sustained it with admirable constancy to five in the evening, when the French found means to withdraw, and accomplish their designs of succouring Messina. De Ruyter then separated himself from the Spaniards, and repaired to Leghorn; where, upon his arrival, he found an order to continue co-operating with the catholic king's squadron, which produced a second junction of the fleets, and a resolution to lay siege to Augusta by sea and land. This was undertaken under the direction of the Spanish viceroy. Three days after the place was invested, the French squadron quitted the port of Messina, for the relief of the besieged. The fleets were nearly equal in strength, and the action was maintained with all the fire which might be expected from combatants, one determined to gain, and the other resolved not to lose the empire

empire of the ocean. The Spaniards fired at too great a distance, and did little execution; de Ruyter with his division supported the brunt of the engagement, broke the French line, gave chase for an hour, and obtained the honour of a victory, when he was wounded in the heel by a shot from the stern-chace of a French ship. A fever ensued, by which this gallant officer was carried off in the space of a week, to the irreparable loss of his country. He yielded his last breath in Syracuse, lamented as the ornament of Holland, esteemed by all Europe, and recorded by the ablest pens as an example for posterity, of valour, conduct, integrity, and patriotism. This event contributed to render the prince of Orange strenuous against concluding a peace until France should be humbled. He saw Lewis aspiring after maritime power, which of consequence would ruin the commerce of the republic, upon which depended her grandeur and riches; and he hoped to combine England with Holland in the design of destroying his marine, while the confederate land-forces were contracting his frontiers, and limiting his ambition on the side of Germany and the Netherlands.

The event which soon followed justified the prince's zealous enmity to the house of Bourbon, and his dread of the rising naval power of France. After the late action, the combined fleets of Spain and Holland proceeded from Syracuse to Palermo, where they were pursued by the duke de Vivonne. The allies appeared without the mole drawn up in a line, composed of twenty-seven men of war, nineteen galleys, and four fire-ships. The mole was on their left, the bastions of the town on the right, and the fortrefs of Castel Mare composed the center. This disposition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet Vivonne, or rather du Quesne, the greatest genius of his age, ventured to attack them in this situation, with a squadron scarce equal in strength or numbers. The action began with great vigour, and was bravely sustained on both sides, when the French, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sent their fire-ships among the allies, obliged them to cut their cables, and run a-ground, an expedient which, however, rather accelerated their misfortunes. In a word, twelve capital ships of war were burnt or blown up into the air. Five thousand men perished on this occasion; and, to the astonishment of all Europe, Lewis became master of the Mediterranean, and justly claimed the empire of the ocean*. We have thrown these facts together,

* Le Clerc, p. 102, 103. Smollett, lib. vii. passim.

though they happened at different periods, to give the reader a more distinct view of the policy by which the prince of Orange was influenced in his opposition in the negotiations of a separate peace.

A.D. 1678. William had great reason to suspect that the king of England would at length find himself under the necessity of declaring against Lewis. The nation in general expressed the utmost aversion to the measures of the administration, and the house of commons addressed his majesty to break off his connections with the court of France. Some of the leading persons in the kingdom were in the prince's interest, and negotiating a marriage between him and the princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York. The earl of Denbigh, by the suggestions of sir William Temple, first proposed the match to the king and the prince. At first the king was averse to it, then neutral, and at last became well disposed to the alliance, in hopes it might engage William to favour his designs, and listen to the separate peace proposed by the French monarch. The prince always relished the prospect, because he imagined it would engage the English the more strongly to espouse his interest, and enter into his views, with respect to the war. It was from this consideration he accepted the invitation his majesty had given him of visiting England, as soon as the campaign should be finished. He accordingly arrived in the month of October, and, after various difficulties, celebrated his nuptials with the princess: after which he entered upon conferences for a plan of pacification with the duke of York, the earl Denbigh, and sir William Temple. Now it was agreed that Lewis should restore all he had wrested from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine; that there should be a reciprocal restitution between France and Holland; and that Spain should have certain terms specified. This point the prince gained, that Charles solemnly engaged to renounce all connection with Lewis, and openly to espouse the confederate cause, should he refuse to accept of the conditions concerted in this general plan of pacification. All these projects, however, had almost been disconcerted by the king's unsteadiness, who was cajoled by the French court to forget all he had promised to his people, and the prince of Orange. It was the earnest wish of Charles to be set above the necessity of applying to his parliament for money, and Lewis artfully turned those inclinations to his own advantage, by granting him a yearly subsidy to a considerable amount. To dazzle the eyes of Europe, he concluded a defensive alliance with Holland; but this neither satisfied the prince of Orange
nor

nor the commons. Both insisted that he would denounce war against France, unless Lewis should accept the plan drawn up by the prince of Orange and the English ministry.

While the king was thus involved with his parliament, and the republic in suspense whether she was to rely on the good offices of England, in listening to the proposals made by France, the armies took the field with the same views as in the preceding campaign, of obtaining some advantage which might give the negotiators a turn in their favour. The military operations of this year have already been related in the history of France: we shall only observe, in this place, that towards the close of the season, the states general came to a resolution of accepting peace for themselves and the Spaniards, provided certain towns should be ceded to the latter, and ample restitution made to the former. Just as the treaty was on the point of being signed, Lewis's tergiversation had almost broke up the congress. He refused making the required cession to Spain, unless certain advantages, not mentioned before, were previously granted to Sweden. This difficulty was at length got over by the firmness of the states; the treaty was concluded; the frontier of the United Provinces was secured, the tranquillity of the republic established, and in a few months all Europe enjoyed the benefit of a pacification. Such was the issue of a war, which had brought the United Provinces to the verge of desperation, and almost established the French monarch in that universal empire, after which he eagerly aspired (A).

(A) We have declined giving the particulars of this treaty, as they have already been related in the history of France. Our intention is no more than to convey a just idea of the policy of the republic.

S E C T. XII.

Comprehending the Affairs of the Republic from the Peace of Nimeguen, to the general Treaty of Pacification at Ryfwick.

The Dutch dispute about the honours due to their ambassadors.

AN embassy, sent to France by the republic immediately after the peace had been signed at Nimeguen, gave birth to certain disputes about the honours due to the representatives of their high mightinesses, who seemed already to have forgot, that arrogance, pride, and insolent inscriptions and devices, had occasioned all their late calamities. Because the king's guards were not drawn up in the court of the Louvre, with drums beating and colours flying, as the ambassadors passed, they refused proceeding to the audience, though Lewis was expecting them, until they should be received with the same honours as the last embassy sent by the republic. They were told, that the compliment which they now demanded was never paid, except to the ministers of emperors and kings; and though it happened to the former ambassadors, it was merely the effect of chance, as the guards were relieving when they passed. This assertion was denied by the ambassadors, who proved, by the registers of former ministers, that the compliment had been paid, and not only to the republic of the United Provinces, but to Venice and the duke of Savoy, and cantons of Switzerland. At last this affair was adjusted to their entire satisfaction, and the ambassadors were introduced with all the honours of shew and respect they required.

Lewis had his designs in this condescension. He was labouring a defensive treaty with the states, and had given instructions for that effect to his ambassador at the Hague, the count d'Avaux. To this Mr. Sidney, the English envoy, opposed himself, declaring, in positive terms, that his majesty should regard this treaty as a league against Great Britain, and a resolution to disturb again the peace of Europe. A whole year had passed in negotiating the point, and France had made no progress, the states contenting themselves with general expressions of esteem and regard for his majesty. Enraged at the disappointment, Lewis ordered d'Avaux to have recourse to menaces, where solicitation and intreated had failed. An attempt was made to awake the ancient terrors of the republic, by a thundering memorial delivered to the states of the ambassador. He represented

presented the king's astonishment and displeasure at the ambiguous artful conduct of the states, his resolution to wait only a few days for their answer, and afterwards, not only to drop mentioning the subject, but to refuse all proposals relative to the defensive alliance, so beneficial to both nations. He added, that if they neglected embracing this opportunity of securing his majesty's friendship, they must expect he would alter his conduct, and turn circumstances to the best advantages for his own subjects, and the advancement of the commercial interests of his kingdom. Mr. Sidney perceived the drift of d'Avaux's memorial, and resolved to frustrate its effects by a memorial in behalf of his Britannic majesty, which was presented next day to the states of Holland. This piece was drawn up by a masterly pen, and produced the consequence proposed. The states rejected the French proposals, and ordered their deputies to declare their sentiments to the states general, from whom the count d'Avaux was to receive his answer. Before their high mightinesses could be prevailed upon to communicate the resolution of the states of Holland, a great number of libels were dispersed by the friends of France and England, and it again appeared that the Louvestein faction, always attached to the French monarch, was not yet wholly subdued. The hydra faction again reared its head, and the opposition to England arose solely from a desire of thwarting the views of the prince of Orange. The defensive treaty proposed became the subject of all conversation, upon which every man expressed himself agreeable to his connections, interests, or prejudices. The provincial states were divided; those of Friseland and Groningen were for accepting the French proposals; Holland remained fixed in the refusal; some of the other provinces proposed a neutrality; and this at length proved the opinion of the states general, who communicated their resolution in the most delicate terms to the French ambassador, assuring him of their sincere desire to cultivate and deserve the friendship of the most christian king, and their full determination religiously to adhere to the peace of Nimeguen.

They refuse the alliance proposed by Lewis.

A.D. 1680.

Notwithstanding these protestations, they extremely resented the demand which the French king made of the arrears due upon the contributions raised in the last war in the territory of Beilieduc, the barony of Breda, and other parts of the dominions of the republic. Yet with this they were forced to comply, as the king threatened military execution. Indeed it was observable, that scarce were the bonfires which had been lighted for the late pacification extinguished, before a disposition to a fresh war began to show itself.

itself. The courts of Versailles and Madrid entered into disputes about the title of the duke of Burgundy; these paved the way to altercations upon a variety of other subjects, in consequence of which the envoy extraordinary of Spain at the Hague, presented a memorial to the states general, containing a long list of the infractions of which his catholic majesty demanded redress. The states sent an order to their ambassadors at the court of France, to use their utmost endeavours in composing matters, and preventing points of mere punctilios from laying the foundation of another war, which might disturb the peace of all Europe. Spain at length yielded to the firm resolution of Lewis, and produced a temporary agreement between the two courts, by ceding the title of Burgundy. The court of Madrid, nevertheless, endeavoured to fortify itself by the alliance of the republic, which was eagerly solicited on the one part, and as cautiously avoided on the other, from an apprehension of giving umbrage to the French monarch.

While the states were using their good offices to terminate all differences among their neighbours, they did not neglect their own affairs. For some years they had been in a state of hostility with the pyratel states of Barbary, though no transaction worth regarding had occurred. That the states were at war, could only be known by petty depredations, and the seizure of some Dutch merchantmen. However, it was thought convenient to negotiate a peace with the Algerines, which was signed in the course of the preceding year. This did not prevent the dey of Algiers from annoying the Dutch commerce, when he could do it to his own advantage; he had taken several ships since the publication of the treaty, and was full as dangerous under the mask of friendship as when he professed open enmity. The Dutch commissaries complained of these infractions, and the dey alleged that the treaty had not been ratified, because he had not received the present of cannon which the states promised. At last the expected present arrived at Algiers, was received with great demonstrations of joy, and the ratification of the treaty was published by sound of trumpet and the firing of cannon, the dey solemnly declaring that he would strictly observe the peace with their high mightinesses.

A.D. 1687.

The court of Spain had for some time been soliciting England to conclude a defensive treaty. His catholic majesty perceived that Lewis had little regard to the treaty of Nimeguen, and the subsequent agreement about the title of

z Suite de Hist. de M. de la Neuville, par Anonym. p. 28. et seq.

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Burgundy; he was therefore desirous of fortifying himself by alliances. Charles, during the civil broils in his kingdom, listened patiently to his proposals; but he no sooner found himself at liberty to consult his own inclinations than he dropped all correspondence with Spain, and renewed his connections with the French monarch. Lewis, notwithstanding his late disappointment, and the rough checks he sustained in the prosecution of his plan of universal monarchy, had not yet wholly abandoned that design. After the peace of Nimeguen, when other powers had disbanded their armies, he kept a numerous body of forces in pay, dictated to the neighbouring states, and insolently erected chambers at Metz and Brisac, for enquiring into titles, and resuming such territories as had ever belonged to his new conquests. The authority he assumed was extravagant. He summoned sovereign princes to appear before his chambers, and occasionally issued decrees, expelling them from their dominions, in case they disobeyed his imperial mandate. He seized upon Cassal, and the free town of Strasburgh; demanded Alost of the Spaniards, and in consequence of their refusal to cede that place, reduced Luxemburgh. This violence incensed the catholic king to such a degree, that he declared war against France, without reflecting on his inability to support it, and had the mortification to see all the Spanish Netherlands over-run without opposition. Lewis's conduct alarmed all Europe, and in particular the states general, whose vicinity to the Spanish Netherlands made them peculiarly interested. It was this consideration which suggested the idea of a treaty with Sweden for the guaranty of the peace of Nimeguen. As Great Britain was likewise deeply concerned in the object of this treaty, M. Van Buiningen was sent to invite the king to accede to the new alliance. He made the strongest remonstrances, to which the king listened attentively, but to little purpose; for though conferences were appointed to negotiate the affair, he still adhered to the interest of Lewis, and in the end declined the proposed treaty.

*A defensive
treaty be-
tween the
states and
Sweden.*

The treaty of guaranty concluded between Sweden and the republic was not at all relished by Lewis, who ordered his minister at the Hague to present divers memorials upon the subject, to the states general. In these he declared, that he regarded this alliance as an association injurious to himself, and the means of kindling a new war, perhaps more fatal in its consequences than the former. The states vindicated their conduct, by alleging, that as his majesty had repeatedly acknowledged the republic, he must necessarily allow them the privilege of contracting what alliances he might think proper, which was the essential and distinguish-

ing prerogative of liberty. The object of the treaty, they affirmed, was to secure the freedom of Europe, and preserve the repose of the republic, as well as of all the neighbouring powers. In a word, they offered to present the count d'Avaux with a copy of the convention; and defended themselves with so much candour and force of argument, that Lewis appeared satisfied. An unfortunate accident however happened, which had almost been attended with the most serious consequences, and an open rupture. A lieutenant and nine dragoons, of the garrison of Ypres, had orders from the king to seize a Frenchman, who had taken refuge in Amsterdam, and been admitted a burgher by the title of the count de Sardam. His reasons for withdrawing from the French dominions were not known; but it was the business of the states to prevent an infraction of their liberties. The king's officer and his party were therefore arrested at Rotterdam, and sent prisoners to the Hague. Several memorials were presented by d'Avaux to procure the release of the prisoners, or at least a suspension of the proceedings against them, which were actually begun. He alleged they were the king's subjects, waiting at Rotterdam for a conveyance into the French dominions; but this excuse not answering his purpose, he threw off the mask, and declared they had acted by the king his master's directions. The states pretended great astonishment at this confession; and perceiving the consequence of dissembling in a point that so nearly affected the liberty of the state, they acquainted the ambassador, that as the trespass was committed in the provinces of Holland and Friseland, he must apply to the states of those provinces for redress. He did so, and obtained no satisfaction. He was told, that surrendering the criminals would be founding a precedent for every prince in Europe, to violate the privileges of the provinces; and that if they complied with the king's request, the same compliance would be expected by other potentates, who might claim an equal right to their regard. In a word, they gave him to understand, that the proceedings must go on, and the prisoners be either condemned, or acquitted legally. The process was carried on accordingly, the officer solemnly condemned to be beheaded, and the dragoons to labour in the dykes for the space of ten years. The lieutenant was conducted to the place of execution, scaffolds were erected, a hearse, covered with black cloth, attended the criminal: he was brought to the block, and there pardoned and sent back, with his party, to his garrison. By this steadiness of conduct the states asserted their liberties, without giving just cause of complaint to the most christian king. D'Avaux at first talked loud, and denounced the king's vengeance; but

*The States
of Holland
condemn a
French
officer to
death.*

but he was in the end forced to acknowledge that the equity and firm resolution of the Hollanders were equally commendable.

Mean time the emperor perceiving that Lewis's design was, gradually to despoil him of all his dominions in Alsace, desired to be admitted into the guaranty-treaty lately executed between the court of Stockholm and the states general. He, at the same time, formed an alliance with the circles of Franconia and the Upper Rhine, in order that he might have an army on that river, if necessity required. Already he had brought a body of troops from his hereditary dominions, the command of which was given to prince Waldeck, now created a prince of the empire. The states were not displeased with these motions, which intimated a resolution to oppose the ambitious designs of the French monarch. They were particularly pleasing to the prince of Orange, who, besides his general enmity to France, had now personal causes of complaint against Lewis. That monarch could not avoid resenting the zeal with which the prince of Orange espoused the liberties of Europe, and combated his ambition. He saw that his vigilance thwarted all his measures, and penetrated into his most secret projects, before they were well formed. Though inconsiderable in point of territory and power, he regarded the prince as the most formidable of his enemies, because he directed the counsels of the republic, and had great influence all over the empire, as well as in Spain and Great Britain. It was this which inspired him with the pitiful revenge of attacking the principality of Orange, hemmed in by his dominions, and environed by Provence, it was not possible to make the haughty soul of William stoop to concessions, or to warp his integrity by touching him on the side of his ambition, though that was his predominant passion; but it was in Lewis's power to punish his obstinacy, and hurl down vengeance on the heads of an innocent people, for the crimes of their sovereign.

While the negotiation for a defensive treaty was in agitation, the wrongs, damages, and oppressions which his highness had sustained, either by the connivance or direction of the French monarch, were often recommended by his friends to the consideration of the states general, to be discussed previously to the expected treaty. D'Avaux however had the address to have the motion set aside, under pretence that his claims would require more time in adjusting than was allowed for the conclusion of the treaty. When the duchy of Luxemburgh was invaded by the French troops, the commanding officer had exposed to sale, by sound of trumpet, all the lands, furniture, and effects of the

The king of France oppresses the inhabitants of the principality of Orange.

A.D. 1682. the prince of Orange, as having been adjudged to him by a formal decree of the states of the country. It was of the losses he sustained that the prince desired to be indemnified; but as the defensive treaty came to nothing, he was forced to refer his pretensions to a more seasonable opportunity. Lewis, not satisfied with denying the prince justice, had recourse to farther violences. He obliged the magistrates of the town of Orange to expel all the French scholars from their college, and the French artizans out of their city. He sent two regiments of dragoons to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants, until they had levelled a wall built as a defence against the incursions of their troublesome neighbours. As these arbitrary proceedings were exclaimed against at every court in Europe, he was at no loss to colour them over with specious pretexts. He spirited up the prince of Condé to lay claim to the whole principality, in quality of administrator to the duke de Longueville. To preserve all the appearances of justice, he cited the prince, by the title of messire William count de Nassau, living at the Hague in Holland, to appear before his privy council. The provinces of Zealand, Holland, and Utrecht, were unanimous in the prince's defence. They represented the affair to the states, who mentioned it to the count d'Avaux; but this minister having no instructions upon that head, M Heinsius was sent to solicit the prince's affairs at Paris, where he resided above a year to no effect.

The revival of the Louvestein faction.

It was the chief business of d'Avaux at the Hague, to rear up an opposition to the power of the stadtholder, and cherish the remains of the Louvestein faction. In pursuing this scheme, he proved successfully beyond probability, considering the depressed state of the opposite party a few years before, and the vast popularity and power of the prince of Orange. The first trial of the strength of the faction was made on the refusal of the Spaniards to cede Alost, and the invasion of the ten provinces, that ensued. The prince, alarmed at the danger which threatened the frontiers of the republic, convened an extraordinary meeting of the states, and, in concert with the pensionary Fagel, the Spanish resident, and the council of state, left no expedient untried to procure a levy of sixteen thousand men, to augment the forces of the republic. The states declined the request, under pretence of the necessity of consulting the provinces, which was only an artifice of the French faction, to gain time for starting such objections, or raising such an opposition as should utterly disconcert the prince's design. At the next meeting of the states this motive became apparent. Several of the deputies were instructed to

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give their negative to the motion. The city of Amsterdam was at the head of the opposition; and after violent debates, which lasted for eight hours, the prince had the mortification to find that his interest and credit were on the decline; for the states separated without coming to any decision. Even after the marshal de Humieres had overrun the Netherlands, the opposition to the levies still continued; and it was evident, that the faction apprehended more dreadful consequences from the power of the stadtholder, than from the ambition of the French monarch. In hopes of flattering and cajoling the proud city of Amsterdam into his sentiments, the prince, at the head of a solemn deputation, waited upon the magistrates; but though he was received with respect, his errand proved fruitless. Amsterdam not only positively declared against the levies, but was supported in this resolution by Leyden, Delft, Scheidam, the Brille, and other towns.

Disappointed in all his projects, the prince ventured upon a resolution, destructive of the liberty of the towns, and the very basis of the union of Utrecht. Finding he could not carry his point in the constitutional method, by the consent of every individual city, he determined that a plurality of voices should be sufficient authority. So rash a measure, dictated by passion, was of the utmost service to his enemies. It gave them a fair opportunity of exclaiming against his ambition; it rendered their cause popular, and furnished them with the patriot side of the dispute. Grafting opposition upon public spirit, they now proved, that upon no emergency the liberties of the constitution ought to be infringed; that whoever attempts it must be an enemy to his country, and that he must have deeper designs than those which appear to the eye of the public. They maintained, that by rushing into the war kindled between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, they should plunge themselves into greater calamities than those they pretended to remove. In proof of this position they alledged, that the French minister had already offered a plan of pacification, which Spain ought to accept, and was in no condition to refuse, even though supported by the republic. There was little hope, they affirmed, of the concurrence of any other power, without which no better conditions could be obtained at the close of a ruinous war, than were now offered before its commencement. There was no dependence, they asserted, on the promises of the German princes; and as to the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, Spain had no title to expect their interposition, as they had not guarantied the treaty of Nimeguen. The emperor was fully

A.D. 1683.

fully employed in opposing the Turks; Sweden had hitherto declined interfering; and as to the king of England, if he had any rule of conduct at all, it was to espouse the interests of the French monarch. In a word, they urged, that it was better to accept the proposals now offered, than rouse the indignation of France, by making useless levies, which would produce no other effect, than lodging power in the hands of the ambitious, laying heavy duties on trade, and raising enemies to the republic^b.

Notwithstanding the plausible plea urged by the city of Amsterdam, and the heads of the French faction, the prince still insisted, and indeed seemed to carry his point, that the plurality of voices in this instance, where the safety of the state was endangered by the infatuated opposition of party-prejudice, should be held of equal authority with the unanimity required by the constitution. This was certainly so daring a trespass on the constitution of the provinces, as could not fail of exciting violent commotions. All blazed out suddenly into a flame; yet the prince of Orange pursued his design with that cool, determined resolution, which he probably would have maintained had his country been laid in ashes. He obtained both a majority of the cities and likewise of the provinces. Zealand, Friseland, and Holland, firmly opposed him; but the former was at length gained over to the stadtholder's measures: yet would neither Friseland nor Groningen so much as admit of a deputation to convince them, that they ought to yield to the sense of a majority. As to the city of Amsterdam, it carried matters so high, as not only to enter a protest against the levy in question; but to declare that she could never regard this resolution as an act of the states of Holland, because it was not authorized agreeable to the fundamental principles of the government, by unanimous consent: she therefore declared her intention not to contribute to the expences of the levy.

In the midst of these dissensions, the Spanish envoy presented a memorial, urging the states to declare against France; in consequence of which the states sent a deputation to the count d'Avaux, proposing a suspension of arms for four months. This taking no effect, the prince of Orange thought the opportunity now offered for accelerating the motions of the states, and humbling the city of Amsterdam. In concert with the Spanish ambassador, he had intercepted some dispatches from the French ambassador to his court, in which he acquaints his majesty with the methods

^b Scept. Anonym. p. 54. Le Clerc, p. 115.

he had practised to influence the magistrates of the city, and the sums expended in corrupting the deputies. These letters were produced in a full assembly of the states, the prince moving that two of the deputies chiefly concerned should withdraw before they were read. He then declared, that they contained a clandestine correspondence between M. d'Avaux and the city of Amsterdam, inconsistent with the honour, the liberty, and the safety of the republic. Upon this declaration they were read aloud, and produced such an effect, that the states ordered copies to be transmitted to all the cities in the provinces, and the papers of the whole deputation to be sealed up, until the sense of the states general should be consulted. The stream of popularity now took a different channel. The people clamoured against the magistrates of the city; the French ambassador presented a memorial to the states general, renewing his master's former proposals of peace; but little regard was paid to overtures which were used as an artifice to ward off an enquiry. The prince, the pensionary, and the council, urged the necessity of new levies with more vehemence than ever, and they left no means untried of procuring the submission to an act of the majority, as the principles of the constitution required to the act of the whole body.

With respect to the letters read in the assembly, they were vindicated by the magistrates of Amsterdam, who alleged, that the cypher was misinterpreted, and that the deputies had acted entirely by their direction. They then demanded the papers belonging to the deputation, which had been seized, and security for their deputies to attend the public service. They sent circular letters to all the cities of the union, complaining of the affront put upon their deputies; and to excite the ferment, M. d'Avaux insisted upon the restitution of his letters, the intercepting of which was an infraction of the law of nations, and the rights of ambassadors. William adhered to the charge with his usual stability. Instead of restoring the papers, he insisted upon an inquiry, which however he could not accomplish, as the privileges of all the deputies were interested in the event. At the same time he pursued the main object of the levies, and procured a farther supply of horse and foot for the service of his catholic majesty: his own guards were specified in the number of auxiliaries, and he had given out that he should take the field in person, when the states of Groningen and Friseland objected to the vote of augmentation, because their deputies were absent. They therefore insisted upon recalling the troops, and recommended, that all possible means should be used, to dispose the

A.D. 1684.

the court of Spain to accept of the proposals made by the French, by which a dangerous war would be prevented, and the frontiers of the republic preserved. William, however, carried all before him. The reinforcement sent to the marquis de Grana amounted to fourteen thousand horse and foot: the states signified, in their answer to the remonstrances of Friseland and Groningen, that they could not recal this reinforcement; the last division of the prince's guards were on their march to Flanders; his own field-equipage was in readiness; and the day was appointed for his setting out to co-operate with the Spanish general in the conduct of the campaign; when a menacing memorial from d'Avaux, expressed in a stile of authority, shook the resolution of the states, diffused a panic through every department of the republic, and, in despite of the stadtholder's utmost efforts, put a stop to all vigorous proceedings. D'Avaux's memorial was opposed by a counter-memorial from the Spanish envoy, in which he put on a great shew of magnanimity, that operated but little on the minds of the states, as it was unsupported with the requisite power. A resolution was therefore taken to treat with the French minister on the proposals made in his former memorials. But d'Avaux now refused to stand by those conditions. He alledged, that circumstances were changed, that the dilatory proceedings of the Dutch government had obliged the king to enter upon new measures, and that his majesty was determined not to deviate in the smallest degree from the proposals he now delivered. The states shewed their inclination to accept any terms. They were intimidated by menaces, struck with the power of Lewis, and incapable of being wound up by the spirited remonstrances of the prince of Orange, to the necessary pitch of resolution. Friseland and Groningen besides continued in their opposition to the levies, and the city of Amsterdam positively refused contributing to the support of the forces. Conferences were at length opened with d'Avaux, and his terms accepted, upon which orders were sent to the troops in Flanders to desist from all hostilities¹.

The French faction having gained this great point, determined to subject the prince of Orange to still greater mortifications. As soon as the treaty with France had passed the usual forms, the states came to a resolution to disband all the forces raised to assist Spain, consisting of one thousand four hundred and forty-six horse, and nine thousand and forty-two foot. The magistrates of Amsterdam pushed

¹ Le Clerc. tom. ii. p. 123.

their animosity so far, as to invite prince Casimir of Nassau and his court to their city, with intention to confer upon him the stadtholdership, in the room of his cousin the prince of Orange. This project, however, was baffled by the harmony subsisting between the two princes; and the magistrates determined to compensate their disappointment by some other method of revenge, no less signal and mortifying. Their deputies were instructed to propose in the assembly of the states, that enquiry might be made into the state of the navy; that the fleet should be augmented; that the army should be farther reduced; that the pay of the officers and soldiers should be diminished, and the money issued for repairing fortifications and other public services, should be frugally managed, and the accounts accurately examined. These proposals were directly pointed against the power and authority of the stadtholder; but they had such an appearance of patriotism that they could not be openly opposed. Yet as they affected the interest of such a number of individuals, it was no difficult matter for the prince, without appearing in the dispute, to parry the thrust made at his prerogative, and procure a negative in the assembly. Thus Lewis again revived the dissensions of Holland, roused a faction which had for some time lain dormant, and once more gained such influence in the republic, as enabled him to keep up the ball of contention, prevent all vigorous resolutions, maintain the provinces in a kind of subjection, and limit the authority of the stadtholder.

The events of this year afforded a prospect to the stadtholder of a closer connection with England. His father-in-law, the duke of York, succeeded to the crown, and it was expected he would have exerted his influence with the French monarch, to procure justice to the prince, with respect to his principality and other territories, oppressed, impoverished, and seized by Lewis. He was fully apprised of all the grievances of which William had casually and fruitlessly sought redress. The marshal de Lorges came ambassador from Versailles, to compliment him on his accession; he had the fairest occasion of doing his son eminent service, but he refrained, and displayed a coldness which was soon after improved into invincible hatred. All the Dutch writers, contrary to the testimony of English historians, assert, that both the prince and the republic took every method of cultivating the friendship of James, and that his highness proceeded so far, upon the king's accession, as to intimate to the duke of Monmouth, then residing at the Hague, that he might look out for another asylum. Yet did these

A.D. 1685

*State of the
republic
with re-
spect to
Great Britain.*

tenders of friendship produce no return ; on the contrary, James was reserved, indifferent, and civil, to the prince and the states general. To the former he shewed some remains of the dislike he expressed to the marriage of the prince's daughter ; and to the latter, his bigotted aversion to the liberty, the religion, and the national character of the Hollanders. Yet he affected complying with the temper of the nation, by declaring, that he would maintain the ballance of Europe with the 'steady hand of justice, and treat upon a level with the proud Lewis le Grand. His embassy however to the court of Rome afforded a bad prognostic, and became the subject of uneasiness, not only to the states general, the prince of Orange, and all the protestant princes and powers, but even to catholics who wished well to Great Britain, and foresaw that the king's bigotry would subject him to the counsels of the pontiff, and connect him more closely with the house of Bourbon. Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador, is said to have intimated his apprehensions upon this head, by which he gave great offence to the English monarch.

Though the duke of Monmouth had retired to Brussels, in consequence of the hint given him by the prince of Orange, great numbers of malecontents still resided in Holland, particularly the earl of Argyle, who was making the utmost preparations to return in a hostile manner to his native country, and continually stimulating Monmouth to those ambitious projects, which he was on the point of relinquishing. Skelton, the English minister, had notice of what was transacting. Accordingly he presented a memorial to the states, desiring the persons of the refugees might be seized, and the vessels freighted for conveying arms and ammunition to Great Britain stopped in the harbours, which he specified. He gave in a list of names obnoxious to the government ; and the states seemed willing to shew the utmost respect to the court of London, but without violating the laws of hospitality. They ordered the search required to be made, after having hinted to the malecontents the necessity of withdrawing themselves and their effects. This conduct has been urged by English writers as a proof, that the Dutch government connived at the intended invasion ; though, if we consider the artifices by which the disaffected subjects of Great Britain procured their arms, ammunition, and money, the protection afforded to all strangers, by the fundamental laws of the constitution, the late dispute with the French king upon a subject of a similar nature, and a variety of other circumstances, it will appear evident, that the states were far from giving them any encouragement, and that they

they did all in their power to oblige the king of England, consistently with their honour, the principles of their government, and the humanity due to the unfortunate. They sent copies of his memorials, and of his list, to all the towns and cities of the seven provinces, commanding the magistrates to make diligent search after the persons pointed at, and to oblige them to quit the territories of the republic. That the malecontents were actually embarked for Scotland before these orders were issued, was certainly one of the first public causes of discontent between the two nations. James alleged, that the states had assisted in stirring up rebellion among his subjects; and, to shew his resentment, he encouraged the Algerines to declare war afresh against the United Provinces.

However solid and sincere the late peace concluded between their high mightinesses, and the states of Algiers, might appear, the great commerce of Holland in the Mediterranean, together with the suggestions of the court of London, were too powerful temptations to be resisted by a barbarous and lawless people. They therefore first began their piracies, and to sanctify those robberies with the name of justice, they published a declaration of war, in which were specified a variety of grievances, real or pretended, though they had never previously demanded redress. An incredible number of vessels fell into their hands, the crews of which were confined, the cargoes taken out, and the ships abandoned to the fury of the winds and waves, with perhaps one or two of the more helpless hands on board. It reflected but little honour upon James, that while every Christian port in Europe was shut against those violators of equity, order, and the laws of society, they were in a manner protected in England. They had leave to sculk in the creeks and harbours on the English coast, to lie in wait for their prey, to retire thither when pursued, to sell their prizes, and to supply themselves with every necessary. This at least is the allegation of foreign writers, nor do we find it refuted, upon credible authority, by the apologizers of the errors of that unfortunate monarch. On the other hand, the states, by way of reprisal, altered their conduct, and now extended their protection to all the declared enemies of the king and government. They fled in crowds, to take shelter under the wing of the republic, and the states thought themselves justified, in pursuing the dictates of humanity and hospitality, while they at the same time obtained their revenge. Sir Robert Peyton was among the number of the English refugees. He was highly obnoxious to the court, and screened himself against the king's re-

King James excites the Algerines to a war with the republic.

sentment by a timely retreat to Amsterdam. James formed a design of seizing this exile by open violence, knowing the resolution of the states not to surrender him in consequence of remonstrances. Certain natives of Great Britain, who held commissions in the Dutch army, were employed in this outrage, on the laws of the commonwealth; and Skelton the envoy conducted the attempt in person. Peyton was seized; but he was rescued by the populace, who committed to prison the officers who had thus unjustifiably trespassed upon the constitution. The states remonstrated to the court of London, and in such lively terms, that the king thought proper to disavow all knowledge of the violence; however, when a process was formed against the criminals, when the laws were likely to take place, and their lives were in danger, James interposed, and requested that their punishment might be referred to him, and that as they were subjects of Great Britain, they might be tried by the laws of their country. On this occasion the states shewed their respect for the king; they even paid him more deference than they had shewed for Lewis the Great, in the zenith of his power and glory. The French king's officer was condemned, and brought on the scaffold; the English offenders, though in the service of the states, were sent over to England, in hopes the king would have at least not countenanced them; but they were disappointed. James not only pardoned, but preferred the criminals to a higher rank in the army than they before enjoyed.

A.D. 1686.

Besides these causes of mutual discontent, James enlarged the breach by a revival of the ancient disputes between the English and Dutch East India companies, with respect to the trade of both nations to Bantam, which the Dutch, by a revolution effected in the government of that country, had artfully monopolized. The English company indeed had presented a petition to the king, praying his interposition, and shewing the injury sustained by their commerce, from the arbitrary proceedings of the Hollanders in that quarter. They specified a number of violences committed by the Dutch, under the sanction of the young king of Bantam's name; they demonstrated their design of excluding all Europeans from that trade; they expected his majesty to procure them justice, reparation of their losses, and security for their future commerce. James mentioned the affair to the Dutch ambassador, and he denied the charge; upon which instructions were sent to the English minister at the Hague, to represent the complaints of the company to the states general. This step produced conference

ences between the commissioners of the two companies. From the king's so warmly patronising the India company, and other circumstances, it was inferred at the Hague, that he wanted the opportunity of coming to an open rupture with the republic.

*State of
affairs be-
tween
France and
Holland.*

While the states kept a strict eye on all the occurrences that passed in England, they were not neglectful of the conduct of France. They endeavoured so to conduct themselves, with respect to the court of Versailles, as to maintain the tranquillity of the republic, and the repose of Europe. They suppressed all emotion at the inhumanity shown to the French protestants, and the cruelties committed in the principality of Orange. They winked at many other acts of Lewis's despotism, out of dread of his power; yet with all their caution, a slight accident had almost embroiled them with that monarch. Two Dutch men of war, going to Villa Nova to wood and water, fell in with a French squadron of eight men of war, commanded by the duke de Mortemar. The French admiral required certain honours to be paid to the king's flag, to grant which the Dutch captains were not authorised. On their refusal, the duke fired a broadside, and an action ensued, which lasted for five hours. One of the Dutch captains perceiving the superiority of the enemy, sheered off, the other bravely maintained the engagement, was killed, and his ship taken, after he had made the French admiral pay dear for his victory. Immediately the count d'Avaux presented a memorial to the states general, demanding satisfaction for the insult offered to the king's flag. He alleged, contrary to all probability, that the Dutch were the aggressors, and confirmed his allegations with such menaces, as determined the states to send an embassy to Versailles, to put an end to the affair in the best manner possible. Notwithstanding justice and equity were on their side, it was found necessary to make concessions, and procure the restitution of their ship, by mean submission. While she was making acknowledgements to Lewis, and imploring his pardon for presuming to stand in her own defence, she at the same time afforded refuge to the ingenious, diligent artificers, driven out of his dominions, and persecuted on account of their religion; she was establishing new manufactures upon the ruins of the French industry, and rendering the liberty of her constitution useful to the extension of her commerce. Hitherto the Dutch traded wholly with the commodities of other countries; now they tried to raise a foundation for trade among themselves, and they succeeded by dint

of perseverance. They imported a breed of cattle from Jutland, and the northern kingdoms, which they fattened and exported to the neighbouring countries. They erected a variety of hard-ware manufactories, chiefly with a view to their East and West India colonies, and in a short time they became the most distinguished of any people in Europe, for a happy knack in making toys and baubles, for which they found a rapid sale, not only among the barbarians of Asia, Africa, and America, but also in all the civilized nations of Europe.

The jealousy between England and Holland increases.

A. D. 1687.

The jealousy between the states and Great Britain in the mean time daily increased; and it was considerably augmented by the share the prince of Orange had in the famous league of Augsbourg, which was supposed to operate so powerfully on the subsequent revolution in England; though we must confess we cannot discover by what means it acquired any influence in this event. The states took the alarm at the king's assembling his forces, issuing out commissions for repairing and augmenting his navy, assigning a stated annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds to be issued quarterly out of the treasury for defraying the expences of the marine, and holding a powerful squadron in continual readiness. They suspected, from these formidable preparations, that some great blow was meditated; and their writers allege, that the priests who swarmed about the king's person, and were presumed to be entirely acquainted with the secrets of his cabinet, insinuated, that the stroke was levelled against the republic, and that the French monarch would join his weight, to render it decisive. If we may credit the testimony of bishop Burnet*, this suspicion was not wholly without foundation. However this may be, James certainly had not laid aside the appearance of friendship for the republic. His envoy, Skelton, was recalled from the Hague, and succeeded by the marquis d'Abbeville, vested with the powers of envoy extraordinary. At his first public audience, this minister gave the states the strongest assurances of the king his master's regard for the republic, and firm resolution inviolably to observe all treaties concluded with the states since his accession. He endeavoured to dissipate all the apprehensions they had too rashly entertained, from the malicious suggestions of persons disaffected to his majesty's person and government; and he concluded with solemn protestations, that the preparations which gave birth to their fears, had no other object than the preservation of the repose of Europe, and the defence

* History of his own Times, p. 688. fol.

of the British dominions. In his private negociation with the prince of Orange, he assured his highness, that the king had no design of injuring him and the princess in their right of succession to his crown, in case of failure of direct male issue. Other matters were likewise treated of, in a variety of conferences which the British minister had with the prince; but as they have no relation to the general affairs of the republic, we shall omit them. Sufficient it is, to observe, that a resolution was taken of sending M. Dykveldt, in quality of envoy, to the court of London, with instructions to expostulate boldly with the king, upon the measures he was pursuing at home and abroad, and to effect a better understanding between him and the stadtholder. Before the departure of this minister, Abbeville had presented two memorials, one upon the subject of the India commerce; and another, requiring, that doctor Burnet, an English clergyman, afterwards raised to the see of Salisbury, might be banished the territory of the state.

The negociations in England and Holland turned upon A.D. 1688.
the abolition of the penal laws, and the repeal of the test-act, to which the king wanted the prince of Orange's consent, who was now considered as presumptive heir to the crown, in right of his princess; but William did not seem inclinable to yield any of the liberties of the protestant religion. He even declared positively, that he could not carry his respect to the king so far as to sacrifice his religion to his inclination to oblige his father-in-law. This firmness determined the king to have recourse to violent measures. He made fresh levies, augmented his fleet, recalled by proclamation all the English seamen in foreign service, and by a letter to the states general, demanded the six British regiments in their service, a demand with which he was sensible the states would not, and could not, comply. A civil answer however was returned; in which his majesty was given to understand, that no treaties, conventions, or articles, between the two nations, authorised their sending back the British troops, especially at so critical a conjuncture, unless the kingdom should be attacked by some foreign enemy. The arguments which the states urged in apology for their refusal were indeed forcible and irrefragable; but we can by no means agree with their writers, that the prince of Orange had no hand in procuring this resolution. If we may credit them, he had at this time no eye to the crown of England, because the queen was now declared pregnant; though we have the express testimony of all the English historians, that Dykveldt had private instructions from the prince, to treat clandestinely
Y 4 with

with the English malecontents, and that he executed his commission with equal secrecy and success. Bishop Burnet, who then resided at the prince's court, acknowledges that previous to Dykvelt's departure, he held frequent conferences with the prince and princess upon the affairs of England, the discontents of the English nation, the danger which threatened the protestant religion, and the other preliminaries to a revolution. Indeed the great concurrence of the nobility and gentlemen of distinction at the prince's court, the correspondence he kept up in England, and the invitations which he laboured to procure from that country, are stronger proofs of his ambition and policy than of his filial duty, his sincerity, or even his attachment to religion, which is often used as a cloak, by princes, to cover designs not authorised either by religion or morality.

Preparations to invade England.

At this time the vacancy of the episcopal see of Cologne, for which prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furstenberg, were candidates, furnished the states general with a pretence for assembling an army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen. The pretensions formed by the most christian king justified this measure; and the augmentation of the English navy afforded them a specious handle for putting their marine in a posture of defence. Both were admirable masks for the prince of Orange, at this time making preparations to invade England. He had an interview in Westphalia with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the princes of Lunenburg, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. To them he communicated his scheme, which was of so much consequence to the interests of religion and liberty, that they engaged for the protection of Holland during his expedition to England. A fleet of fifty large ships of war was equipped; and such a number of transports freighted, as would serve for the accommodation of twelve thousand land forces. France and England were alarmed at these preparations, but neither could penetrate into the object in view. The count d'Avaux, however, received instructions to present a memorial to the states, expressing the king's astonishment at the mighty preparations they were making, by sea and land, especially at a season of the year when the augmentation of the marine intimated some extraordinary enterprise. The marquis d'Abbeville, in the name of his Britannic majesty, supported this memorial by another, in which he insisted on his right of demanding the object of so extraordinary an armament. This remonstrance was followed by a second memorial from

the French ambassador, in which he declared, that the intimate friendship subsisting between the king his master and the king of England, would oblige him not only to assist that monarch, should he be attacked, but also to regard the first act of hostility against England, as a manifest violation of the peace, and a direct, formal design of coming to a rupture with France. To this memorial, which entirely consisted of menaces, and a declaration of Lewis's purposes; the states returned no answer: and with respect to d'Abbeville's remonstrances, they contented themselves with replying, that the preparations in England rendered it necessary for the republic to be upon their guard, especially as every power in Europe was busied in raising forces. Besides, they demanded an explanation of the treaty between France and England, in which the states thought themselves particularly interested.

Upon any other occasion, so rough an answer would probably have produced a declaration of war: it now only drew another memorial from the English minister, and an assurance, that his majesty was ready to co-operate with the states in preserving the repose of Europe, and enforcing the treaty of Nimeguen. It was evident that James at length perceived his danger. He now betrayed symptoms of fear, and proceeded so far as to express his desire of contracting an alliance with the republic, which was disregarded, from a conviction that he was secretly in the interest of France, and actually in treaty with Lewis. The truth is, the states were so sensible of the weight it would give the republic in the scale of Europe, to have the prince of Orange on the throne of Great Britain, that they pushed this measure with the utmost vigour.

The first direct confession of the destination of the armament proceeded from the pensionary Fagel, who frankly owned to the marquis d'Abbeville, that the prince of Orange, in consequence of an invitation from the English nobility, was determined to assist them in re-establishing the ancient constitution, which the king had entirely altered since his accession. Soon after the states published their reasons for assisting the prince with troops and shipping; and this declaration was followed by a manifesto, drawn up by the prince of Orange, explaining the motives by which he was actuated to undertake the intended expedition to England. Here he enumerated the grievances of the English nation, recapitulated the fruitless attempts which had been made for procuring redress, touched upon the supposed imposture

*The prince
of Orange
arrives in
England.*

in the birth of the prince of Wales ; and professed his own and the princess's regard for the English nation, and for the liberties and the religion of the people. Having thus paved the way to a measure which could not but produce a rupture with France, the prince took his leave of the states, and embarking on the 19th day of October, sailed out a few leagues, when a storm arose, which scattered the ships in such a manner, that they were forced to put back, and a whole week elapsed before they could reassemble at the place of rendezvous. A second time the prince set sail, had a favourable passage, arrived safe in England, and was joyfully received as the deliverer of the nation ^b.

A. D. 1689.

*The king
of France
declares
war a-
gainst the
republic.*

The success of this expedition extremely harrassed the court of Versailles. Lewis had already laid an embargo upon all the Dutch shipping in his ports, by which measure he violated an article of the treaty of Nimeguen, framed expressly for the mutual security of the commerce of France and Holland. What was still a greater violation of the law of nations, the ships crews were forced by threats to enter into the king's service, by which means he manned a great number of men of war with little trouble. In apology for this conduct, Lewis urged the resolution said to be passed in the states to prohibit the importation of French manufactures, though his majesty had by an edict expressly forbid the importation into his dominions of Dutch herrings, and other commodities. His armies were already committing hostilities in Germany, and the dauphin commanded in person at the siege of Phillisburgh. It was not the interest of Lewis to multiply his enemies ; but he saw that the prince of Orange's success in England would necessarily engage the Dutch to enter into the confederacy against him ; it was therefore his business to anticipate their designs, and attack them before they could be assisted by the prince of Orange, and probably by the whole strength of the English nation. With this view he declared war against the republic, on pretence that their high mightinesses manifested, by their formidable preparations, their intention of breaking the treaty, and co-operating with the princes engaged in a league to oppose the elevation of the cardinal Furstenberg to the electorate of Cologne. It was no surprize to the states to see this declaration ; it was expected, and soon answered by a counter-declaration, in which the assertion of the French monarch was refuted, and all the incroachments, violations, arbitrary proceedings, and oppressions committed by the court of Versailles since the peace of

^b Ibid. cap. 19. Le Clerc, p. 134.

Nimeguen, were clearly enumerated. They demonstrated, *The Dutch answer the declaration.* that ambition, and the lust of conquest, were the causes of the invasion of the provinces in the year 1672: that necessity alone, and the valour of the prince of Orange, had forced Lewis to make peace with the republic in 1678, only to recover fresh vigour, and as it would now appear, to involve Europe again in the flames of war, from which however, if he attended to his real interest, he could not expect to be a gainer. They urged, that the king paid no regard to general or particular treaties; that he loaded the Dutch commerce with every kind of imposition, and had actually put an entire stop to some branches of trade, expressly regulated in a late treaty of commerce. Nothing could display in stronger colours his arrogance and injustice than his seizing all the Dutch ships in his ports, and obliging the mariners to serve in his navy, without any other shadow of excuse for so flagrant a violence than the republic's charging French commodities with the same incumbrances to which their own were subjected in the king's dominions. They affirmed that all his assurances, by solemn embassies, were only snares to lull the neighbouring states into security; his treaties of peace, necessary steps towards renewing the war; his word, his honour, and his faith, prostituted to the purposes of ambition and the rage of conquest: in a word, that his whole conduct was a series of shuffling, tergiversation, tyranny, oppression, and perfidy.

Nothing could be more keen, animated, and sarcastic, than the terms in which this declaration was couched. The states were sensible they could expect no favour from Lewis, and they determined to rouse the spirits of the people by this proof of their own courage, and evident detection of the artifices of the French monarch. Their frontiers were covered by a powerful army, conducted by prince Waldeck, and composed of the troops of Brandenburg, Lunenburg, Hesse Cassel, and other German states, joined to the forces of the republic. They were opposed by the marshal de Humieres, and both armies were encamped on opposite banks of the Sambre. The prince repeatedly offered battle, which was constantly declined by the marshal, who was strongly entrenched, and watching every opportunity of taking the enemy at a disadvantage.

The whole preceding year had been consumed in preparations, encampments, stratagems, and endeavours to bring on a decisive action. Spain, Germany, and Savoy, now declared against France; but Lewis had sent such numerous armies into the field as were sufficient to make head against all his enemies. His strength seemed to increase in proportion as they multiplied, and he was never so formidable

A.D. 1690.

*The battle
of Fleuris.*

as when he combated singly more than half the powers of Europe. Luxemburg succeeded de Humieres in the command; and Waldeck soon experienced, in the plains of Fleuris, the valour and capacity of the new general, who was the pupil, the friend, and the admirer of the illustrious Condé. The confederates were defeated after a violent conflict; about six thousand prisoners were made; all the cannon taken; and prince Waldeck reduced to the necessity of acting defensively for the remainder of the campaign¹.

Notwithstanding the Dutch were defeated at Fleuris, the troops behaved with uncommon intrepidity, and prince Waldeck performed all that could be expected from consummate abilities. Luxemburg did justice to both, and confessed that never was victory more obstinately contested, or a retreat more formidable than that of the Dutch infantry, whom he extolled above the Spanish infantry at Rocroi. It was now the endeavour of the states to reinforce their army with all possible expedition, and to restore the spirit of the troops by rewarding their valour. A sum of money was distributed among the infantry, and the highest praises were bestowed upon their conduct. The regiments which had suffered most were relieved by fresh troops drawn out of garrison, the elector of Brandenburg with a body of forces joined the army, and such vigorous measures were taken as prevented Luxemburg drawing any advantage from his victory.

England and Holland were now united in the strictest bonds of alliance, though the disturbances in Ireland prevented king William from embarking deeply in the affairs of the continent. To execute the great scheme proposed of humbling Lewis, it was necessary first to establish himself firmly upon his new throne, and cut off all hope from the unfortunate James of ever recovering his dominions. The Dutch and English fleets were lying at St. Helen's, when advice arrived that the French squadron had entered the Channel. On the 23d of July the admirals weighed anchor, having express orders to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their great inferiority. The French fleet amounted to one hundred and nineteen sail, eighty of which were of the line, while the combined squadrons did not exceed fifty-six ships of the line, besides frigates. The van was led by the Dutch squadron, formed into three divisions, under the admirals Evertzen, Callenberg, and Vander Putten. Lord Torrington, the English admiral, com-

*A sea-
fight, in
which the
Dutch are
roughly
handled.*

¹ Le Clerc, p. 138.

manded

manded in the center. Off Beachy-Head they came up with the enemy, and the Dutch began the engagement with the French van, led by the famous Chateau Renaud, who sustained the attack with great intrepidity, but was at last put in disorder, after a sharp action, which continued for three hours. He was however supported by another division of the French squadron, and the battle again renewed with the utmost vigour. As the English division lay at a considerable distance, the Hollanders were surrounded. Torrington endeavoured to extricate them, but with so much caution, that, perceiving their safety depended upon their own courage, the Dutch made one violent effort, and happily broke through the enemy. It appears from the loss sustained, that the Dutch bore the whole burden of this engagement. Three of their ships were sunk, and an equal number stranded on the coast of Sussex, to which they set fire, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Besides, they had several gallant officers killed, particularly the rear-admirals Dick and Brockel, and captain Nordet, with a multitude of inferior officers and seamen. Next day the French came up with captain Varden Yoes, in a sixty gun ship, which was disabled by the loss of her masts in the preceding action, and took him, after a desperate resistance. In a word, it was universally acknowledged, that the Hollanders fought with the utmost skill and intrepidity, and that had they been properly seconded, the enemy must have yielded the victory. So sensible were the states of the gallant behaviour of the admirals, that they received them with the highest respect, continued them in the command, and issued orders for repairing and augmenting the fleet with all possible dispatch; yet was it some mortification to see two states who had lately disputed the empire of the ocean, now foiled by an upstart maritime power, reared in the space of a few years by the care, vigilance, and genius of Colbert*.

It was now expected the war on the continent would assume a favourable aspect. King William, by the battle of Boyne, had defeated the designs of the French monarch and the unfortunate king James in Ireland. He crossed the seas to preside at the congress at the Hague, the most splendid and numerous that had ever appeared. His public entrance into the Hague was magnificent; his arrival diffused vigour through the provinces; he was considered as the head of the league forming against Lewis for the defence of public liberty; and the personal qualities of the prince of

King William presides at the grand congress at the Hague.

* Suite de Neuville, chap. vi. tom. ii.

Orange

Orange received additional lustre from the British diadem. Nothing could exceed the joy and reverence with which he was received by the states, to whom he paid his first compliments. In a studied speech, his majesty acquainted them with the success of his endeavours to secure the liberty and religion of the people of Great Britain. He explained the state of affairs in Ireland. He acquainted them with his resolution to oppose in person all the enemies of the republic, to prosecute the war with vigour, and to employ the whole strength of his new dominions in curbing the insolence of France, and procuring an equitable, honourable, and solid peace for Europe.

Having dispatched matters with the states general, the states of Holland, and the council of state, William, in the next place, turned his attention to the business of the congress, which was composed of a great number of sovereign princes, and the plenipotentiaries of all the powers engaged in the grand alliance. He opened the conferences with a laboured, spirited harangue, recommending vigour and unanimity. The congress immediately proceeded to adjust the proportions of money and troops which each of the parties engaged to furnish. The whole exceeded two hundred thousand men, of whom the republic furnished thirty-five thousand. Next, the operations of the campaign were concerted; every article of the alliance was fully explained; the conditions upon which peace would be accepted were clearly determined; and the whole confederacy was formed agreeable to that plan which William had delineated in his own mind, when he was no more than prince of Orange and stadtholder of Holland¹.

A.D. 1691.

While William was thus exerting himself, the French monarch, perceiving he should be deprived of the advantages he expected from the preceding campaign, was taking vigorous measures for continuing the course of his victories, which would infallibly at length tire out the confederates, and produce those solid benefits which he proposed, by making his chief push on the side of the Netherlands. He hoped to disconcert all the projects of his enemies by striking some signal blow, which should decide the fate of the war, before the allies could be ready to take the field. He relied much upon the dilatory proceedings, the tedious deliberations, and the dissensions which would probably arise in so heterogeneous a league, composed of such a variety of members, connected only, as he imagined, by one tie, that of their general animosity to France. His

¹ Id. *ibid.*

design was to attack Mons, and thereby open the gates of Brussels, Antwerp, and Liege. In a word, he perceived that as yet the allies had neither troops nor magazines formed, equal to their mighty schemes; and it was upon these circumstances he founded his sanguine expectations. Besides; Lewis had prodigious magazines upon the frontiers; and his army was cantoned in such a manner as to be assembled at the shortest notice. Hence he doubted not of being able to shake the credit of king William, and detach from the confederacy some of the allies, by shewing them that the person they regarded as a hero, and their deliverer, was unable to protect them. It was with this view that the French troops were put in motion in the month of February, and that Mons was invested before the allies had thought of taking the field. All William's endeavours could not relieve the besieged: they surrendered, and Lewis thus shewed his contempt of the grand confederacy. A medal was struck at Paris, representing a town besieged, with an army looking on, and the following explanatory inscription, "*Amat victoria tastes*;" alluding to king William, who lay with his whole army at Halle, a spectator of Luxemburg's triumph. Scarce any thing farther was attempted during the campaign. Lewis returned to Paris, and William set out for England.

Notwithstanding it was the mutual interest of Denmark and the republic to live on terms of amity, a variety of causes arose to disturb their friendship, and produce a rupture. Denmark, sensible that she commanded the trade of the Baltic, by means of the Sound, frequently made use of that circumstance to augment her revenue. She arbitrarily, and contrary to the faith of treaties, imposed new duties upon all merchandize passing through the Sound. The customs paid by Dutch vessels was rated by treaty; but these did not satisfy the Danish monarch. Without giving the states any previous intimation, he demanded an additional duty; and being refused, he seized upon twenty-four merchant ships in the port of Copenhagen. So gross a violation of all the treaties subsisting between the nations, alarmed the Dutch: they sent an ambassador to Denmark, and his spirited remonstrances brought the northern monarch to reason. Conferences were held, the Dutch ships restored, the quarrel was compromised, and the trade of the provinces established upon the usual footing^m.

*Disputes
between
Denmark
and Hol-
land.*

This year William, as chief of the confederates, sustained fresh mortifications. In the preceding campaign he was

A D. 1692.

^m *Suit. de Hist. de Neuville, chap. xiii. liv. ii.*

an eye-witness to the triumph of Lewis, in the reduction of Mons. It was now his fortune to erect new trophies to Luxemburg, by the fruitless attempt he made, at the head of a powerful army, to raise the siege of Namur. The loss of this city, and of the bloody battle that ensued at Steinkirk, though they detracted nothing from the reputation of the king of Great Britain, proved extremely irksome to the states general, who beheld the Netherlands gradually falling into the enemy's hands, in despite of their utmost efforts. The feeble condition indeed of the Spanish provinces, obliged William to decline the offer of them made by Spain, and recommend the elector of Bavaria to the government, which however proved but a faint security. To preserve the residue of the Netherlands under the dominion of Spain, and prevent the exorbitant growth of France, by the addition of the ten provinces, were evidently the objects of the grand alliance. Hitherto all attempts to regain what had been lost proved fruitless. France was every day adding to her conquests: it was necessary therefore to redouble their efforts to oppose her. All the powers engaged in the confederacy were sensible of the necessity of the most vigorous measures; but each shifted the burthen from its own shoulders. The emperor's favourite point was the making conquests on the side of Hungary: the German princes nearest danger, could act only under the protection of the whole empire; and those more remote did not care to engage in the war, without a valuable consideration. The Swiss cantons studied only to convert their neutrality to the best advantage. Spain seemed on the decline; her usual strength and vigour were vanished, and she relied entirely upon the maritime powers for her defence and security; England and Holland indeed, of all the confederates, kept up to their engagements. They made up all deficiencies; and William blended indiscriminately the duties of a British monarch and a Dutch stadtholder. As the king over a great commercial people, he could not wholly abstract himself from the affairs of the continent; as the stadtholder of Holland, he was immediately interested in checking the progress of Lewis's conquests. But, unfortunately for his new subjects, he made no difference between the relative concern of the one nation, and the fundamental necessary interest of the other, in the safety of the Netherlands. Great Britain contributed more towards the war than the republic; yet could not that island expect an additional foot of territory by the most fortunate issue, though the people were accumulating debts, and laying the foun-

*State of
affairs in
the Nether-
lands.*

foundation of that enormous structure of public credit afterwards reared up, to the astonishment of all Europe.

The French king did not confine himself to the efforts made by his generals in Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy; he projected a scheme which would have proved decisive, had it succeeded: this was a descent upon England, the measures for which had been so admirably concerted, that king James looked upon himself as already restored to his throne. As Lewis made no secret of the intended expedition, nothing was omitted by the queen of England, who was regent in the king's absence, to frustrate its effects; and the states general heartily co-operated with her majesty, ordering a powerful squadron immediately to join the English admiral, though they yet smarted under the severe blow received in the last sea-engagement. On this junction the combined fleet amounted to eighty-eight sail, near double the number of Tourville's squadron, who was then waiting at La Hogue for that of Toulon, commanded by M. d'Étres. To the positive orders received from the French court to fight the English, before they should be joined by the Dutch fleet, may be attributed the miscarriage of this grand armament, which would otherwise have at least answered Lewis's purpose of making a powerful diversion. In hope that the junction of the fleets of England and Holland had not yet taken place, Tourville set sail, and encountered the enemy off Cape Barfleur on the 29th of May. The allies were descried in three divisions; admiral Allemonde, with the Dutch ships, leading the van; admiral Ruffel, with the English red squadron, composing the center; and Sir John Ashly, with the English blue squadron, being stationed in the rear. The engagement began between d'Amfreville, who led the French van, and Allemonde. The former bore down upon the Dutch, and made a very furious attack, which was sustained with unshaken firmness. Tourville engaged the red squadron, and here the action was equally hot and furious. The rear divisions of both sides came up to support the centres, by which the battle became general, as far as the situation of the combined fleet would admit; for a calm that ensued prevented Ruffel's closing the line. Both sides fought with the utmost vigour and impetuosity for some hours, until so thick a fog arose as obliged the combatants to separate. This recess was, however, but of short duration: the fog was dispelled, and Tourville was seen profiting by the opportunity to withdraw from an engagement to which he found himself unequal. Rear-admiral Shovel had the address to gain the windward, and separate Tourville's division from the squadron.

*The French
fleet de-
feated.*

dron destined to support him under Pannatier; by which means the engagement was again renewed, and the French admiral inclosed between two fires. After incredible efforts, Tourville broke through the enemy, and escaped a pursuit by the seasonable interposition of night. The fleets, however, were so scattered, that they could not get clear of the allies by the next morning. They kept the windward, which prevented his making the next day for La Hogue; but declined renewing the engagement. On the third day some of the divisions on both sides came to an action, in which the French were worsted. Several other rencounters happened, which always proved favourable to the confederates. At length, Tourville's Squadron was entirely defeated and dispersed. By the destruction of sixteen capital ships, including those burnt in La Hogue by Rooke and Allemonde, a fatal blow was given to the marine of France, and the descent on England wholly frustrated^b.

A.D. 1693.

Though the marine of France languished, in consequence of the fatal defeat at La Hogue, Lewis made the most spirited efforts to restore its strength and vigour. Animated by disappointment, that monarch, fruitful in resources, ordered all the ships in his ports to be equipped. All hands were set to work in building new vessels. Before the month of June, a fleet as numerous as the former, but manned with persons who had scarce ever beheld a ship, put to sea under Tourville, who was kept in the command, notwithstanding the French nation was exasperated at his conduct in the last action. The intention of this armament was to intercept a large fleet of English and Dutch merchant ships, outward-bound for Spain and Portugal. Sir Geogre Rooke, and rear-admiral Vandergoes were appointed to escort this fleet, with a Squadron composed of thirteen English and eight Dutch men of war. On the 23d, turning Cape Vincent, they descried the French Squadron; and the two men of war in the van exchanged a few broadsides with the enemy, after which they slackened sail, and waited for the remainder of the convoy. A calm prevented Tourville's coming up, and the van of his fleet did not chuse to run the hazard of entering deeply into an engagement, before they had a prospect of being supported. For four days the two fleets were in sight, without coming to action: at last an opportunity offered to begin the attack, which Tourville embraced with great alacrity. His great superiority rendered the event almost certain; and Sir George

^b Id. *ibid.* Voltaire *Siecle*, tom. i. Smollett, Ralph, and the English Historians.

Rooke was so sensible of the impossibility of saving the fleet under his convoy, by the utmost diversion he could make, that he endeavoured to decline the battle, and make the first harbours he could on the coasts of Spain and Portugal. The enemy, however, came up with the sternmost ships, where they were gallantly received by three Dutch men of war, who fought with astonishing resolution, and for some time employed the whole strength of the French admiral. After they were surrounded, they obstinately refused to strike, until the greater part of the fleet under their convoy had got into the ports of Cadiz and Gibraltar. At last the Dutch ships were taken, and with them about thirty merchant-ships; most of which Tourville either burnt or sunk, after having taken out their cargoes. Tourville is justly censured for not dividing his strength; by which he could have prevented the possibility of an escape; and Sir George Rooke is perhaps no less blameable for not engaging, and thereby giving the merchant-fleet an opportunity of escaping. Both the French and confederates were displeased; the one that the whole convoy was not taken; the other, that any part should have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Tourville, to repair his error, attempted to burn the combined fleet in the bay of Cadiz; but such prudent measures had been taken, as disconcerted his project. He had no better success in another attempt he made to cut the merchant-ships out of the bay of Gibraltar. Two frigates and several armed boats were employed in this enterprise; but the gallantry of the Dutch and English sailors obliged them to retire. He however renewed the attack, and sent fireships among the enemy, by which means seven Danish, four English, two Genoese, and six Dutch merchant-ships were destroyed. Thus ended an expedition unfortunately indeed to the allies, as well as to some neutral nations, and neither glorious nor beneficial to France.

The French destroy a number of English and Dutch merchant-ships.

In the mean time the campaign in Flanders went on with great vigour. The battle of Landen was lost by the allies, and the king of England's reputation was somewhat diminished for not avoiding an action, when even a victory could have produced no solid advantage, and he could scarcely hope not to be defeated. France magnified her triumph, and the allies concealed their disgrace. Charleroi surrendered to Luxemburg, and this was almost the only fruit of a victory dearly purchased, and highly celebrated. It was now that the confederates, and in particular the Swiss cantons, who had engaged to observe an exact neutrality. The reduction of Namur, and the victories at Steinkirk and Neerwinde or Landen, were attributed to

Altercation between the Swiss cantons and the allies.

the valour of their troops in the service of France. The states alleged, that hiring out their forces to Lewis was contrary to the neutrality they professed, and an actual hostility against the allies. Besides, by the treaty of Milan, the cantons engaged that their troops in the French pay should only be employed in the defence of towns, of which Lewis was possessed in the year 1663. In consideration of this engagement, Spain and the empire had paid them a subsidy, which was doubled at the approach of the present war, when they renewed their engagements not to act offensively. In all the late actions it appeared there had been near thirty battalions of Swiss infantry, who had fought with the same desperate fury and animosity, as if the cantons had been at actual war with the confederates. The courts of Vienna and Madrid now joined the states general in remonstrances upon this conduct, so contrary to the intention of treaties, and the faith of solemn engagements. The most spirited memorials were presented and disregarded. The emperor and catholic king expressed their resentment, not only by stopping the subsidies, but by cutting off all communication between Switzerland and their Italian dominions. In particular, they forbade their subjects to sell corn to the Swiss, which prohibition, upon account of the scarcity then reigning in France, put the cantons to great necessity; but even this could not prevail on them to withdraw their forces, and renounce their engagements with Lewis, who buoyed them up with lofty promises, and encouraged them by some real advantages. They even declared to the envoys of Spain and the empire, and to the deputies of Holland, that they would lay themselves under no restraint, though at the same time they had no intention of giving offence to the allies. At last the affair was discussed at a diet at Baden. Expedients were proposed; but they proved insufficient and unsatisfactory to all parties. Yet the interposition of the protestant cantons, and the resolution formed by several of the catholic divisions of this republic, influenced the emperor and king of Spain to remove the prohibition respecting grain, and again to open the communication between Switzerland and their dominions^c.

While the confederates were endeavouring to weaken the common enemy, by gaining over some of the best troops in the French army, an occasional congress sat at Cologne, composed of ambassadors from England, Holland, the emperor, the electors of Treves, Cologne, Brandenburg, Bavaria,

^c Suite de Hist. de Neuville, tom. ii. p. 1.

Saxony, and Palatine, the landgrave of Hesse, and bishop of Munster. The design of this congress was to reconcile all the jarring interests of the confederates, to determine the different proportions of expence, and to accelerate all the previous steps to opening the campaign. Unhappily, contentions arose about the chief command of the army on the Rhine, which could not fail of prejudicing the interest of the confederacy, and proving as serviceable to France as if an actual ally had been gained. Nor was France more fortunate in this particular than successful in the intrigues carried on at the Porte, to retard the pacification in treaty between the emperor and the grand signor. Such influence and credit had the French ambassador acquired in the divan, that Heemskirk, the Dutch envoy, could neither obtain an audience, nor an answer to the proposals which he had delivered in writing to the vizir. It is true, he was treated with great respect, and the denial of his request palliated by apologies and pretences of the necessity of waiting until the arrival of lord Paget, who was expected upon an embassy from England; but it was evident, on that nobleman's appearance at court, that the allies had nothing to expect. The vizir expressed the same backwardness to a negotiation: at last he threw off the masque, and began openly to make preparations for opening the campaign.

The Dutch envoy is refused an audience at Constantinople.

Lewis was thus sweeping all before him in the cabinet and the field, when the two maritime powers were preparing to wipe off the disgrace their fleet had lately sustained, and to repair the loss by some stroke, which should at least weaken the enemy, if it should contribute nothing to their own emolument. The diligence employed in equipping a fleet in England and Holland attracted the eyes of all Europe. It was obvious, that they were stimulated by resentment; and it soon appeared where the stroke was aimed, by the arrival of the combined fleet before St. Malo's. This however formed only a part of the scheme concerted by the allies. No more than twelve ships of the line, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, were sent to bombard this place. About the middle of November, the squadron anchored before Quince fort: three of the bomb vessels, with a number of brigantines and well-boats, bore down and anchored within half a mile of the town. They continued firing for five hours, and were then obliged to tow off from an apprehension of being grounded. For several subsequent days they continued to throw in bombs, with frequent intermissions, and at length, under favour of a brisk gale, a dark night, and a strong tide, they sent in a prodigious fireship of three hundred tons burthen, which

St. Malo's bombarded.

would probably have reduced the town to ashes, had she not, happily for the inhabitants, struck upon a rock, upon which the engineer set fire to the train. The explosion was dreadful; it shook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all the glass and earthen ware for three leagues round, and unroofed three hundred houses. The curtain towards the sea was broke down, and had there been a sufficient number of land forces on board the squadron, the town might easily have been taken by storm^d. Such was the issue of the expedition to St. Malo's, which struck a panic into the inhabitants of the whole coast of France, and convinced the French king of the power and spirit of the two maritime allies, though it produced no other consequence.

A.D. 1694.

The winter produced overtures for a peace. Lewis had reduced cities, gained battles, and dispersed fleets; yet in the midst of victory and triumph, he wished for an accommodation upon terms not injurious to his honour. Already he had dispersed at the courts of the German princes, a manifesto professing his pacific sentiments, and proposing conditions of peace to the emperor. These proposals, though advantageous to the imperial court, were rejected: however, not discouraged with one repulse, Lewis applied himself to the king of Great Britain and the states general, by means of the Danish envoys at London and the Hague, who presented memorials with a project for a general peace. To the states were represented the particular advantages they would derive from accepting the proposals. A barrier was offered that should remove all inquietude and cause of apprehension in the United Provinces. Mons and Namur it was intended should be ceded to Spain, Charleroi demolished, the town and citadel of Huy restored to the bishop of Liege, and Dinant and Bouillon indemnified, by uniting to the bishoprick such a portion of the duchy of Luxemburg, as should be assigned by arbiters. The Danish envoy added, that the states general ought to be satisfied with the power of obtaining such important restitutions, and of terminating to so much advantage a war in which the allies could not possibly think they had been very fortunate. He likewise took it upon him to declare, that the most christian king would make no attempts to extend his dominions on the side of the Netherlands, and that from his present pacific disposition such farther conditions would be granted as should be found just and equitable. Neither the king nor the states chose to enter upon negotiations, without the concurrence of the other allies, and the emperor had

not only rejected the proposals, but sent prince Lewis of Baden to England, to keep the English steady to their engagements. He took the Hague in his way, had an audience of the states, to whom he warmly represented the necessity of continuing the war, and dispelled all doubts which might arise about the expediency of trying the fortune of another campaign. In truth, king William had not yet satiated his revenge. Every general action had proved unfortunate; and he panted after an opportunity of wiping off the disgrace of so many defeats. The states were entirely led by his opinion, and that party which had strenuously opposed the price of Orange, resigned itself entirely to the direction of the king of Great Britain; such influence had he acquired since his accession to that throne.

Denmark, finding her mediation rejected, determined to convert this circumstance to her own advantage. The states general, she was sensible, would be so deeply engaged in war, as to be in no condition to attend to the minute affairs of commerce. The opportunity for renewing the old disputes about the duties of the Sound was favourable. His Danish majesty, therefore, without paying any regard to the late accommodation, or the neutrality professed, began first to intimate his intentions by avowedly assisting the French monarch. In this conduct the Swedes concurred with him; both had carried on a prodigious commerce with France during the war; they even became the purveyors of that kingdom for corn, naval stores, and all the commodities of the North. The allies connived, while there remained hopes of inducing those powers to accede to the confederacy. So far England and the allies in general were concerned; but Holland had complaints of a private nature, in which the Dutch commerce alone was interested. His Danish majesty had ordered the ancient duties of the Sound to be exacted from all Dutch shipping, and on their refusal they were seized and brought to Copenhagen. These concurring circumstances determined the states to come to extremities, and the king of England joined issue with them about the expediency of making reprisals, and punishing the northern powers for a breach of treaty and professed neutrality. It was resolved to make both the kings of Denmark and Sweden sensible, that notwithstanding the maritime powers were engaged in an important war, they had strength and courage enough to resent the insults of neutral states. Accordingly the commanders of the English and Dutch men of war and privateers had instructions to stop, examine, and seize all Danish or Swedish shipping bound to French ports, or laden with such commodities as seemed de-

Fresh disputes between Denmark and Holland.

finned for the markets of that kingdom. The orders were punctually observed; several ships were taken, but none condemned, as the experiment was made only to intimidate the northern powers, and not with a view of coming to an open rupture. The Dutch went farther. They stopped in different ports of Holland to the amount of twenty-four Danish ships, of which they gave notice to the Danish envoy, declaring they should be detained, until restitution was made of the Dutch ships at Copenhagen, and the owners amply indemnified for all the losses they might have sustained by their detention. A conduct so spirited soon produced the expected effect. Sweden not only avoided making reprisals, but even joined her mediation to the emperor's, in reconciling the king of Denmark and the republic. In consequence of this mediation, the ships were mutually restored, the treaties concerning the duties of the Sound renewed, and all things placed on the former footing.

In general the operations of this campaign proved more fortunate to the allies, than any of the preceding. Several places had been recovered from the enemy, no battle was lost, and the French king suffered more by the death of marshal Luxemburg, than if half his army had perished: besides, the coasts of his kingdom were kept in perpetual alarm by the squadrons of England and Holland. By these means a great number of troops were kept stationed towards the coasts, and a considerable revulsion was made from that strength which Lewis would otherwise have exerted in the Netherlands. Brest was bombarded by the combined fleets; Dieppe afterwards met with the same fate, and more than half the town was laid in ashes; adverse winds probably saved it from total destruction. Having finished this business, the allied fleet proceeded to Havre de Grace, where they began bombarding with such success, that in a few hours the town was on fire, and before they quitted their station, the citadel almost demolished; in a word, an universal panic seized the inhabitants of the coast; the innocent industrious subjects were punished for the ambition of the sovereign; and a method of waging war was now adopted by civilized nations, which would be regarded with horror by the most barbarous.

*Sea fight
between
the French
and Dutch
fleets.*

While the grand armament was thus employed in desolating the enemy's country, a Dutch squadron of eight men of war, under the conduct of Hidde de Vries, fell in with the famous du Bart, and his squadron of seven ships of the

line and three frigates. The Dutch admiral had a considerable fleet under his convoy, and would, if possible, have declined an engagement; but du Bart pursued, overtook and attacked him between the Meuse and the Texel. The dispute proved obstinate. Du Bart fought with his usual intrepidity; he boarded de Vries, and though vigourously sustained was repulsed with loss. Had the Dutch captains supported their admiral, the Frenchman would have found himself roughly handled; but the terror of du Bart's name kept them aloof, while de Vries, covered with wounds, was singly engaged. The event was unfortunate; he was taken prisoner, and great part of the merchant fleet under his care fell into the hands of the enemy.

On the return of the squadron to Holland, all the captains were cashiered, and the states consoled for their loss by news from the East Indies, that Pondicherry had surrendered to the governor-general of Batavia, with all the artillery, stores, and merchandize belonging to the French company. Upon the whole, the confederates had greatly the advantage by sea this season. Besides the incidents we have mentioned, they relieved Barcelona, blocked up Tourville, and bombarded Dunkirk and Calais.

Towards the close of this year, the theological controversies which had so long disturbed the provinces were now again revived. King William, before his accession to the throne of England, had silenced some rising disputes, by his authority as stadtholder. He was now again forced to interpose, and it was at his request that the states of Holland and Friseland published an ordonnance, on the 18th day of September, for the preservation of the peace of the reformed church, and the tranquillity of the provinces. By this regulation, it was ordained that all doctors, professors, and lecturers in divinity, together with the clergy of the reformed church of Holland and Friseland, should conform in all their writings, preachings, and lectures, to the formula contained in the catechism, confession, and canons of the national synod of Dordrecht; and that they should live in the utmost cordiality, charity, and brotherly affection, without dispute, discussion, or controversy upon points already settled by the church. That with respect to certain difficult matters left undetermined by the national synod, these they were ordered not to touch upon, or explain any otherwise than was authorized by the scriptures, and the general sense of the synod of Dordrecht. That they should introduce into their writings, sermons, lectures, or public courses of every kind, no uncommon axioms, no disputed principles, no novel opinions or doctrines; in a word,

*Religious
disputes in
Holland.*

word, they were ordered to abstain from whatever could raise doubts, create schisms or divisions among the people ; and if through inadvertence any of them should have given room for disputation, they were required to retract, or explain what they had advanced, agreeable to the established faith. All professors were farther prohibited from encouraging their pupils to apply philosophy to the mysteries of the Christian religion. They were ordered to confine this kind of reasoning to matters purely philosophical, and not to examine by the light of reason, what was intended by the Author of our Being to exceed reason. Upon the whole, the pastors of the church were fervently requested to be vigilant over their flocks, and to cultivate sobriety, decency, good order, and devotion among all ranks and degrees of the people. The ordonnance had a good effect, and suppressed, in the birth, controversies which might in time have created much trouble to the government.

A.D. 1695.

The operations of the succeeding campaign retrieved the reputation of king William ; but it ought to be remembered, that mareschal Luxemburg was now dead, and the command of the army given to Villeroi, a general neither equal to the mareschal in capacity nor experience. Namur, defended by Boufflers, at the head of a numerous garrison, and covered by a formidable army, surrendered to king William ; and the French king, in revenge, ordered Brussels to be bombarded. This step was followed by the bombardment of Calais, and some attempts upon other sea-ports on the coasts of France. But these successes, though they inspired the allies, weakened Lewis, and drew the war nearer an issue, produced no immediate advantage. The states general had prosecuted the war with vigour, in hope of obtaining such a peace as would compensate for the expence and trouble of supporting large armies and fleets. It was expected that every campaign would be the last, and this hope encouraged the people to submit to the heavy taxes with which they were loaded. Their frequent disappointment irritated them, and in all the provinces they began to exclaim loudly against measures calculated only to oppress the industrious subject, and ruin commerce. A new tax laid upon burials, by the magistrates of Amsterdam, was highly resented by the populace ; though the intention was to abolish a pernicious custom that prevailed in almost all the towns of the United Provinces, of giving public entertainments, of feasting, and rioting, upon occasions where decency required the most solemn conduct and strict temperance. No sooner was the

Insurrection at Amsterdam.

resolution of the magistrates known, than some evil-disposed persons excited a popular tumult, by persuading the vulgar, that all who were unable to pay the tax must be buried with such marks of ignominy as would render infamous the memory of the deceased, and add insult to poverty. Every thing was done to correct this prejudice; but the mob continually increased. The whole rabble of Amsterdam, foreigners and natives, assembled to oppose the regulation; and there were not wanting several substantial citizens who regarded the new tax as unjust and iniquitous. The mob threatened to set fire to the city; all was in confusion; shops were shut up, and every kind of business was at a stand. It was difficult to apply remedies to so desperate a disease: the military force in the city was insufficient to disperse so vast a concourse. The seditious people were emboldened by the defenceless condition of the magistracy: they flew to the house of M. Boreel, one of the principal persons in the city, forced open the doors, poured in like a torrent, pillaged, destroyed, and threw into the canal his elegant and rich furniture. By this time captain Spaaroggee had collected a body of soldiers, with which he hastened to the defence of Boreel's house. He fired upon the mob; but was attacked with such fury, that he was forced to retreat to his own house. Thither the mob pursued him, destroyed all before them, and committed every violence of which an incensed brutal populace is capable. Happily for Amsterdam, night came on before they could proceed to farther business: this determined them to postpone the work until next morning; and in the mean time every man retired quietly to his own dwelling, as if nothing had passed. By day-light, placards were fixed up in all public places, giving notice, that the tax which had given so much offence, should not take place. Orders were likewise issued for all the burghers and soldiers to assemble under arms. Endeavours were also made to mount a few companies of horse, which were composed of all the young gentlemen in the city, persons of distinction in public offices, and rich merchants. These precautions, however, did not prevent the rabble from assembling, and attacking in a body the house of Kirby, the English consul, who they alleged had suggested the idea of a tax upon burials. Here they were repulsed with great vigour; upon which they turned their indignation against a Jew, distinguished by the name of the rich Pinto. To this resolution Amsterdam probably owed its safety. In an instant the whole Jewish quarter was in arms for the defence of their prodigious wealth, which they had amassed with indefatigable industry. To them the burghers

A.D. 1696.

burghers joined themselves, both marching in good order against the seditious, who, struck with the formidable appearance of glittering arms, began to disperse. Some were seized, loaded with rich plunder, and immediately hanged; examples which produced such an effect, that in the space of a few minutes the streets were entirely cleared, and the city restored to its former tranquillity. However, it was thought advisable to remove all cause of fresh insurrections, and to annul the edict passed for levying the new imposition. The whole affair ended with the public promise of a great reward to whoever should discover the authors of this sedition. It was shrewdly suspected that some persons who were enemies to the magistracy, had excited the people, but proofs never appeared to justify the suspicion.

*The French
successful
by sea.*

Nothing considerable this year was performed in the Netherlands, and as to the naval operations, they were equally unimportant. The only incident that merits notice is the misfortune of a fleet of Dutch merchant-ships homeward bound from Portugal, which fell in with du Bart's squadron of privateers. The merchant fleet, amounting to two hundred sail, was under the convoy of five frigates, who were attacked by the enemy's largest ships, while the others were dealing destruction among the trading vessels, thirty of which they had taken. The frigates defended themselves vigorously, but were at last overpowered, one only escaping. Scarce was the action finished when the victorious du Bart descried a squadron of Dutch men of war, upon which he set fire to all his captures, after having unloaded the most valuable effects, and taken all the crews prisoners, and made the best sail he could out of the reach of danger.

About the close of the year the duke of Savoy detached himself from the confederates, accepted of the terms proposed by Lewis, and thus paved the way for a general pacification. The duke went farther; he not only made peace with France, but joined his troops to the forces of that kingdom, a circumstance which enabled Lewis to reinforce his army in the Netherlands with several regiments drawn from Italy. Probably this defection of an useful ally proved fortunate to the confederates, as it inclined them to listen to the conditions proposed by the French monarch, who declared that he had now sustained a war singly against all Europe for several successive years, with no other view than to establish the tranquillity of Christendom on a more solid basis. The king of England saw the difficulties that would

^d Suite de Hist. de Neuville, tom. ii. p. 142.

arise in procuring the supplies for continuing the war; the states general were not deaf to the clamours of the provinces against the burthen of taxes; both were sensible of the mischiefs to be apprehended from Poland, should the French interest prevail at the ensuing election; and the confederates in general were aware of the danger that other powers might follow the example of Savoy, and enter into a separate peace. It became now a very serious question, whether the crisis was not arrived that rendered it highly expedient to sheathe the sword? France appeared forward for an accommodation, and even went so far as to demand passports for M. Callieres to go to Holland to lay the basis of a general pacification.

With the king of England's approbation the states had granted the passports required, and M. Dykeveldt was appointed to confer with the ambassador. M. Callieres had been instructed to grant all that was demanded by the imperial court, respecting the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen. This particular M. Dykeveldt reported to the deputies appointed for foreign affairs, who transmitted it to the states general. After mature deliberation the states declared, that as the French monarch had made the concessions required by the court of Vienna, matters were now in such a situation, that, in concert with their allies, the offered mediation of Sweden might be accepted. A transcript of their resolutions was sent to the different courts of Europe; but it soon appeared, that neither the emperor nor the catholic king were satisfied that the conditions offered by France were either satisfactory or explicit. Yet were the Spaniards forced to sign a treaty of neutrality for Italy, whereby Lewis was set at liberty to employ all his strength in Germany and the Netherlands.

Negotiations of peace.

This was the situation of affairs during the winter, and every thing indicated a peace; yet did all the parties resolve to treat sword in hand. In the spring the usual rivalry arose, who should first commence hostilities; and the Dutch were earlier in their preparations this year than any of the preceding: however, as the whole allied army was not assembled, no considerable enterprize was undertaken. The French would likewise seem to have given their chief attention to naval expeditions, and attempts to ruin the commerce of the maritime powers. This spring their cruizers had been extremely successful. A small squadron set sail from Dunkirk in the month of February, encountered a fleet of Dutch and English merchant-ships off Ostend, and made prize of fourteen vessels, most of which belonged to Holland. Three weeks after another fleet of Dutch merchant-

A.D. 1697.

chant-ships, under the convoy of three men of war, commanded by admiral Waffenaar, fell in with a French squadron in the bay of Biscay. The enemy were greatly superior in strength; but Waffenaar fought with great gallantry, and defended himself until he was mortally wounded, and his ship shattered in pieces, when the next in command struck. The fate of the admiral determined the fortune of the whole fleet, the two other men of war made but a short resistance, and with them were taken twelve rich merchant-ships, laden with wool, cotton, hides, and other valuable commodities^b.

*Congress at
Ryswick.*

This was the last act of hostility that passed between France and Holland. As early as the month of February all the allied powers, Spain excepted, had agreed to accept the mediation of Sweden, which was accordingly notified in form to the Swedish minister at the Hague. By the ninth day of May the congress was opened at Ryswick, when France proposed by way of preliminaries, that the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should form the basis of the present negociation; that Strasburg should be restored to the emperor in the same condition as before the war; that Luxemburg should be restored to Spain, together with Mons, Charleroi, and all the places in Catalonia, taken since the peace of Nimeguen; that the city and citadel of Dunkirk should be ceded to the bishop of Liege; that restitution should be made to the other allies of all conquests since the peace of Nimeguen; that Lorrain should be restored, agreeable to the conditions of the said pacification. In a word, after tedious conferences the treaty was at length signed, and peace restored to Europe, upon conditions equally glorious and advantageous to the allies, and so unpopular in France, that the plenipotentiaries dared not for some time to appear in public.

The peace of Ryswick was productive of the famous partition treaties, in which France, England, and Holland, engaged to dismember the Spanish monarchy, upon the death of Charles II. of Spain, which was supposed to be at no great distance. What share the states general had in that transaction, as well as in the war that ensued, which was terminated by the treaty of Utrécht, we have specified in the histories of France, and the empire, and therefore, to avoid unnecessary repetition, we shall here conclude the History of the United Provinces.

^b Id. *ibid.*

C H A P. LXXVI.

History of the Kingdom of Denmark.

S E C T. I.

Containing the Geography of Denmark; the Laws, Religion, Manners, and other Particulars which characterize the present State of that Kingdom.

IT is agreed upon all hands, that the kingdom of Denmark is one of the most ancient monarchies in Europe. *Name of Denmark.* A series of kings, either fabulous or true, may be traced in the Danish historians from the year 1038 before the birth of our Saviour; that is, for the space of two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years.

How this part of Scandinavia, formerly called Cimbrica Chersonesus, acquired the name of Denmark, is a point greatly disputed among antiquarians, and still as doubtful as the etymology of most other names. Some believe the Danes to be the progeny of the ancient Danai; and many of their kings have boasted of their having sprung in a direct line from Antenor. Others affirm, that they are the descendants of the ancient Dabi, a people of Scythia, who, by an easy corruption, came in progress of time to be called Dani, and the country Dani-mark, or the Land of the Dani; *marc*, or *mark*, signifying a country in several of the dialects of the Teutonic. But the most probable opinion is that of Saxo-Grammaticus, the most ancient and best Danish historian. According to him the Danes are so called from Dan, the son of Humble, the first founder of the Danish monarchy; and Denmark, compounded of Dan and Marc, that is, the country of Dan^a; which etymology we shall retain, without launching out into an ocean of criticism and conjecture (A).

^a Saxo-Gram. Hist. Dan. p. 1. Vell. apud Pontan. p. 637. Polydor. Virg. ibid. Pontan. p. 939. cum multis aliis. Jo. Svaning. Ripen. Prolegom. p. 10.

(A) Such of our readers, however, as have a taste for this species of critical knowledge, may thoroughly indulge their appetite by consulting the learned John Isaac Pontanus, in his *Chorographica Daniæ Descriptio*, page 639.

Before

Geographical description of Denmark and Norway.

Before we enter upon the history of Denmark, we shall first give a short sketch of the country; the genius and character of the people; the nature of the soil, and produce of the countries under the dominion of the king of Denmark; the forces and revenues of the kingdom; the laws, government, religion, and manners of the country. If we consider only the extent of dominion, the king of Denmark may justly be reputed one of the greatest princes of Europe. He is intitled king of Denmark and Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormar, and Dithmarsh, earl of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst; all which countries he actually possesses, except a moiety of the duchy of Sleswick, belonging to the duke of Holstein Gottorp. Denmark, including Holstein, in which the king has an undivided moiety, is bounded by the sea called Categate, towards the north; by the Baltic on the east; by the river Elbe, which separates it from Bremen, on the south; and by the duchy of Saxé Lawenburg towards the south-east; extending from 54 deg. 40 min. to 58 deg. 20 min. north latitude.

The kingdom of Norway, separated from Denmark by the Categate, includes a space of about 11 degrees in length; that is, from 59 to near 71 deg. north latitude, being bounded by the ocean towards the north and west; by the kingdom of Sweden and Swedish Lapland on the east; and by the Categate to the south. It is a long narrow country, enclosed on the one side by the ocean, and on the other by the high barren mountains called Dofrine, which divide it from Sweden; most geographers reckoning it about eight hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth.

Previous to the war with Sweden, which ended in the year 1660, the provinces of Schonen, Halland, and Bleking, belonged to the crown of Denmark. They were wrested from it by the famous Charles Gustavus, and could never since, notwithstanding frequent attempts, be recovered, though the richest provinces belonging to his Danish majesty. Thus Denmark, at present, is on every side circumscribed by the sea, except a neck of land about three Danish miles over, by which it joins to Holstein.

The general division of Denmark into provinces.

The dominions of the king of Denmark are generally divided into six grand districts or provinces, viz. Denmark, properly so called, comprehending the islands of Zealand,

‡ H. Pontan. Chorogr. p. 648. Busching. Geogr. Moleworth's Account of Denmark, p. 3.

Funen,

Funen, Langeland, Laaland, Falstria, Mona, Samsoe, Arroe, Bornholm, Anhout, Leflaw, and that part of the continent called North Jutland. 2dly, The duchy of Sleswick, or South Jutland. 3dly, The duchy of Holstein. 4thly, The earldoms of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. 5thly, The kingdom of Norway: and, 6thly, Iceland, with the islands lying in the northern seas. Of this large tract, Jutland, in extent and fertility, is the most considerable division; though the islands have the advantage in point of situation, and especially Zealand, in which stands Copenhagen, the capital of the Danish dominions, and the residence of the princes.

This island is nearly of a circular form, measuring about sixty leagues in circumference. The channel called the Sound, divides it from Schonen; the strait called the Great Belt, from the island of Funen: and from the islands Mona, Falstria, and Laaland, it is separated by a narrow channel to the southward. Its fertility is not extraordinary, though it produces a sufficient quantity of rye for the consumption of the inhabitants, but no other sort of grain. The face of the country is prettily diversified with hills, woods, and lakes; but in all Zealand there is not one river, and only a very few brooks sufficient to turn a mill. With hardly any meadows, it produces great abundance of hay; all the grass springing up on the borders of corn fields, and banks of lakes and brooks, short, but sweet and nourishing. The lakes are well stocked with fish; the cattle small, and generally lean; a circumstance owing to their being kept within door for at least eight months in the year. In general the climate is but indifferent, especially near the capital, where, from the low situation the air is rendered unwholesome by thick fogs; nevertheless, the natives are very little subject to pulmonary complaints. The atmosphere is said to be purified by the great consumption of beech wood in firing, the only sort of timber found in any quantity in Zealand. Here, as well as in almost all the other parts of Denmark, are only two seasons of the year, winter and summer; for from the extremity of cold, the air immediately changes to an almost insupportable heat; and suffocating gross warm atmosphere, by which myriads of flies and vermin are generated.

Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is situated in the latitude of 56 deg. 2 min. north latitude, and 12 deg. 53 min. longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. This city is neither very large nor ancient, though the pre-

*Copenhagen
the capital.*

* If. Pontan, Chorogr. Dan. p. 723, 724. Pompon. Mela. cap. vi. Crantzii Descrip. Man. Balt. p. 124. Molefworth, ubi supra.

cise date of its foundation is disputed. Its advantageous situation for trade, and the excellency of its harbour, are not to be surpassed; and were Copenhagen a free port, there is no doubt but it would soon become the emporium of the commerce into the Baltic. The harbour is surrounded by the fortifications of the town, and the entrance is so narrow, that only one ship can enter at a time; besides which, it is shut up in the night by a strong boom, defended on the one side by the cannon of the citadel, and on the other by a strong blockhouse, well mounted with heavy artillery. The whole haven, containing five hundred sail of large ships, is enclosed by a wooden gallery, close to which every ship has her appointed station; a circumstance that adds greatly to the beauty and convenience of the scene, than which nothing can be more rich and regular, when a number of shipping happen to lie in port. Copenhagen makes a magnificent appearance at a distance, being about a geographical mile and a half in circumference. It contains four royal castles, ten parish, and nine other churches, a considerable number of magnificent edifices, public and private, four thousand burghers' houses, eleven markets, areas, or squares, one hundred and eighty-six streets, and one hundred thousand inhabitants^d. The city is strong both by nature and art; the situation being marshy, deep canals cut all round, and the fortifications executed agreeable to the best modern improvements; yet the works are chiefly composed of turf and earth. Among the public buildings are the exchange, the arsenal, and observatory, erected by order of that excellent prince Christian IV. to whom almost all the decorations of Copenhagen are owing. What adds greatly to the convenience of the city, is the contiguity of the little island of Finack, or rather Amack, joined to it by a bridge; whence the markets of Copenhagen are plentifully supplied with fowl, beef, mutton, venison, corn, and culinary vegetables, all of which Amack produces in the utmost abundance^e.

Jutland.

Jutland, the country of the ancient Jutes, called Cimbræ by the Romans, and their country, including Sleswick and Holstein, Cimbrica Chersonesus, is bounded by the German ocean on the west and north, by the Baltic on the east, and by the duchy of Sleswick on the south. This large country is divided into the provinces of Aalborg, Wiburg, Arhusen, and Ripen; the first of which is sometimes called Burglaw^f. Aalborg is situated in the most northern part of Jutland, and comprehends a space from

Province of Aalborg.

^d Busching. Geograph. ubi supra.

^e Pontan. ibid. Moleworth. Vid. Pontanus Chorogr. p. 359.

the north-east to the south-west of about one hundred and fifty miles; some writers say, one hundred and thirty, and forty miles in breadth. It contains thirteen bailiwicks, one hundred and sixty parishes, and five very considerable towns, called Aalborg, Nykopping, Tyfted, Seeby, and Schagen.

The duchy of Sleswick, or South Jutland, is the joint-property of the king of Denmark and duke of Holstein. It is above sixty miles in length, forty-five in breadth, and contains the towns of Sleswick, Gottorp, Ekrenford or Ekelford, Fredericstadi, Tonningen, Husum, Flensburg, Glucsburg, Hadersleben, Tonderen, Lhom-Closter, Sunderburg, and Nordburg, whence the duke of Holstein Nordburg takes his title. In most towns and bailiages both princes have a separate and distinct authority and jurisdiction, particularly in the bailiages of Hader, Sleben, Ripen, Flensburg, the territory of Christianpris, the islands of Roam and Mandoa, and the west side of the island of Foer, all which are subject, without participation, to the king of Denmark; whereas the bailiages of Gottorp, Husum, Tonderen, &c. belong exclusively to the duke of Holstein. In Gottorp stands the noble palace of the duke of Holstein, situated in the middle of a lake to the westward of the city of Sleswick. This is esteemed, by all good judges, one of the finest buildings of the North, and has the advantage of a large well laid-out garden, adorned with fountains, cascades, and every thing that can render the abode delightful.

Duchy of Sleswick.

Palace of Gottorp.

As to the duchy of Holstein, it is divided in the same manner as Sleswick, between the king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein. It is a fief of the empire, and the king of Denmark is, for that reason, classed among the German princes; whereas Sleswick is absolutely a fief of the crown of Denmark. This duchy extends about a hundred miles in length from east to west, and nearly half as much from north to south, including Dithmarsh within these limits; and even Wagerland and Stormar, though the country properly called Holstein, consists chiefly of the inland parts, lying between Jutland and Stormar. The chief towns included within this district are, 1st, Kiel Chilonum, a place of considerable trade, a good harbour, and strong citadel, rich, and populous for this country. An university was founded here in 1669; and here also is held the annual assembly of the states of Holstein. 2dly, Rensburg, or Reinalsburg, esteemed the strongest fortress in the whole duchy, being almost wholly enclosed by the river Eyder. 3dly, Wilster, a neat well-built town. 4thly, Itzehoe, situated on the river Stoor; and 5thly, Newmun-

Duchy of Holstein.

ster, at the mouth of the same river. Some years since there arose a dispute between the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, and the king of Denmark, as likewise a prince of the empire, about the lordship of Steinhors. The former insisted, that it belonged to his duchy of Lawenburg; and the latter, that it formed a part of the Danish Holstein. The difference was amicably compromised, his Danish majesty relinquishing all right to the said lordship, on receiving from the king of Great Britain the sum of seventy thousand crowns, as an equivalent.

Produce of Denmark.

In dominions so far extended and divided by seas, as those of Denmark, the nature of the soil must be various. A fourth part of the island of Zealand is laid out in royal forests, filled with stags, wild boars, and other game, reserved entirely for the king's use.

The island of Funen produces corn and wood sufficient for the purposes of the natives; however, the only article for exportation it affords, consists of a few horses. On the contrary, Laaland is a fine country, producing abundance of wheat, with which it supplies most part of the Danish dominions in small quantities; for this is a kind of bread but little used by the Danes.

The islands of Falskria, Langland, and Mona, all afford corn sufficient for the consumption of the natives. Jutland abounds in cattle, and is not deficient in corn. The horses and hogs of the country are excellent. The duchy of Sleswick is so abundant in corn, cattle, and horses, that the inhabitants dispose of a considerable quantity of horses to their neighbours. Holstein likewise is a pleasant fruitful country. Oldenburg abounds in a breed of horses, much esteemed for their beautiful cream colour. In a word, the dominions of his Danish majesty afford the inhabitants most of the conveniencies of life, though they furnish but few articles of luxury or commerce.

Persons and dress of the Danes.

As to the persons of the Danes, they are in general tall, robust, and well made; their features and complexion good, and their hair of a flaxen, yellow, or red colour, in curling and adorning which they take infinite pains. Both men and women affect to imitate the French dress in the summer, though in winter, like the other northern nations, they wrap themselves up in furs and wool, keeping themselves always neat in their linen, shifting often, and affecting a genteel appearance.

Manner of living.

The vulgar live chiefly on rye bread, salt-fish, stock-fish, roots, and bad cheese; but the tables of persons of condition are plentifully covered with a variety of dishes. Gluttony and drunkenness are, indeed, the vices to which a Dane is most addicted. The coldness of the climate

mate first introduced the drinking of strong spirits, and custom has carried it to excess. The men are fond of strong liquors, and the women do not refuse them. A friend, whether male or female, no sooner enters a house than brandy is presented; and the same cordial goes liberally round at table. The women, indeed, retire soon after dinner, but the men generally sit till they are completely intoxicated.

It is a general observation, that Denmark has produced but few great geniuses either in the arts or sciences; that they neither excel in imitation nor invention; are neither good mechanics, nor deeply skilled in speculative learning; yet prodigies in every species of knowledge have appeared in Denmark. It has produced one remarkable astronomer, more than one profound critic, and several very valuable historians, however low the taste for polite learning may have sunk at present. It is true the vulgar in general read and write; the clergy usually talk impure Latin, and the gentry cannot be called illiterate; but this mediocrity is the summit of their ambition ^g.

The character of the people exactly tallies with their erudition; they are no more emulous of excelling in virtue than in knowledge. Moleworth observes, that the common people are a poor mean-spirited dastardly race, totally degenerated from the warlike disposition of their ancestors; equally addicted to fraud themselves, and suspicious of it in others. Puffendorf says of the nobility and gentry, "that they have lost much of their ancient glory; at present they seek rather to enjoy their revenues in ease and luxury than to toil for military fame ^h"; and it is even the interest of the court that the nobility should neglect the exercise of arms, which once rendered them so formidable to their kings, and the nation so respected by all her neighbours. If once their military spirit was roused, it would probably be attended with efforts for the recovery of their liberties.

Before the government was made hereditary, and absolute in the present royal family, in the year 1660, the nobility or gentry lived in great splendor and affluence. Their country-seats were magnificent, and their hospitality unbounded: they spent most of their time and revenues among their neighbours and tenants, by whom they were considered as so many princes. When the states were annually convened, they met their sovereign with retinues as numerous

^g Moleworth, cap. vii.
iv, p. 180.

^h Puffendorf, Hist. Univ. tom.

*The policy
of the court
in the dis-
posal of
offices.*

and brilliant as his own; they frequently eat at the same table with him; their suffrages were of the greatest weight in all public debates; for the commons were generally directed by them, because upon them was their dependence. Now they are fallen from that height of insolence and power, their condition is low, and they diminish daily in number and credit¹. They retreat into some obscure corner, as if to conceal the disgrace they have brought upon themselves by the want of firmness in the defence of their privileges. They are all ambitious of procuring employments, civil or military, at court; these indeed being necessary to secure to their families a competent subsistence, and screen their estates from the exorbitant exactions of the public collectors. Few of them, however, can expect to be provided for in this manner, as civil employments are neither numerous nor valuable, and as strangers are generally chosen into public offices in preference to the natives; the court trusting more to the fidelity of foreigners, on whom it bestows fortunes, than to the posterity of those whose fortunes and liberties it has ruined. It is farther remarkable, that in the disposal of posts and offices, such as are of ordinary birth and fortunes are always preferred to the more ancient and wealthy nobility. Here the most laborative and honourable posts are filled by men of the lowest station and education; not that they have ascended to them by dint of merit, but that they are found the best executors of the will of absolute power and despotism. Another advantage which the court finds in the promotion of such persons, is, that if they have grown wealthy by extortion, and clamours are raised loud against them, they can easily be reduced to their primitive condition, and the revenue increased by their confiscation, without creating discontents among the nobility, on account of kindred, alliance, or friendship. Thus, in some respects, the policy of the court of Denmark resembles the arbitrary measures of the Porte; they both permit their officers to oppress the people, in order to fatten on the spoils of the nation, without incurring the odium of being the immediate instruments of the public misery².

Expences in equipages, retinues, and fine cloaths, amount no where to such a pitch of extravagance, in proportion to the income, as in Copenhagen³. Nothing can be more true than that parsimony is not only the cause, but the effect of riches; for, in general, the more wealth

¹ Lord Molesworth's Account of Denmark, chap. viii.

² Pufendorf, tom. iv. *ibid.* Molesworth, *ibid.*

³ *Id.* *ibid.*

man has, the more does he labour to acquire. But in Denmark the courtier never thinks of realizing his money; instead of buying estates, he remits his cash to the banks of Amsterdam and Hamburg. The gentleman spends in his pleasures the fortune which might become dangerous, by gaining him the reputation of riches. The merchant and burgher live upon credit, there being few of either worth one hundred thousand rixdollars. As to the peasant, he no sooner finds himself in possession of a rixdollar, than he squanders it upon brandy, to prevent his landlord's seizing upon it. In a word, oppression and arbitrary sway beget distrust and doubts about the security of property; doubts beget profusion, men chusing to squander on their pleasures what they apprehend may excite the rapaciousness of their superiors; and this profusion is the legitimate parent of that universal indolence, poverty, and despondence, which so strongly characterize the miserable inhabitants of Denmark. We speak of what the country was in the beginning of the last reign, in consequence of the nature of their government; for though the excellent disposition, and mild administration of Christiern VI. and Frederic V. alleviated the miseries of the people, they by no means altered the fundamental principles of the present constitution. Before their time, the trading towns and villages, Copenhagen excepted, were falling into ruin and decay; boroughs, which had lent their king considerable sums of money upon emergencies, were, in lord Molefworth's days, unable to raise a hundred rixdollars (B).

The peasants are as absolute slaves as the negroes of our colonies in the West Indies, with this difference, that they are worse fed. They and their posterity are unalterably fixed to the land in which they were born; the landholders estimating their wealth by their stock of boors. If an estate be sold, the peasants are likewise transferred with it, like wood, houses, and cattle.

The peasants sold with the lands.

The quartering and paying the king's troops is another grievance no less oppressive than the former, to which the miserable peasant is subject; and a third, is the obligation they are under of furnishing the king, the royal family,

The hardships they undergo from having the troops quartered upon them;

(B) This nobleman relates, that when he resided in Denmark the collectors of the poll-tax were forced to accept of old feather-beds, brass and pewter pans, and household furniture, instead of money, from the once

wealthy inhabitants of Kiog, though this little town supplied Christiern IV. with the sum of two hundred thousand rixdollars, upon a notice so short as twenty-four hours. Vide cap. viii.

and supplying the king and court with horses and waggon in their progress.

their attendants, baggage, and furniture, with horses and travelling waggons, whenever they undertake a progress to Jutland, or Holstein, or even through Zealand, to any of the royal country houses.

Before the fatal revolution in 1660, there was hardly a family in Denmark that was not in possession of a piece of plate, besides silver spoons, gold rings, and other conveniences and ornaments, of which they are still fond: at present there is nothing of value to be seen in the house of a peasant, all being sold to pay the king's taxes, and gratify the rapacious avarice of the collectors.

Another consequence deduced from their poverty, is the frequency of apoplexies and epileptic disorders, among the common people. "One, says he, shall hardly pass through a street in Copenhagen, without seeing one or two of those poor creatures groveling on the ground in a fit, and foaming at the mouth, with a circle of gazers and assistants about them." Whether these disorders be the genuine result of the causes he ascribes, and the nature of their diet, composed of lean salt meats, and stock-fish, we shall not presume to decide. There is one disease they call *slacht*, which may be deemed endemial, on account of its universality here among all degrees of people. Molesworth says, it is a kind of apoplexy, arising from discontent and trouble of mind; but how truly, the reader is left to judge.

Degrees of nobility in Denmark.

Formerly valour and wealth were the only titles to nobility, the nobles and gentry having no real distinction. No degrees of rank, or patents of honour, were dependent on the crown; of late years, however, to compensate the loss of solid privileges, the court confers a few imaginary honours, such as the dignities of count and baron, on the favourites of the king. These, instead of becoming more independent, are, in consequence of their empty titles, the real slaves and tools of the crown, and used accordingly as the instruments of legal oppression. One exclusive right indeed they enjoy; it is that of disposing of their estates contrary to the course of law, by will or testament, provided that such will be signed and approved by the king during the life of the testator.

There are besides two orders of knighthood in Denmark, that of the Elephant and Dane-broge, of which the first is the most honourable, and conferred only on persons of the highest distinction and merit. This order was instituted by Christiern I. at his son's wedding, the badge being an elephant with a castle on its back, set with diamonds, and hung on a watered sky-coloured ribband. As to the Dane-broge, it is the reward of inferior distinction; the badge being

being a white ribband with red edges, having a small cross of diamonds suspended to it, and an embroïdèred star on the breast of the coat, with this motto, "Pietate et Justitia."

The ancient form of government in Denmark was similar to that which the Goths and Vandals established in almost all countries where their arms were victorious. Till the people resigned their rights in the year 1660, the king of Denmark was elected by his subjects of all degrees, divided into different classes, called states. These being convened, were to chuse for their prince a man, whose person was unexceptionable, valiant, just, merciful, affable, prudent, a maintainer of the laws, a lover of the people, an encourager of merit, in a word, adorned with all the accomplishments and virtues necessary for the execution of so important a trust. Due regard for the royal line was always preserved, and the people thought themselves happy if they found in the late king's family virtues and abilities adequate to the great and weighty duty of a monarch. When they happened to be mistaken in their choice, and, instead of the patriot, the warrior, and the statesman, they had promoted a cruel, vicious, and profligate tyrant, they always assumed the right of deposing, banishing, and even putting to death their king; and this either by open trial before the states, or, if he was thought too powerful to be brought to public justice, by secret conspiracies. In his room they elected the next of kin, if he had merit, or the hero who had hazarded his life for the public, by undertaking the expulsion or the death of the tyrant.

Frequent conventions of the different states of the kingdom was a fundamental article of the Danish constitution. Here all matters relative to government were transacted, wholesome laws enacted, peace or war determined, marriages for the royal family projected, taxes imposed, promotions to the great offices made; in a word, every thing that concerned the legislative power. It was a principle of government, that no constant tribute should be paid, or any taxes levied on the people, but by the consent of all the states, and for the support of a necessary and just war, or payment of a marriage portion. The king's ordinary revenue arose from the crown-lands and demesnes, his herds and cattle, forests and servitudes. Thus he lived, like a subject, on the produce of his own estate, and not as now by the sweat of the peasant's brow.

As the legislative power was vested in the states, so the king was possessed of the executive: he was to see a due and impartial administration of justice; nay, often to preside in person;

Form of government.

person; sedulously to watch for the welfare of his people; to command their armies; to cherish industry, religion, arts, and science; to keep upon terms of friendship with the nobility, and to protect the commons from their insolence and power.

In this situation, with no other alteration than the encreasing power of the nobles, did the constitution remain until the revolution in 1660, which produced a change equally astonishing in itself and fatal to the liberties of the people.

Although the king of Denmark professes to square his conduct by the ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, yet these he takes the liberty of new modelling, or repealing, as he sees proper. He is the guardian of orphans, and assumes to himself the disposal of heirs and heiresses in marriage. As he is intitled to a third of the money arising upon the sale of lands, no estates can be sold without his permission, except of those who are raised to the dignity of counts or barons.

The king, in his council, determines all public affairs; deliberates on war and peace, alliances and treaties; and of taxes, fortifications, and trade, without any other assistance than that of the secretaries of state, who are esteemed, notwithstanding, rather as ministerial officers than counsellors of state. Of these great officers there are four, who direct business in their separate departments. The first is secretary for the affairs of Denmark; the second, for those of Norway; the third, for foreign affairs; and the fourth is secretary at war.

*Laws in
Denmark,
their
brevity.*

One felicity still remains to Denmark; it is the brevity and perspicuity of the laws, justice being no where obtained with less expence, or greater expedition. The whole body of Danish laws is contained in a moderately sized quarto volume, written in the vernacular tongue, and so plainly, simply, and intelligibly, as scarce ever to require a comment. As they are grounded upon equity, rendered familiar to the meanest understanding, every man capable of reading, may soon become acquainted with his own case, and even able to plead it without the assistance of mercenary orators. Here is none of that chicane and mystery of the law which raises and destroys so many estates in other countries; a few advocates are sufficient to conduct the pleadings of all the litigious persons in the nation; and as their fees are small, and all suits necessarily determined within a year and a month after their commencement, they are seldom burthen some to the parties.

In

In criminal cases the severity of the law is extraordinary; and to this many writers have attributed the good order and strict discipline of the people. The crimes of murder, robbery, house-breaking, high-treason, or even seditious discourses, are seldom heard of: so fixed is the government now on the basis of despotism, that the most turbulent spirits are awed into implicit obedience. The most frequent crimes are manslaughter and thieving, and the punishment is decapitation (A).

The country of Denmark is divided into certain districts, *Stifts-ampts*, of which there are seven; four in Jutland and three in the islands. Every *stifts-ampt* is subdivided into a lesser jurisdiction, called *ampt*. A person of quality is generally chosen *stifts-amptsman*, a post equivalent to lord-lieutenant in England, or intendant in France, to which last it approaches the nearest. *Amptsman*, or under-governor of an *ampt*, is generally a person of inferior rank, who resides in the principal town of his district, and is entrusted with all matters relating to the public; the quartering of soldiers, providing for their march, collecting the king's taxes, directing the peasants employed in public works, or when the king travels: these employments are for life, and given as rewards to those who have faithfully served the court. Persons who have resided at foreign courts in quality of ambassadors, are usually preferred to *stifts-ampts* on their return, if their conduct has received the approbation of his majesty. The salary is a thousand crowns, and that of the *amptsman* four hundred; but the chief advantages arising from their posts, are the interest they in consequence have at court, by which they shift off the most grievous taxes from their estates; and the great power and authority which it gives them within their jurisdiction, where they are considered as petty princes*.

* Vide Moleworth's Account of Denmark, ubi supra.

(A) The executioner, or headsmen, as he is called, though infamous by his profession, compensates the want of reputation by solid profits, arising from other employments annexed to his office. His business it is to keep the finks and offices in order, remove all rubbish and every thing offensive out of the streets, keep stables and out-houses clean and sweet, with several other necessary employments, in which no Danish servant will, upon any consideration, engage (1). For this purpose he has under him a great number of servants called *rackers*, and as he charges his own price, soon raises a fortune superior to that of some of the chief nobility.

(1) Moleworth, chap. xv.

Revenue.

The king's revenue arises either from the duties paid by his own subjects, from the customs paid by foreigners, or from the crown-lands, fines, and confiscations. About the year 1690, a valuation was made of all the houses of the cities and towns within the king's dominions, and the lands in the country were measured, the more easily to assess them, and determine their real value. The ground-rent in towns and cities were fixed at four per cent. of the real value of the ground, supposing it were put up to sale.

In Norway the revenue arises from a certain proportion of the timber, tar, fish, and oil that is exported, and also certain duties upon these. To this may be added a small profit arising from mines; but the last and most considerable branch is drawn from the crown-lands and confiscations. However, the king frequently becomes the poorer for the addition to his demesnes by confiscations; for he no sooner becomes the proprietor than labour ceases, improvements are neglected, and the whole is often converted into forests for his diversion.

Upon the whole, the king's revenue is very considerable; and lord Molesworth has computed them as follows: the toll of the Sound, worth sixty-five thousand rixdollars per annum, the rest of the toll of Denmark farming at one hundred and sixty-five thousand rixdollars; the excise of Copenhagen, farmed at one hundred and forty thousand rixdollars; the excise of the rest of his majesty's dominions, at one hundred and forty thousand rixdollars; the smaller taxes of the kingdom, at one hundred thousand rixdollars; the whole revenue of Norway, at seven hundred thousand rixdollars; the crown-lands, confiscations, &c. at two hundred thousand rixdollars; the revenue of Iceland, farmed at twenty-seven thousand rixdollars; Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, at eight thousand; and the toll upon the Weser, at five thousand: the whole amounting to two millions six hundred and twenty-two thousand rixdollars, from which a deduction of four hundred thousand rixdollars ought to be made, as the pole and fortification-taxes were never levied in the same year (A).

It is allowed on all hands that specie is scarce in Denmark, few persons having any ready cash lying by them; and the traders, through whose hands it passes, having small capitals and large debts in Holland and Hamburg, no sooner receive money than they pay it away again. Another circumstance which greatly contributes to the draining

(A) A rixdollar is generally estimated at four shillings and six pence.

Denmark

Denmark of its specie, is the payment of the troops, as at least half the officers are foreigners, who place whatever they accumulate in foreign banks; a practice too frequent among the officers of state likewise. Formerly the balance of trade against Denmark used to carry off large sums; for it was estimated that foreign imports for the consumption of the country exceeded the exported produce by near a fifth^b: but how they were for such a number of years able to support so losing a trade, is what we are unable to comprehend. At present we believe the balance is in favour of the Danes, with respect to most countries where they trade, labour being incredibly cheap. The most plentiful coin, even now, is copper. If a man has a large sum to receive, he is forced to employ wheel-barrows to carry it off; and merchants, in their accounts, charge a certain sum for that purpose.

It is computed, that Denmark and the German dominions maintain an army of sixteen thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two thousand dragoons, in profound peace; that Norway supports thirteen thousand foot, and near three thousand horse and dragoons, together with three thousand seamen, who are employed in the king's dock-yards, when they are not wanted for the equipment of a squadron. From comparing this proportion of troops with the revenue, we may easily conclude how small their soldiers pay must be; but the less the treasury is drained by the payment of the troops, the more does the poor peasant suffer upon whom he is quartered. All the navy officers are in constant pay in peace as well as in war; whence it is, that the king of Denmark is able to equip a fleet of thirty sail of men of war upon almost the shortest notice. Thus we see that an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, and three thousand seamen, the charges of the civil list, the maintenance of the courts, king's children, public ministers, officers of justice, &c. are supported upon a revenue not greater than the civil list of Great Britain; whence we may judge of the œconomy of the government, the scarcity of specie, and the cheapness of provisions in Denmark.

Pay of the troops.

The Danes were pagans till the year 826, when St. Auggarius, bishop of Hamburg and Bremen, first introduced Christianity in the reign of Harold Clackius, the first Christian Danish monarch^c. About the year 1537 the doctrine of Luther was first propagated in this northern kingdom by Bugenhage, a Pomeranian divine, who met with a

Religion, marriages &c.

^b Molesworth, chap. xv.

^c Svaning. Chron. Dan. p.

63. Meursii Hist. & Pontan. sub hoc regno.

strong

strong patron in Frederic I. Since protestantism was established, no other religion has ever been admitted into the kingdom, or, indeed, permitted in it, till of late years. Perhaps no catholic country in Europe requires a stricter conformity than Denmark, people being prohibited to talk with freedom on the points in dispute, or to absent themselves from the churches upon any pretence. The clergy are the tools of the government, their doctrine being a blind and implicit obedience to superiors; in return for which they are protected by the court. They are highly respected by the people, because they see them regarded by the administration. They intermeddle in no civil affairs, nor are they retained at court, or the houses of the nobility, in quality of chaplains; this office being always performed by a lacquey.

In the pulpit the clergy assume the authority of the ministers of Christ, and reprove with great freedom sinners of quality who have practised public vices; nor are any liberties consistent with the duties of their function taken amiss, provided they never intermeddle with politics. The common people adore them for the spirit with which they reprehend their superiors; for nothing is so grateful to mankind, as to see those raised by fortune above them brought down to their own level. Their benevolences to the clergy are in proportion to the degree of satisfaction they receive in this respect; whence it is, that a minister of courage can raise his stipend to double the value. Another circumstance that greatly contributes to keep up the authority of the clergy, is their retaining confession, without which, persons of the highest quality are denied the sacrament.

The Danes have constituted superintendants in the room of bishops and archbishops, who are deprived of the authority as well as the name of right worshipful; however, they take it kindly to be addressed by those titles, after which they have a hankering. Within the Danish dominions are ten of those superintendants, viz. one in Zealand, one in Funen, four in Jutland, and four in Norway. They have no temporalities, hold no ecclesiastical courts, have no cathedrals with deans and chapters, but are chiefly employed in animadverting on the doctrines and manners of the clergy and people. The superintendant of Copenhagen has a kind of superior authority, and a stipend proportionable, which is fixed at two thousand rixdollars yearly. Each of the other Danish superintendants have fifteen hundred, and those of Norway one thousand rixdollars a year. They preach without book, and use abundance of action.

They

They observe holidays with the same rigid devotion as Sunday, the gates of Copenhagen being shut during divine service, and the people very constant in their attendance; but the service being ended, they relax their spirits with all kinds of pastimes and diversions.

As to the marriage ceremonies in Denmark, they differ but little from our own. What chiefly deserves notice is, that the parties are often contracted for years before marriage is solemnized in church, and as intimate before as after the ceremony. It is sufficient that it be performed before the woman brings forth her first child; this is no offence in the eye of the people, nor is it animadverted upon by the clergy. The espousals, however, are extremely solemn before friends; and the parties are then, and not before, deprived of the liberty of marrying elsewhere: yet we are told by some writers, that the first contract is valid in law, the marriage ceremony being esteemed only a public declaration of their engagements.

The Danes bury their dead with the utmost funeral pomp; and it is not uncommon to keep a corpse for years, in order to make preparations for the most magnificent interment. The poor, indeed, have their remains laid in the ground with less ceremony; though, even among them, it is usual to have a band of hired mourners, employed by the parish to attend the body to the grave^d.

S E C T. II.

Containing the History of the Danish Monarchs to the sixteenth Year of the Christian Æra.

D A N.

ALMOST all historians agree, that Dan, the son of Humble, a native of Zealand, was the founder and first king of the country called Denmark, from his name. His possessions and influence were very considerable, not only in Zealand, but in the islands of Langland and Mona; it was his courage, however, and skill in the art war, that raised him to the crown of Denmark, and induced the inhabitants to chuse him for their king. He governed Zealand for his aged father, when the Saxons made an irruption into Jutland. The people, in despair, implored his assistance, promising him the sovereignty of the country, if he drove out the enemy. Dan, fired with ambition, immediately raised an

A.C. 1038.

^d Moleworth, chap. xv.

army,

army, marched against the Saxons, obtained a complete victory, and reaped the promised reward. Soon after this event his father died, leaving him sovereign of Jutland, Zealand, Langland, and Mona, about the year 1038 before the birth of Christ * (A). To strengthen his interest, and secure his possessions, he determined upon a strict alliance with the Saxons; and for this purpose married Gritha, a lady of great consideration among them, by whom he had two sons. After a reign of forty years, with the utmost justice and reputation, he died greatly lamented by his subjects.

H U M B L E.

A. C. 998. THIS excellent prince was succeeded by his eldest son Humble, who was elected by the unanimous voice of the people (B). His reign was short, according to some historians †, and all agree that it was unfortunate; for he was deposed by his brother, and reduced to a private station, seven years after he had been raised to the throne.

L O T H E R.

LOTHER now usurped the crown of his unfortunate brother, who supported his misfortunes with a constancy and magnanimity which declared him worthy of a better fate. The usurper governed the Danes with the utmost rigour and severity; he banished, or put to death all the

* Suaning. Ripen. Chron. Dan. p. 25. Pontan. Hist. Dan. p. 12. Saxo Gram. Hist. Dan. p. 5. Meukii Hist. Dan. p. 1. Suaning. p. 26.

(A) Some writers deny that the kingdom of Denmark is so ancient as Grammaticus and the other authors we quote in the margin assert. Gaffar in particular affirms, that Dan lived only four hundred and ninety years before Christ; but we must either suppose, that the reigns of the Danish princes were uncommonly short, or that their historians have given lives of several kings who never existed; but Gaffar does not take it upon him to assert the latter; and the absurdity of the former suppo-

sition is too evident to require any refutation. Indeed, the regular and clear genealogy and chronology of those princes put it beyond all doubt, that Denmark is one of the most ancient monarchies in Europe.

(B) We are told by Saxo Grammaticus, and the most ancient Danish historians, that the electors stood upon long stones which they raised upon one end on the ground, and by their stability, prognosticated the felicity of the future reign (†).

(†) Gram. p. 14

nobility whose power rendered them dangerous, or whose wealth excited his avarice. Suspicion, lust, and cruelty, rendered him at length intolerable to a people, whose spirit was not yet extinguished by oppression. They revolted, and Lothar lost his life on account of those very vices by which he obtained his crown.

S K I O L D O.

By the votes of the people, his son Skioldo, then a boy, A. C. 966. was appointed to succeed Lothar. The sweetness of his disposition, his bodily strength, and his courage, distinguished even at that age, had determined the states not to punish the son for the crimes of the father; and the virtues which Skioldo displayed in the course of a long and prosperous reign, amply justified their choice (C). An extraordinary instance of his strength and intrepidity happened at the age of fifteen: at the chase, he seized upon a wild boar, of a monstrous size, and held the furious beast with his girdle until he was assisted by his companions; a specimen of his valour that rendered him more dear to his subjects, by whom he was already beloved. Soon after his reputation received additional lustre by his engaging in single combat with the two most celebrated wrestlers and boxers of those times, whom he defeated. He married Avilda, a Saxon lady, who had refused the addresses of her own sovereign. This match drew upon him a war with the Saxons, which terminated in the death of their prince, and the reduction of the country by Skioldo. However, his lenity was no less conspicuous than his courage; he permitted the conquered Saxons to chuse another king, contenting himself with a moderate tribute to reimburse his people for the expences of the war. He afterwards applied his mind to the arts of peace; he rewarded virtue, punished vice, and encouraged industry. It was his constant saying, "That the true grandeur of a prince consists rather in making his subjects happy, than in oppressing his neighbours, with a view to extend his sovereignty." He was the patron of the poor, the protector of the injured, and the succour of the distressed. In a word,

^a Saxo-Gram. p. 1. Pontan.

^b Gram. p. 2.

(C) Jo. Svaningius, in his Chronology of the Danish kings, places Baghio, the son of Humble, before Skioldo; but we find his conjecture confirmed by the authority of no Danish historian (1).

(1) Saxo-Gram. p. 26.

Mod. Vol. XXVIII.

B b

his

his virtues were so extraordinary, and his people so sensible of the blessings they enjoyed during his long reign, that all good kings were, for a series of ages, surnamed after him. Sinking at last under old age and infirmity, the nobles proposed that he should raise his son Gram to a partnership with him in the throne, in order to ease him of the weight of government, and instruct the young prince in the art of reigning. This proposition was vehemently opposed by Ringo, a nobleman of the first distinction in Zealand, who was ambitious of fixing the crown upon his own head. Skioldo immediately raised some troops, attacked the rebel, defeated and killed him, and after having firmly established his son on the throne, expired, universally beloved and lamented. To this day the place where his palace stood is called Skioldeneffa¹.

G R A M.

A. C. 888. GRAM inherited the virtues as well as the crown of his father. His whole reign was a series of victories and conquests, arising less from his ambition than the turbulence of his neighbours. Siétrug, king of Sweden, taking advantage of the youth of Gram, made an irruption into Jutland with a powerful army; but he was attacked and slain by the young monarch of Denmark, who soon after annexed Sweden to his own crown. Gram discovering that Swarim, viceroy of Gothland, was conspiring against his life, in order to raise himself to the throne of Sweden, challenged him to single combat, and slew him. Scarce had he achieved this gallant action, when honour called him to Norway, to revenge the disgrace of his sister, ravished by Suibdager, who had deposed her husband, and usurped the crown of Norway. After a course of victories gained over the Norwegians, at length he fell by the hand of Suibdager, and died with the reputation of a great prince, whose character was soiled with no other blemish than inconstancy and infidelity to his wives. He left behind him two sons, Guthorm, by Groa, his first wife; and Hadding, by Signe, his second, after the former had been repudiated.

S U I B D A G E R.

A. C. 856. SUIBDAGER, pursuing his victory, untitled the crown of Denmark and Sweden to that of Norway, to neither of which he had any natural right. Moved by the prayers of Groa, the divorced wife of Gram; he replaced Guthorm on the throne of his father, on condition that Denmark

¹ Pontan. Meurs. & Saxo-Gram. ubi supra.]

should

should be tributary to him; he gave Sweden to his own son Asmond, reserving only Norway to himself; after which partition he was defeated and slain by Hadding, the second son of Gram, in a sea-fight off the coast of Sweden.

G U T H O R M.

GUTHORM enjoyed the crown of Denmark but a short time: he found himself despised by the nobility, and hated by the common people, for stooping to hold a tributary crown. His father's virtues rose in their memory; they upbraided the son with them; a reproach that sunk so deeply into his mind, that he fell sick and died of grief, being succeeded by the brave Hadding, the avenger of his father's death, and conqueror of the usurper Suibdager.

H A D D I N G.

NUMBERLESS are the exploits related of this hero, A. C. 816. which favour so much of fiction, that we will not venture to give them a place in our history. During his exile he traversed almost all the northern kingdoms, attended by Harpinga, a Danish lady, who supported all the fatigues and hardships they underwent with a more than masculine constancy and intrepidity. She shared all his misfortunes, conquered by his side, alleviated his distresses, applied balsam to his wounds, and was at length the companion of his prosperity, after having surmounted incredible difficulties. He was no sooner placed on the throne of Denmark than Asmond, king of Sweden, thirsting to revenge his father's death, attacked him with a numerous army; but he was so well supported by his faithful subjects, that he slew with his own hand in battle Henry, prince of Sweden, and afterwards the king his father, whose body he pierced with his lance. In this engagement Hadding received a wound in his foot, of which he was lame all his life after. Returning from this war, he found the treasury robbed in his absence, and immediately ordered Glamér, to whom he had committed the charge of his money and jewels, to be hanged upon a gibbet; an example that struck such terror into his accomplices, that they replaced their share of the spoils.

While Hadding was busied in framing laws and establishing good order and tranquillity in his kingdom, he was suddenly attacked by Uffon, the second son of Asmond, who after his father's death had succeeded to the throne of Sweden. Uffon, aware of the valour and power of Hadding, would not venture upon an open war; but collecting a great fleet and army, he made a descent upon the coasts

of Denmark, set fire to the towns, carried off the inhabitants, and after having laid a great part of the country waste, retreated to his own kingdom, whither he was closely pursued by the Dane. What he wanted in courage Uffon fully supplied in cunning; he declined battle, and so harassed Hadding with marches and countermarches, cutting off his provisions, laying waste the countries through which he must pass, and attacking his out-parties, that, reduced to the last extremity, he determined to hazard all to come to an engagement. As the Danes were by this time worn out with fatigue, and weakened by famine, the Swedes found it no difficult matter to resist their most strenuous efforts; upon which Hadding retired with prodigious loss, first to Helsingia, a northern province of Sweden, and from thence to Norway, where he applied to Hacquin the king for assistance. While the reinforcement was levying, he fell in love with Hacquin's daughter, who was married to a deformed nobleman of Norway, whom he challenged to fight. After having slain the husband, he obtained the daughter in marriage, with the consent of her father, herself making no scruple about espousing a king, though the murderer of her husband. The auxiliaries being ready to march, Hadding a second time led his army into Sweden, an invasion which so terrified Uffon, that he determined to effect by assassins, what he had not the courage to attempt by a fair and open war. Promising his daughter, with a large portion, to whoever would bring him the king of Denmark's head, Thumming, a nobleman of Sweden, undertook the inglorious enterprize; but finding all his attempts frustrated, he had recourse to the Biarmis, a people at that time inhabiting the remoter parts of Finland. Still he was unsuccessful; but that nothing might be wanting to gain so noble a prize as the king's daughter, he applied himself to magic: here likewise all his arts were foiled by an old magician in Hadding's camp, who countermined all his plots and contrivances. At last, mad with despair, he made an assault upon the Danish camp, and was repulsed with great loss. Hadding pursuing his victory, resolved to put an end to the war, by besieging Uffon in Upsal, then the capital of Sweden. Uffon, to ward off the impending blow, sent ambassadors to the Dane, with terms of accommodation, and gave some of his nobility as hostages: upon which Hadding, who suspected no treachery, entered Upsal, and was splendidly entertained. The house was filled with assassins, who were ready to execute the treacherous design on a signal given, before which they were fortunately discovered by

by some of Hadding's guard, and immediately put to death. To revenge the perfidy, Hadding pursued the war against Uffon, attacked, defeated, and killed him in the field; but with a generosity becoming a conqueror, gave the kingdom to Hunding, Uffon's brother, and buried the royal corpse with funeral honours, which the villainous treachery of his life little merited. After numberless exploits performed in Jutland, Courland, Saxony, and Britain, he laid violent hands on himself, probably in disgust at the unnatural conduct of his favourite daughter Uvilda, who had made repeated attempts upon her father's life. Thus he fulfilled a prophecy well known among the Danes, Swedes, and Saxons, "That Hadding would escape all the snares of his enemies, and the treachery of his own blood, only to lay violent hands on himself" (A)."

F R O T H O I.

HADDING left two children by Ragnilda, a daughter of Hugh, king of Russia. Frotho, the son, succeeded to the crown of Denmark, and Suanhuida, the daughter, to the sovereignty of Sweden. Frotho, from his excellent qualities, was surnamed Giffmild, or Generous, inheriting all the virtues of his father with his throne. On his accession he found the treasury so exhausted that he was unable to advance the soldiers their arrears; to remedy this evil, without laying fresh taxes upon the people, he attacked a dragon, as tradition reports, or rather Draco, a famous pirate, who had laid up prodigious wealth in remote caves, which he defended by a strong body of desperate ruffians. Draco was slain, and all his treasures fell into the hands of the conqueror, who was enabled thereby to enter upon the mighty designs which he had formed in his mind. In a word, he conquered Britain, Scotland (for at that time the country south of the Tweed went by the name of Britain), Sleswick, Russia, Pomerania, Holstein, and other countries. He seized upon London, the capital of Britain, by

* Saxo-Grammat. p. 10—20. Pontan. Hist. p. 15. Menf. Hist. p. 4, 5, 6. Suaning. Chron. Dan. p. 29, 30.

(A) We find in some historians, that Hadding, after his return from Britain, hanged himself in presence of his whole court. It was reported that he died in that island, and Hunding, king of Sweden, celebrating his funeral rites, was drowned in a caldron of wort. Hadding's death is attributed to his grief for this misfortune (1).

(1) Suaning. p. 30.

B b 3

an ingenious stratagem; for causing it to be rumoured that he died in the camp, leave was asked of the British governor to bury the royal corpse in a certain temple in the city, and a treaty concluded for this purpose. The governor suspecting no treachery, admitted a corpse, attended by a numerous procession of supposed mourners, who had concealed arms under their cloaths. Others dropped in afterwards; and when Frotho thought his strength sufficient, the signal was made for his men to fall upon the Britons, which they obeyed with incredible fury, slaying all before them till they got possession of the city, in spite of the desperate defence of the inhabitants. Returning thence to Denmark, he entered upon a fresh war with the king of Sweden, who had married his sister, and perished in battle, not by the hands of the enemy, but oppressed and borne down by the weight of his own armour, leaving behind him three sons, Haldan, Roe, and Scal, and the reputation of a great warrior¹.

H A L D A N.

A. C. 685. HALDAN, the eldest, an ambitious, cruel, and unnatural prince, succeeded to his father's crown, which he endeavoured to render secure by the death of his two brothers, in a manner equally brutal and insidious. It is indeed supposed by historians, that they both aspired to the throne; the only circumstance that can at all palliate the king's cruelty, who, not contented with polluting his hands with the blood of his brethren, steeped them in that of his most faithful subjects of all ranks; notwithstanding which barbarity he lived to an old age, the dread and detestation of his people. He left behind him two sons, Roe and Helgo, the successors of his throne, but not of his vices.

R O E and H E L G O.

BY right of seniority, as well as by the voice of the people, Roe might have reigned alone; but he absolutely refused the crown upon any other conditions than that of sharing his power with Helgo: an uncommon instance of affection, founded upon kindred and affinity. Roe was of a stature contemptibly small and mean; but this external defect be more than compensated by the greatness of his soul, his courage, generosity, and other manly virtues. He was a strict observer of justice, and the first prince who reduced the customs of the people, founded upon long tradition, to a written system of laws. Before his time, his-

¹ Pontan. par. xvi. lib. i. Meurs. Hist. lib. i. p. 8. Saxo-Græm. lib. ii. p. 20. Svaning. Chron. Interval. lib. iii. p. 31.

torians relate, that custom was the only rule of action. Murder, robbery, and theft, were punished, not as infractions of the law, but of the natural rights of mankind; Roe was the first who specified the punishments consequent on certain crimes, and reduced the law, imprinted by nature on the human mind, to a more fixed and definite meaning and system. He was the founder of the city Roschild, which exists to this day; and while he was busied in civilizing his subjects, framing certain rules for government, and decorating the country with public buildings, his attention was diverted from the arts of peace, which he cultivated so diligently, to engage in a war with the king of Sweden. Frotho I. had given that kingdom in trust to Reigerer, the late king, who constantly paid the promised tribute; but he dying, and his son Hotbrod succeeding to the throne, the young monarch was ambitious of throwing off the yoke, and holding his crown independent of Denmark. With this view he refused to pay the usual homage and tribute, a refusal which gave birth to the present war, that ended with the life of Roe, who fell in battle, bewailed by his subjects, but most by Helgo, his brother and successor ^m.

H E L G O.

HELGO was a prince more addicted to war than his excellent brother. While he shared the throne with Roe, he greatly enlarged the Danish dominions by the conquest of a number of northern states; and now the first act of his prowess, since his reigning alone, was engaging in single combat with Hunding, prince of Saxony. Him he slew in the field, and of consequence annexed Saxony to his own dominions, as had been previously agreed. Returning thence to Jutland, he drove out a body of Saxons who had taken possession in his absence. He afterwards engaged the king of the Vandals by sea, and coming off victorious, he stopped for refreshment at a little island in the Baltic, where he became enamoured of a girl of mean station, by whom he had a daughter, that afterwards became the mother of Rolfo, who succeeded his father in the throne; an abominable incest, which obscures all the former glory of his reign.

Scarce had Helgo finished the Vandal war, when resolving to avenge his brother's death, he marched against Hotbrod of Sweden, whom he slew in the field of battle, reducing the whole kingdom to obedience. The more fully to satiate his revenge, he established a cruel law, by which a Dane might,

A. C. 595.

^m Pontanus, lib. i. p. 17. Saxo-Grammat. lib. ii. p. 17.

on any provocation, put a Swede to death with impunity, Placing the crown on the head of Atisla, son of Hotbrod, who had engaged to pay the tribute which was discontinued by his father, he returned to Denmark, and, either from a disgust to public affairs, or, as other writers more probably suggest, from recollecting the horrid impiety he committed in debauching his own daughter, he laid violent hands upon himself. He was, indeed, a prince in whom the noblest virtues and grossest crimes were blended: his military ability, and attachment to his brother would have rendered his fame immortal, had not those virtues been more than balanced by his unnatural lust, and shocking cruelty *.

R O L F O.

A.C. 566.

THE virtues of Rolfo soon obliterated the memory of his disgraceful birth. The graces of his person equalled those of his mind, and his stature and strength were so extraordinary, that he was surnamed Rhrage, a Danish word, expressive of these qualities. His valour and martial spirit did not, however, interrupt the peaceable felicity of his subjects; for though he wished for an opportunity of signalizing his prowess, yet he suppressed his inclinations to war from just views of policy, and a fatherly regard to the interest of his people. He was at length drawn into a war with his own step-father, the king of Sweden, to punish his inhuman usage of the queen, who was mother to Rolfo. The king of Sweden was killed in battle, and Rolfo soon after perished by the treachery of a Danish nobleman, whom he had distinguished by numberless instances of his favour; among others, by marrying him to his sister. No prince had ever more strongly engaged the affections of his people than Rolfo, though ambition had pushed on his brother-in-law to this shocking parricide. His virtues were splendid: magnificence, generosity, and valour, were united in his person. Justice, clemency, and a strict regard to his promises, had set him far above all the former kings of Denmark, in reputation. In a word, historians are so full of his praises, that we might suspect them of painting with the pencil of fancy, if their portraits were not amply attested by facts superior to all expression °.

H O T H E R.

ROLFO dying without children, the states immediately assembled for the election of a new king, and chose in his room Hother, grandson by his daughter to Hadding, the

* Saeming. Chron. p. 33.

° Meurs. p. 16. Pontan. p. 19.

father

father of Frotho I. This young prince had been sent in his infancy to the king of Norway, and educated at the court of that monarch with the greatest care and indulgence. Upon notice of the death of Rolfo, he was advised to offer himself a candidate for the crown, by the Norwegian king, who promised to assist him with all his interest and force. While preparations were making to execute this plan, a messenger arrived from Denmark, acquainting him of his election by the states, upon which he immediately set out from that kingdom. In gratitude to the king of Norway, he espoused his daughter, whom he raised to the throne of Denmark. By this marriage he involved himself in a war with Balder, a northern prince, who had paid his addresses to the princess before Hother had made any proposals to her. Several furious battles were fought between the rivals, when at length Balder was defeated and slain in a sea-fight, which gave name to that strait called to this day Balderfqund. This glorious victory brought on the death of Hother; for Balder's father, resolving to avenge his son, summoned all his nobles, and, in a pathetic speech, recommended it to their care to wipe off their late disgrace, by some signal exertion of their courage. Upon which Boo, his son-in-law, undertook to finish the quarrel with Hother, and accordingly challenged him to single combat. The king of Denmark accepting his proposals, called his council, and, as if he had some foreboding of his fate, he pressed the states to settle the succession on his son Rorick: he then told them, that the event of war was doubtful, but the civil divisions which would happen in his kingdom certain, should it please the gods to deprive him of life before the succession was settled. Were his kingdom once secured against the calamities he foresaw, then would he cheerfully devote his life to glory, and the good of Denmark. The king's speech had such an effect, that Rorick was unanimously elected heir-apparent to the throne, though then but a child; after which establishment Hother went to meet his antagonist, by whose hands he fell (A).

Notwith-

(A) It merits observation, that some antiquarians suppose Dan, the founder of the Danish monarchy, reigned about the time that Saxo-Grammaticus, Meursius and Pontanus place Hother, the fourteenth king, that is the year before Christ 490. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that the period allotted by these historians for a king's reign, is as much too long, as that assigned by Gassiar and others is too short. This prince is entirely omitted by Saxo-Grammaticus, Meursius, and Pontanus; but we have ventured to insert him upon the authority

Notwithstanding Rorick was appointed by the people to succeed to his father, the victorious Boo found means to set aside his election, and fix himself on the throne; but how long he reigned, whether he died a natural death, or was deposed, history is silent; and, indeed, some of the most accurate Danish historians omit him entirely in the catalogue of their kings °.

Meursius and Saxo-Grammaticus alone affirm, that he never mounted the throne P. We shall, therefore, continue the series of princes from Hother to his son, without interruption, as the point is disputed, and at this distance of time cannot possibly be determined with certainty.

RORICK SLYNGIBOND I.

A. D. 483.

BEFORE Rorick, or, as some writers call him, Roderick Slingibond, had fully attained the years of maturity, he found it necessary to head his own armies, and oppose a formidable league which threatened destruction to Denmark. The young monarch used the utmost diligence in levying forces and equipping a fleet, and his endeavours were seconded by the affections of his subjects, who neglected nothing which might contribute to the glory of their king, on which rested their own security. It had been stipulated in a treaty offensive and defensive, between the Swedes, Courlanders, and some other northern powers tributary to Denmark, that they should unanimously throw off their submission to this crown, refuse all tribute and homage, and defend each other with all their forces, in order to reduce the pride and power of Denmark. This resolution was taken with spirit, but soon broke through by the superior fortune and valour of the Danes, who, headed by their king, defeated the allies by sea and land, forcing them to pay heavier tribute than before. Soon afterwards the victorious Rorick fell by accident into the sea, and was drowned, leaving behind him the reputation of a just and warlike prince, emulous of nothing so much as the affections of his people, and national honour. Other writers allege, that the cause of his death, as well as the

° J. Suening. Chron. Dan. ibid. Pontan. 18.
Gram. lib. iii. p. 46. Meurs. lib. i. p. 10.

P Saxo-

authority of the accurate Sueningius, and the learned Lyfchander, who makes him the sixteenth king from Dan, the founder of the Danish monarchy (1).

(1) Vide Suening. Chron. Dan. Lyfch. Gen. Dan. sub vocib.

duration

duration of his reign are very doubtful; but all agree in giving him the highest character (A). One circumstance, however, seems to prove, that his reign was not so short as Grammaticus alleges, for he left a son who succeeded to his throne, and a daughter whom he married to Harwendil, prince of Jutland; yet they say he engaged in the Swedish war when he was scarce of age, and died soon after it was finished: consequently this war must have been of long duration, or Rorick must have survived it for a great number of years, as the reader will find by consulting the last note.

V I G L E T.

VIGLET, son to the preceding king, did not succeed to the throne without a bloody competition, in which he slew his rival Hamlet of Jutland. This was the only act of valour he performed in the course of a long life. His whole reign was more indolent and pacific than that of any of his predecessors. The mildness of his disposition drew on him the contempt of the warlike Danes; yet nothing

(A) At this time Harwendil and Feggo, or Fogo, two brothers, reigned in Jutland, and paid homage and tribute to the crown of Denmark. The former had married, says Meurfius, the daughter of Rorick, by which means he succeeded to his crown, soon after which he was treacherously murdered by his brother Feggo. Hamlet, his son, suspecting that his uncle's ambition occasioned his father's death, feigned madness, the better to conceal his purpose of revenging his father's murder, in which he at length succeeded, having stabbed Feggo with his own hand at a public festival, while he was surrounded by all his nobility. Many of the circumstances related by Saxo-Grammaticus, are exactly copied by Shakspeare, in the tragedy called Hamlet. The event, however, is different;

for, according to the historian, Hamlet enjoyed his uncle's crown for a great number of years, and died with the reputation of one of the best princes that had ever filled the throne. However, all the best critics are of opinion that neither Harwendil, Feggo, or Hamlet, ever reigned in Denmark, affirming that Rorick was immediately succeeded by Viglet, who killed Hamlet, prince of Jutland, in battle, as he was endeavouring by force to succeed to the crown of his grandfather Rorick. Pontanus and Suaningius positively affirm, that neither of these Jutland princes ever mounted the Danish throne, though they admit the truth of all the other circumstances related by Meurfius: indeed, Saxo-Grammaticus himself does not place them among the Danish monarchs (1).

(1) Vide Suan. p. 37. Pont. lib. i. p. 20.

could alter his resolution to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom. After a reign of forty-eight years he died, and was succeeded by

G U I T L A C H,

WHOM some writers call his son¹; though others are of opinion he succeeded in prejudice to the right of Vermund, the avowed son of Viglet. We find nothing recorded of this prince, but that he reigned thirty-two years, leaving the throne vacant, and to be filled by the states, who assembled during his last illness to appoint a successor².

V E R M U N D.

A. C. 351.

The extraordinary history of Ulfon the king's son.

VERMUND, the son of Viglet, next succeeded, who was no less remarkable than his father, for a mild, pacific, indolent disposition; but there were not wanting the seeds of courage, though circumstances never so fell out as to afford him an opportunity of displaying the valour of his ancestors. After a long reign he at length became the joyful father of a son, who, to appearances however, promised him no great felicity as he grew up. He arrived at the age of manhood before he was ever heard to utter a syllable; and many of his actions bespoke a weak intellect, bordering upon idiotism. The old king was greatly affected, and, to add to his misfortunes, afflicted with loss of sight, in consequence of old age, and a malady that had seized him some years before. Under these circumstances the aged and venerable Vermund was insulted by the prince of Saxony, who offered himself a candidate for a throne, which he said ought never to be filled by a blind dotard, or a natural fool; for this was the purport of an insolent harrangue, pronounced by his ambassador at a full diet of the states of Denmark. Vermund, stung with reproach, forgetful of his old age and blindness, and eager to vindicate his dignity, replied, "That the reproach thrown upon him was truly worthy of a Saxon; that a man of spirit would contend for the honour of defending a prince, sunk under age and infirmity, instead of endeavouring to aggravate his misfortunes by despoiling him of his just rights; and, finally, that notwithstanding blindness and decrepitude, he doubted not but the gods would give him still strength sufficient to repel all the attempts of so vain-glorious a boaster, in consequence of which hope he was willing to rest the fate of his crown up-

¹ Meurs. *ibid.*
Danic. Antiquit. p. 15.

² Lyschander *Gen. Dan.* p. 28. Pont.

on the issue of a single combat between them." Astonished at the courage of the old prince, the Saxon ambassador, declined the challenge, saying, "It was unworthy of his master to contend with a blind man, who had a son able to support his quarrel." The states were silent at this reply, when Uffon, prince of Denmark, rising from his seat, told the ambassador, that the king had a son, and Denmark a prince, able and willing to defend their rights and the honour of the nation. "Tell your insolent master, says he, that Uffon, whom he supposes unworthy of succeeding to the crown, will not only accept of his challenge, but fight singly against him and any other Saxon he will make choice of." Surprised at this intrepid reply from a prince who had never spoke before, or ever given the slightest proofs of spirit or understanding, the states joyfully appointed the time and place for deciding the quarrel. They, however, represented to Uffon the rashness of engaging with two antagonists, each of them probably of equal strength with himself; but he was fixed in his resolution. Accordingly the parties met, and the old king ordered himself to be conducted to a precipice that hung over the sea, near the field of battle, resolving to put an end to his life, should his son be worsted, and the kingdom of Denmark disgraced. The combatants engaged with the utmost fury; Uffon, like the brave Horatius, on whom depended the fate of Rome, gradually retreated and defended himself, until he had separated the enemy, and exhausted their strength; then he attacked the weakest with such intrepidity and strength, that he soon laid him dead at his feet. Now the two princes fought hand to hand, and Uffon perceiving his own superiority, generously offered to grant the Saxon his life, if he would submit to pay him homage and tribute; which the other refusing, he laid him dead at one stroke, and was carried triumphant off the field on the shoulders of the Danish nobility, who were overjoyed to find valour, strength, and understanding, united in the person of a prince, they had till then beheld with pity and contempt. Vermund did not long survive this glorious achievement of his son; excess of joy put an end to his life, and Uffon was raised, by the unanimous voice of the people, to the dignity which he had so seasonably vindicated.

Uffon defeats the prince of Saxony.

* Gram. lib. iv.

OLAU S

O L A U S I.

A. C. 392. SOON after his accession he changed his name to that of Olaus, and was surnamed the Merciful, from the generous proposal he had made to the Saxon prince, as well as from his natural good disposition. His reign was an uninterrupted series of felicity to his subjects, and victories over his enemies; but history relates no particulars. He married a lady of noble birth in Sleswick, by whom he had a son, who was raised to the throne upon the death of Olaus^t.

D A N II.

THE young king was called Dan, the second monarch of that name who had swayed the Danish sceptre. No prince was ever more beloved during the first years of his reign. His military capacity had greatly enlarged his dominions, and the tribute paid by foreign princes augmented the power, wealth, and glory of the state; but, flushed with success, he became insolent, cruel, and prodigal of his wealth and fame, dying at an advanced age, as much detested for his vices as before he had been esteemed for his virtue^u.

H U G L E T H.

HUGLETH was next elected king; but whether he was the son of the preceding monarch, we have no account. All that history relates of him is, that he conquered in a sea-fight Hometh and Hogrin, two of the chief persons in Sweden who had long exercised piracy in the Baltic, and scoured all the coasts with a powerful fleet. He likewise kept the king of Sweden in awe, though that prince had raised a powerful army to support a resolution he had formed of discontinuing the tribute, and shaking off the Danish yoke. It would appear that his reign was uncommonly long, as from the year 225 before the birth of Christ, to the year 172, we find no other king mentioned; and indeed some historians call him by the name of Hugleth the Little, second son to Dan^v.

F R O T H O II.

A. C. 172. AFTER the death of Hugleth, Frotho, the second of that name, surnamed the Vigorous, was raised to the throne. There never was a prince endued with nobler qualities of mind and body; more courteous, generous, and brave; he soon became the darling of his people, and

^t Meurs. lib. i. p. 15.
Gram. p. 65.
tom. iv. p. 66.

^u Pontan. lib. i. p. 21. Saxo-
^v Jo. Suaning. Chron. Dan. p. 42. Saxo-Gram.

the terror of his neighbours, most of whom were tributary to his crown. He subdued Norway, after having slain the king in single combat, and annexed it, with some islands in the Baltic before unconquered, to his dominions. Having reigned thirty years he breathed his last, leaving the crown, with the consent of the people, to his son Dan, who became the third monarch of that name^x.

D A N III.

IN the very beginning of Dan's reign the Saxons were so insolent as not only to refuse payment of the tribute due to the sovereign of Denmark, but to insist on Dan's reimbursing them all the money extorted from them by his father, by Hagleth, Dan II. and by Olaus and Uffon; a demand which soon produced a war, in which they were forced to submit to their former condition. This prince engaged likewise in a war with Sweden, concerning the event of which history is silent: all we know is, that he was wounded in a single combat by the Swedish monarch. We are told, indeed, that after this incident he conquered all those states inhabiting the countries on each side the Elbe, to the inhabitants of which the Danes gave the general name of Saxons; and at length was seized with an acute fever, that carried him off in the prime and vigour of life^y.

F R I D L E F F.

TO him succeeded Fridleff, surnamed the Swift, who immediately, on his accession, entered into a close and intimate correspondence with the king of Halland; for at this time Halland was a separate and independent sovereignty. The intention of this league was to secure and protect each other's dominions against all enemies, to clear the seas of pirates, and thoroughly to reduce the Swedes and Norwegians, who wanted only an opportunity to shake off the galling yoke of Denmark. This treaty, like most other compacts between princes, was broke as soon as either party imagined he could take an advantage of the other. The monarch of Halland was the first aggressor; he raised an army, and made a descent on Denmark, at a time when security had rendered Fridleff totally unprepared to receive him; but the vigour of this prince made him soon repent his treachery. Fridleff assembled a powerful army, and defeated Huirvill in a pitched battle, making great slaughter of his troops. In the pursuit Huirvill was

^x Pont. Saxo-Gram, &c. *ibid.*^y Meurs, *ibid.*

killed

killed, and Fridleff not only eased of the war, but fully revenged upon his insidious enemy, whose kingdom he annexed to his own dominions. After this atchievement we are told he carried his arms into Ireland, and having overrun a great part of the country, made himself master of Dublin, the capital. The same attempt he made on Britain, from whence, after having sustained a signal defeat, he scarce escaped with life. Chagrined with this repulse, he determined applying his mind to domestic affairs, and studied rather to make his old subjects happy than to acquire new, in which laudable undertaking he died, at an extreme old age².

F R O T H O III.

A.C 37.

SUCH was the reputation Fridleff acquired with the people during the last years of his reign, that they unanimously agreed to raise his son Frotho, then a child, to the weighty charge of governing a powerful kingdom. Guardians were immediately appointed him, and the affairs of the nation committed to a select council of the nobility, with this reserve, that all their decrees were to be submitted to a general diet of the states, and there confirmed or repealed as the people should think proper. In this situation things remained for the space of fourteen years, when the king took the government upon himself. The first years of his reign passed in indolence and inactivity, whence he gained the name of Frotho the Pacific; but the corruptions that had crept into the administration, waked him at length out of this lethargy, to an exertion of those extraordinary abilities, which, in a little time, acquired him the appellation of Great, and the reputation of the most valiant prince of his age. He carried on nine wars with the most powerful northern nations, and came off victorious in all. At length poison accomplished what neither the courage, the numbers, nor the animosity of his enemies could effect. A variety of fabulous circumstances relating to this event, are recorded by all the Danish writers; but we have omitted them as favouring too strongly of the ignorance and prejudices of those times, to be read with pleasure in a more enlightened age.

² Suaning. Chron. p. 45. Gram. lib. v.

S E C T. III.

*Comprehending the History of Denmark to the Year 981
after the Birth of Christ.*

H I A R N.

FROTHO dying without male issue, the diet took A. D. 16.
the extraordinary resolution of making him king, who should write the best verses on the memory of the late monarch; and Hiarn being adjudged the best poet, was accordingly raised to the throne, in reward of his superior genius. He was of that class of people called scialdres in Denmark, and bards in other countries, whose business it was to rove about the country, reciting their productions at the houses of the great, and entertained by them as the repositories of wit, learning, and historical narrative. The poet did not long enjoy his exaltation, being deposed by Fridleff, a relation to the late king, who had spent the greater part of his life in foreign service, and was now returned upon the news of his sovereign's death, to lay claim to his crown. This he obtained by killing the poor bard in single combat, and convincing the states, by a relation of his conduct in the services in which he had been engaged, that his valour merited the highest distinctions. Pontanus indeed relates, from Grammaticus, that Hiarn, after several battles by sea and land, which he maintained with great obstinacy, was at length slain by his rival, in a sea-fight on the coast of Jutland; the island Hiarn, situated on that shore, taking its name from his unhappy end^a.

F R I D L E F F II.

NO sooner was Fridleff seated on the throne than he A. D. 17.
sent ambassadors to demand Forgertha, daughter to the king of Norway, in marriage. The insolent refusal of the Norwegian monarch produced a war between the two kingdoms, which terminated in the death of Amand, king of Norway, and in the espousals of Fridleff with his daughter. We are told of a number of miraculous battles this courageous prince fought with certain giants of Norway, during a glorious reign of twelve years; at which period he died, greatly esteemed by his subjects, and respected by all the neighbouring states^b.

^a Meurs. lib. ii.

^b Id. ib. Pontan. p. 24. lib. i.

F R O T H O IV.

FROTHO IV. his son, then but twelve years of age, was proclaimed his successor. This prince began to give very early proofs of his virtue and generosity: before he arrived at maturity, he quashed a dangerous rebellion that had been raised by a combination of the principal nobility, to dethrone him, merely by the prudence of his conduct, and steadiness of his measures, without spilling a drop of blood. He obtained the surname of Generous, from the beneficence and humanity of his disposition, which was never so amply gratified as with the opportunity of bestowing favours on deserving objects. His courage was likewise displayed in several battles he fought with Swerting and Harif, two Saxon lords, who had raised great armies in defence of their liberties, and with a view to throw off their subjection to Denmark. Swerting perceiving that Frotho was invincible in the field, had recourse to treachery, pretended a perfect reconciliation, and invited the Danish monarch to a festival, at which he proposed destroying him by setting fire to the house. The good fortune of Frotho saved him, however, from this dangerous snare, and his valour turned the due punishment upon the insidious Saxon, whom he attacked sword in hand, and soon laid dead at his feet: but he died himself not long after, of a wound he had received from a poisoned weapon in the contest with Swerting.

I N G E L L.

THE states immediately assembled and chose his son Ingell, or Ingle, to succeed his father. This prince at first abandoned himself to a life of indolence and debauchery, into which he was artfully drawn by some of the nobility, who formed designs upon his crown, intending, by this expedient, to alienate from him the affections of his people. The foresight and natural good sense of the young monarch penetrated into their machinations, and recovered him at a time when he was plunged in a life of dissipation and pleasure. On a sudden he discarded his old companions, and assumed at once a behaviour and dignity worthy of majesty. This dismissal of the first nobility of the realm occasioned murmurings among them, which soon broke out into open rebellion. Here it was that Ingell distinguished his valour, his prudence, and his clemency. He first defeated his enemies, obliged them to submit to

c Saxo-Gram. lib. vi. & auct. citat.

his terms, and then not only pardoned them, but took them again into favour, which he esteemed the true method of gaining their affections, and securing their allegiance; but he first insisted upon a total reformation of their manners, and enforced this by his own example^d. We find, indeed, a different character of this prince in Meursius, who relates, that after the suppression of this rebellion he fell again into his old courses, and ended his reign in the same inglorious manner in which it began^e.

O L A U S II.

UPON his death his son Olaus II. mounted the throne, inheriting all the vices of his father, without one of his virtues. His whole reign, which happily did not exceed ten years, was a series of luxury, profusion, and the most scandalous lust and debauchery. He died; however, seemingly penitent, as appears by the speech he made to his sons on his death-bed, in which he exhorts them to retrieve by their conduct the national honour, which had greatly suffered by his weak and dissolute measures (A).

FROTHO V. and HAROLD I.

FROTHO V. and Harold I. sons to the late monarch, were both raised to the throne, sharing the sovereignty between them; the one presiding over naval affairs, and the other taking it upon him to direct whatever belonged to the armies and land-forces of the kingdom. Frotho, as the eldest, chose the former province; a presumption that marine employments were held more honourable and important than the land-service. Frotho entered first upon action, and made an unsuccessful descent upon some of the neighbouring coasts, his soldiers, most of whom were married, refusing to enter upon any dangerous enterprize, by which their families might be brought to ruin; and Meursius expressly affirms, that the influence which Frotho's queen had over him, occasioned his disgrace. The particulars, however, of this affair are not recorded, and we only know that he quitted his employment in disgust to

^d Saxo-Gram. lib. vi. Suanin. p. 47.

^e Meurf. lib. ii. p. 24.

(A) Saxo-Grammaticus and Uffo had changed his name to Pontanus call this prince Olaus Olaus, who is, for this reason, I. although it appears, upon properly distinguished by the undoubted authority, and, indeed, upon their own, that appellation of Olaus I. (1).

(1) Suan. p. 48.

*Harold re-
fuses to
enlist mar-
ried men.*

Harold, who immediately established a maxim, that no married man should be enlisted into the sea or land-service; a measure that was attended with the happiest consequences. The soldiers, emulous of glory, and free from domestic cares, braved all dangers, and obtained numberless victories under the conduct of the brave Harold; after which they were permitted to return home to settle, and enjoy the fruits and glory of their toil and courage. Frotho was stung with envy at the success of his brother's arms, whose valour had so much eclipsed his own actions; and, unable to support the sight of a person whose victories reminded him of his own defeat, and whose public character he deemed a tacit reproach, took the base resolution of having him murdered. His resentment had fortified his heart against the dictates of honour, brotherly love, and humanity: he employed an assassin, accomplished his end, and then murdered the tool of his villainy the better to conceal it^f. But Frotho's own conscience was a sufficient accuser, and gave such evidence against him, as convinced the whole world that Harold met with his death from the hand of his own brother. All his measures were dictated by phrenzy and despair, which became visible in his countenance. He imagined he could not be secure while the children of Harold lived, and took measures to quiet his mind by increasing the number of his crimes, and superadding the murder of his nephews to that of his only brother. His designs, however, were frustrated by the vigilance of a nobleman, to whom the education of the young princes was committed. After having concealed his pupils in a cave, the faithful guardian returned to court, and implored his majesty that he would abstain from shedding his own blood, and not deprive his innocent nephews of life, whom he had already robbed of a royal and brave parent. Frotho, pretending to be moved by the intreaties of this honest nobleman, had nearly accomplished by dissimulation what he could not effect by force. A few years after, he got the young princes into his hands, and was going to have them assassinated, when their own address saved them: they pretended to quarrel, and desired leave to decide their dispute by the sword, which the king readily granted, in expectation that their warmth, courage, and animosity, might effect his purpose, without dipping his own hands in their blood. He was even cruel enough to be a spectator of the fight, and thus his punishment was brought about by the invisible operations of Providence; for the princes, upon a signal

*He is mur-
dered by
his brother.*

^f Saxo Gram. lib. vi. Meurs. p. 24.

agreed,

agreed, turned upon their uncle, and in an instant laid *Frotho slain* him dead on the ground with their swords. Thus perished *by the sons* the treacherous and bloody Frotho by the hands of his *of Harold* own nephews, after a reign rendered infamous to all posterity by the barbarous murder of a brother, who was the greatest ornament of his family and kingdom, as well as the most valorous prince of his age ².

HALDANE II. and HAROLD II.

FROTHO was succeeded by the two sons of Harold, the oldest named Haldane, and the youngest called after his father. Haldane immediately engaged in a war with Siward, king of Sweden, for reasons with which we are unacquainted; after having defeated him in several battles, he at length slew him with his own hand. Erick, the son and successor of Siward, to revenge his father's death, made a sudden descent on Denmark with a powerful armament, while Haldane was taken up in deciding a dispute with some Saxon lords. Harold immediately assembled an army, and gave the Swedes battle; but the success was not agreeable to his courage and the justice of his cause; for, after an obstinate engagement, he was slain in the arms of victory, which now immediately declared for Erick. Upon this event Haldane immediately returned to Denmark, drove Erick out of his dominions, pursued him into Sweden, defeated him, and terminated the quarrel by the death of his enemy, whom he engaged in single combat ^b. After this glorious transaction he fitted out a powerful fleet against the pirates who infested his coasts, and was no less successful in this than he had been in all his former wars. Towards the close of his life, and in a very advanced age, he married the princess of Norway, and by her had a son born on the very day in which he died, of a lingering disease, contracted in consequence of the fatigue and cold he sustained in his last campaigns. Such were the actions of the glorious Haldane, commonly called the son of Thor (a Danish deity) from his invincible courage, and those generous qualities which seemed to elevate him above the rank of mortals. His name had spread itself over all the northern kingdoms, and in Sweden particularly his memory was no less respected than in his own proper dominions; such was the clemency, affability, and engaging manners of this celebrated warrior ¹.

*Harold is
defeated
and slain
by the king
of Sweden.*

² Pontan. lib. i. p. 27. Suaving. p. 47. ^b Saxo-Gram. lib. vi.
¹ Idem, p. 110, & seq.

UNGUIN or HAGUIN.

THE diet of the states elected in the room of Haldane his cousin, nephew, or, as some historians allege, his natural brother Unguin, or Haguin, king of the Goths. Some writers call this prince the son-in-law of the late king, though Meursius and Pontanus affirm, that Haldane's daughter had been given in marriage to Ebbo, a northern prince, in her father's life-time. All we know of this reign is, that it was short and bloody, the crown being obstinately disputed by Reginaldo, king of Sweden, by whom Unguin was slain.

S I W A L D.

REGNALDO did not, however, succeed in his designs for the states immediately elected Siwald in the room of his deceased father. The war still continued with Sweden, some say from Reginaldo's continuing his claim, while others affirm that Siwald renewed it with intention to avenge his father's death. Pontanus, indeed, speaks of the Swedish war as if it had happened towards the close of Siwald's reign, and attributes the many quarrels in which he was at first engaged to the beauty of his daughter, who raised contentions among all the northern princes; and some of them endeavoured to force Siwald to comply with their proposals. Indeed, the transactions of his reign are so variously related, that we can affirm nothing of this monarch more than that he did not degenerate from the heroic spirit which had distinguished almost all the preceding kings of Denmark. His death is as variously related as his life, some writers asserting, that he died in his kingdom, while others affirm, that he ended his days a miserable exile in Scotland*, whither he had been driven by Haco, the son of Hamund, who had defeated him in a sea-engagement; a circumstance which Saxo-Grammaticus, Meursius, and other historians relate of Siwald II. (A).

* Meurs. & Suaning. p. 47.

(A) Suaningius relates, that Siwald gave his daughter in marriage to Ubbo Otharo, in preference to all the other rivals; and that, assisted by his son-in-law, he attacked Reginald and slew him in battle: that afterwards he killed in single combat forty Swedish warriors, and concluded his warlike achievements by the death of Sterchatear, a Swede of the greatest strength and courage of any person of his times (2).

(2) Suan. p. 49.

S I G A R.

SIWALD left behind him three sons, Sigar, Alfo, and Alger, the former of whom, by right of primogeniture, succeeded to his crown. We say by right of primogeniture; for though the Danes kept in their own hands the power of electing their monarchs, yet they seldom set aside the royal issue, and particularly the eldest son, unless incapacity, or some other reason, rendered it necessary. This prince being of an indolent tame disposition, committed the care of government to his brother, a prince of a very different cast, and equally respectable for the qualities of his body and mind. The first act of Alfo's administration was the sending ambassadors to demand in marriage Avilda, daughter to the king of Gothland; a lady who, at this time, contrary to the manners and disposition of her sex, exercised the profession of piracy, and was scouring the seas with a powerful fleet, while a foreign prince was offering sacrifices to her beauty at the shrine of love. Alfo, perceiving that this masculine lady was not to be gained by the usual arts of lovers, took the extraordinary resolution of addressing her in a method more agreeable to her humour. He fitted out a fleet, went in quest of her, and engaged her in a furious battle, which continued two days without remission; at length she was defeated, and thus he gained possession of a heart to be conquered only by valour. After this conquest of the brave amazon, Alfo turned his arms against other pirates who had infested the coasts of Denmark. In this expedition he fell in with a fleet commanded by the three sons of Hamund, king of Ireland, and immediately entered upon action. They fought the whole day with equal obstinacy on both sides, when night separated the combatants, and next morning proposals were made for an accommodation, which were accepted by the parties. They each of them had sufficient proofs of the courage of their antagonists; and, as neither harboured any personal resentment, they parted with hearty professions of sincere esteem and friendship. Notwithstanding this treaty, Alfo again renewed the war against the Hibernian princes, at the instigation of an old crafty Danish nobleman, who persuaded him that his honour was engaged in obtaining a complete victory over those boyish commanders: in consequence of this remonstrance he fitted out a fleet, engaged them a second time, and, having killed Helvin and Hamund, the two eldest of the brothers, was

Alfo disputes the heart of the princess of Gothland by arms.

himself slain by the hand of Hagabert the youngest. The victorious Hagabert hearing of the extraordinary beauty of the king of Denmark's sister, dressed himself in women's apparel, and found means to be introduced, in quality of maid of honour, to the princess, to whom he soon made a declaration of his sex and quality. His youth, beauty, and love, soon wrought upon the affections of Signa, for that was the princess's name, and the consequence was the loss of her virtue, and of Hagobert's life; for the intrigue coming to Sigar's ears, he ordered him to be hanged upon a gibbet without form of trial. This was so cruel a stroke to the fond Signa, that, in despair, she set fire to the palace, and afterwards strangled herself, putting an end to a life which was insupportable to her, after the ignominious catastrophe of her lover. Sigar was inconsolable at the unhappy end of a sister and brother whom he loved with the most tender affection; and his misfortune was aggravated by the melancholy situation of his kingdom, which was now invaded by a powerful army from Ireland, commanded by Haco, the king's fourth son, who was come to revenge the death of his brethren. Sigar's grief did not, however, prevent his taking every possible measure for the security of his kingdom. He placed guards on the coasts, and took possession of all the strong posts through which Haco was obliged to pass to Roschild and Lethra, then the residence of the Danish monarch; but all these precautions were eluded by the art and conduct of Haco; he ordered his men to cut down boughs and green branches of trees, which they held in their left hands, marching with their drawn swords in the right. So extraordinary a phenomenon as a moving forest, terrified the Danish out-guards, and made them abandon their posts without the least resistance; so that Haco met with no obstruction until he arrived with his army at Lethra, where Sigar was encamped with a body of forces. A battle ensued, and the Danish monarch fell, while he was exerting a courage superior to what it was ever imagined he possessed^m.

• I W A L D II.

IN his room was elected Siwald II. his son, by the unanimous voice of the people. So eager was the young king to expel Haco, or Hacquin, as Pontanus calls him, and to revenge his father's death, that he assembled an army, composed of both sexes, and gave battle to the Irish, after Haco had embarked near half his army. The fight continued

^m Saxo-Græm. lib. xvii. Pontan. lib. i. p. 33.

for near three days without victory's declaring herself, till Haco fell towards the close of the third day; upon which a panic immediately seized his troops, who were slaughtered without mercy by the Danes, until they were fatiated with blood. Such was the carnage made on the field, that to this day it goes by the name of Valbrana, a word expressive of the horrible slaughter^a; though Meursius alleges, that this appellation was given to the field in which Sigar was defeated and killed. It is, indeed, the general opinion that both princes perished in this engagement; and the male line of the royal family being extinct, the government of the kingdom was committed to five of the nobility, who divided the authority. Zealand was given to Hunding, Schonen to Ostmar, Funen to Hanno, and Rorick and Hother were chosen to preside over Jutland, which countries would seem to have constituted the whole of the Danish dominions at that period. In this situation was Denmark governed for the space of forty-one years, till Haldane, who had espoused Gurith, daughter to Siwald, was raised by her means to the throne.

H A L D A N E III.

THIS prince, the third of that name, was inferior to none of his predecessors in valour, and the other qualities of a great king; but his strength was so remarkable as to procure him the surname of Strong. The manner in which he gained the consent of Gurith his queen to address her, was an extraordinary instance of his prowess, for he slew with his own single arm twelve guards, the boldest men who could be found, placed round her person to deny access to all suitors; a precaution which some attribute to her chastity, and others to the policy of the regents, who were sensible they must surrender their authority as soon as she was married. Some years after his accession to the throne, he engaged in a war with Vifet (A), a prince who had been his rival in the affections of Gurith. Several desperate battles were fought between them, in the last of which Haldane was killed, yielding to the good fortune of his enemy, and rival in glory and in love^o.

^a Meurs. lib. ii.

^o Saxo-Gram. & Pontan. ibid.

(A) Vifet was son to Hunding, viceroy or regent of Zealand. He succeeded his father in that office, and kept his authority for several years after the accession of Haldane to the throne. Probable it is, that his refusal to surrender it was one of the chief causes of the war.

H A R O L D III.

AFTER his death the states met for the election of a new king, and their choice fell upon Harold, the son of Haldane. Harold began his reign with an attempt to complete the measures entered upon by his father, the reduction of the regents, who had refused to surrender their authority to Haldane, though duly elected by the states. In this he was more successful, having obliged all the provinces to submit to the crown in the space of a few years. He began his operations with declaring war against Vifet, who had killed his father: him he destroyed at a festival, which Vifet gave to his friends at the celebration of his nuptials with a lady of Schonen. He next directed his arms against the governor of Southern Jutland, and soon reduced that country; by the death of the governor, whom he slew in the field of battle. His next expedition was against the regents or governors of Northern Jutland, in which he met with the same success. Zealand and Funen followed the fortune of the other provinces; and thus the kingdom of Denmark was again re-united, and all those petty tyrants subdued and destroyed in the space of two years; by the vigorous intrepid conduct of Harold, who was now a second time proclaimed king of all Denmark. He afterwards restored by force to his throne and dominions Asmond, king of Norway, from whence he had been driven by a strong party that had declared in favour of his sister. During his residence in Norway, Alvar, king of Sweden, breathed his last, leaving three sons, Ingo, Olaus, and Ingell. Ingo, the eldest, succeeded to his throne; but, not satisfied with his paternal dominions, he and his brothers, supported by a powerful army, made a descent on Denmark. Meursius relates, that the brothers only meditated an invasion, the news of which coming to Harold, he immediately entered Sweden, attacked the forces commanded by Ingo and Olaus, whom he slew in the field, after having entirely routed their army. This defeat obliged Ingell to sue for peace, and accept of the terms which Harold thought fit to impose. The Danish monarch, equally generous in prosperity and firm in adversity, granted such conditions as Ingell ought to have been satisfied with; and he seemed to acquiesce, expecting soon to find an occasion of wiping off the late disgrace. Accordingly he invaded Schonen, while Harold was lulled in profound security, and carried off by violence the sister of the Danish monarch, whom he espoused. Hence the war was renewed,

ed, prosecuted with various success, and at length happily terminated, Harold, as just as brave, preferring an indifferent peace to the most successful war, which must have been attended with the blood and ruin of many of his subjects. He was scarce returned from Sweden before the insolence of Ubbo, lord of Embden, or one of those states which now compose the circle of Westphalia, called him again into the field. It was not long before Ubbo found cause to repent his temerity; for he was defeated and taken prisoner, but afterwards set at liberty by the clemency of the conqueror. Not was this all; Harold married him to his daughter, secured his friendship, and by his means strengthened his own interest upon the continent; but his success was not limited to these conquests^a; he reduced several nations upon the Rhine; took into his protection the Vandals, a people inhabiting that country on the Baltic, situated between the Vistula and the Elbe; over-run Aquitaine and a part of Britain, which, says Grammaticus, had withdrawn its allegiance from Denmark since the death of Frotho III. But what sets the equity of this monarch in the most conspicuous view is, that, after having raised an army to punish the perfidy of Ingell, king of Sweden, he not only desisted from the enterprize on the death of that prince, but appointed guardians to his infant son, though the fairest occasion offered for annexing Sweden to his own dominions; a rare instance of moderation, which deserves being recorded in honour of sovereignty. The young Swedish king, unmindful of his obligations, no sooner attained the age of maturity than he declared war against his generous benefactor Harold, the event of which was the death of this great prince, admired even by his enemies for the elevation of his spirit, his valour, generosity, and, above all, for his justice. We find, by the preparations made for the war, to what a prodigious height of power this monarch had raised the kingdom of Denmark. Saxo-Grammaticus relates, that his fleet was so numerous as to extend like a bridge across the Sound, separating Zealand from Schonen; and that, besides common soldiers, he mustered thirty thousand nobility in his army. His death occasioned the defeat of this otherwise invincible power, and obliged the Danes to patch up a peace at the price of Schonen, which was ceded to the victorious Ringo^b.

He conquers Ubbo, lord of Embden.

Harold's character.

^a Saxo-Gram. lib. vii.

^b Meurf. lib. ii. p. 30.

THE glorious Harold was succeeded by his sister's son, a prince of a very opposite character to that of his uncle (A). His name was Olo, and first he was appointed to the government of Schonen by Ringo, who likewise obliged the Danes to submit to the authority of Hetha, a woman of a masculine spirit. Upon their remonstrances, however, he recalled her and compensated her with the sovereignty of that country now called Sleswick, where she built the city of that name. Olo he substituted in her place, whence it appears that Denmark was, in consequence of Ringo's victory, little more than a province to Sweden, though all the Danish writers omit Ringo's name in the list of their kings. Whether it was that the Danes were uneasy under the administration of a prince imposed upon them by their inveterate enemies the Swedes, or whether their disaffection arose from his own cruelty, as some writers affirm, is a point disputed by historians: certain, however, it is, that he was taken off by a conspiracy, formed against him by many of the chief nobility of the kingdom, and his son Omund elected king: a presumption that Olo's misfortune arose from personal pique and mal-administration more than from the resentment of his subjects against the Swedes^c.

O M U N D.

A. D. 331. OMUND, says Meursius, was elected, not out of regard to his father's memory, but from the expectation which so promising a youth afforded, of his resembling in virtue his great uncle Harold. When arrived at age, his nobility advised him to think of increasing the royal family

^c Auct. citat. *ibid*.

(A) Pontanus speaks differently of this prince, though we know not upon what authority. According to him, Olo possessed the noblest qualities of mind and person, having this remarkable circumstance about him, that his eyes killed like those of the basilisk; meaning, perhaps, the fierceness of his countenance, which struck ter-

ror into his enemies; a conjecture which we find supported by a fact. One of the Danish nobility having resolved to stab him, when he was undressing to enter the bath, the grim and fierce countenance of Olo made him drop the poignard just as he had raised it to give the fatal blow (1).

(1) Meurs. lib. ii. p. 30.

by marriage. This advice made him turn his thoughts to the daughter of Ringo, whom he had seen and admired when he visited the court of that monarch in his youth : but to the accomplishment of his wishes there was an obstacle which he determined to surmount. Ringo had publicly declared, that he never would receive for his son-in-law a prince who had not signalized his valour. To render himself worthy of this honour, Omund engaged in war with the king of Norway, who had lately refused to pay the usual homage to the crown of Denmark, and a powerful fleet was equipped for the occasion. In his way he was joined by Oddo, a prince who had received some cause of disgust to the Swedish monarch. Ringo was at this time cruising with a fleet off the coast of Ireland, and Oddo persuaded his new ally, that this was the opportunity for recovering the liberty of Denmark, curbing the power of Sweden, and accomplishing his wishes with respect to Ringo's daughter. Persuaded by these arguments, Omund complied with Oddo's proposal of making a descent on Sweden, which was accordingly executed. Intelligence being sent to Ringo, he returned instantly for the protection of his dominions, and a furious engagement ensued, in which both parties claimed the victory. To render things more decisive, they recruited their forces by mutual agreement, and fought a second battle more bloody than the former, at the close of which Ringo was mortally wounded. Then he sent for Omund, and told him, that now he had given proofs sufficient of his valour to merit the daughter of a warrior, and therefore he should contentedly resign himself into the arms of death, as he had the happiness to see his family strengthened by the alliance of such a son-in-law ; so saying he expired. Omund's next exploits were against Russia, a warlike virgin, who usurped the sovereignty of some provinces of Norway, and endeavoured to extend her power over Denmark likewise. Her he defeated in a sea-fight, but not so decisively but she soon recruited her forces, and was again ready to enter upon action. Omund not caring to hazard a defeat from a woman, determined to use policy, and by dint of gold seduced from her the allegiance of the Norwegians, who deserted her, and afterwards delivered her into the hands of her brother, whom she had dethroned, in revenge for which he put her to death, and was mean enough to pay homage to Omund, in acknowledgement of his services. Having honourably concluded some other wars in which he was necessarily engaged, Omund preserved his dominions in profound peace for a number of years, and then died

Sincerely

sincerely regretted and esteemed by his people, who immediately chose his eldest son to succeed him on the throne. He was, indeed, a prince equally skilled in the arts of war and of peace, who had obliterated by the prudence and success of his administration, all memory of his father's cruelty^a.

S I W A R D.

*Defeats
and kills in
battle the
king of
Sweden.*

SIWARD, on his accession to the throne, was complimented by an embassy from the king of Sweden, who demanded his sister in marriage. Imagining that this alliance might in time produce an union of kingdoms which were always at variance, and prove advantageous to both, Siward complied, and the treaty was concluded. Halland was the place fixed upon for the celebration of the nuptials; but the Swedish monarch being beset by russians on the road, broke off the treaty and prepared for war, from a notion that the assassins had been hired by Siward to murder him. Both kings having raised forces, they met on the confines of the spot appointed for a more friendly intercourse, and a battle ensuing, the Swedish monarch was slain, and his army totally defeated.

*He is slain
in battle
against the
rebels.*

The war with Sweden in which Siward was engaged, furnished some tributary princes on the continent with an opportunity of revolting. They raised an army, obtained a victory, and reduced their sovereign to great straits. Such was their success, and the ill fortune of Siward, that he lost all his dominions except Zealand and a few inconsiderable islands. His spirit, however, was not broke; he raised fresh forces, and determined either to perish by their hands, or to reduce to obedience his rebellious subjects. Accordingly, he engaged the rebel army, commanded by one Simon, and just as victory began to declare for him, died of a wound he received by the hand of the rebel general, after he had given a mortal blow to his antagonist, both falling dead upon each other. Such was the end of this brave but unfortunate prince, who had become odious to many of his subjects, rather from a spirit of rebellion in them than any fault in his administration. He left two sons; but they being carried off and kept prisoners by the rebels, his brother was elected king in his room^b.

B A T H U L.

BATHUL was raised to the throne less upon account of his own merit, which was but inconsiderable, than

^a Meursi. p. 31.

^b Saxo-Gram. lib. viii.

from

from a regard the people had for the blood royal, and respect for the memory of Siward. The state of Denmark was now truly deplorable; her dominions were rent in pieces by rebellion, her power and credit sunk, and a king elected, the most unfit in the world to retrieve her affairs, by courage or conduct. There remained, of all the potent kingdom of Denmark, but Zealand, Funen, and those little islands; called by the Danes Smallands; Jutland, Norway, Schonen, Sleswick, Embden, and other countries on the continent, as well as several islands, were dismembered from the crown. In this situation it would probably have remained, had not Jarmerci, the son of Siward, fallen upon the means of recovering his liberty; and returned into Zealand, where he asserted the dignity of his ancestors, which was sunk during the weak and timid reign of his uncle Bathul, who now willingly resigned the burthen of sovereignty, to which he found his own strength unequal.

The deplorable condition of Denmark.

J A R M E R C I.

THE first endeavours of this heroic prince were to recover the revolted provinces, and reduce them to their former obedience. He began with Sweden, that had led the way and encouraged his subjects in their rebellion; in consequence of which, Gothar, the Swedish king, got possession of Schonen, Jutland, and some other Danish provinces. Jarmerci raised a great army, entered Sweden, defeated and killed Gothar, and recovered all that the Swedes had taken from his father and uncle: thence he marched into Sleswick and Holstein, and soon reduced them: from Sleswick he penetrated into Pomerania, and thence to Silesia, laying all that country under contribution, and exacting an oath from the nobles, that they would pay homage and a yearly tribute to the crown of Denmark. In a word, he not only recovered in a short time, all the countries his ancestors had ever possessed, but greatly enlarged the boundaries of the Danish sovereignty. All this prosperity was not unattended with a mixture of adversity and domestic misfortunes, which more than counterbalanced the power and grandeur of Jarmerci. He had discovered an intrigue that was carrying on between a beautiful young lady he had taken for his second wife, and Broder, a son he had by his former consort. Enraged at a crime so unnatural, he gave orders they should both be instantly put to death, a sentence which was executed accordingly upon the queen; but his son found means, through the favour of his keepers, to escape, and raise civil

His conquests retrieve the face of affairs.

*Is put to
death by
his own
son.*

civil commotions, which ended only with the life of his father, whom he besieged, took, and put to death, in a strong castle, which Jarmerci had built as a retreat in case of any unforeseen change of fortune. It is true, that both the queen and Broder were innocent of the crime laid to their charge, the whole being a contrivance of Biecco, a nobleman of great power and ambition, who, out of resentment or envy to Jarmerci, sought to distract his counsels. Such was this man's art and address, that he fomented the quarrel between the father and son to such a height, that, notwithstanding filial duty on one side, and paternal affection on the other, strongly urged them to a reconciliation, each was made to believe that his security could only be effected by the death of the other. Thus ended the glorious reign of Jarmerci, a monarch inferior to none in valour and greatness of soul; but unhappily credulous in his temper, and easily wrought on by those diabolical instruments, who never fail to insinuate themselves in all courts, and create divisions with a view of raising themselves^b.

B R O D E R.

BRODER succeeded to his father's throne by the unanimous voice of the people, who soon had reason to repent of their choice. The indolence and weakness of his reign encouraged several of the provinces, which had been recovered by his father, again to revolt; and the Swedes in particular took possession of Schonén. This is all we know of him, history being silent concerning the manner of his death, and of most of the particulars of his life^c.

S I W A L D III.

HE was succeeded by Siwald III. a prince who had attained to a great age before he was raised to the throne. The transactions of his reign are no less obscure than those of his predecessor; nor do we know any thing of the circumstances of the kingdom, until his son Snio was joined with him in the sovereignty.

S I W A L D III. and S N I O.

NOW Denmark began to resume her wonted vigour, exerting herself for the recovery of Schonén, and the revolted provinces, which were soon obliged to submit, and surrender the ringleaders of the rebellion. Snio in the next

^b Saxo-Gram. lib. viii. Pontan. p. 34.
P. 34.

^c Meurf. lib. ii.

place

place resolved to secure the crown in his family by marriage, and accordingly sent ambassadors to demand the daughter of the king of Swedish Gothland, who were all put to death by this savage prince, under pretence of their being spies. Irritated at this indignity, Snio raised a powerful army, and entered Gothland, laying the country waste with fire and sword. Gotho, for that was the king of Gothland's name, perceiving that his forces were unable to resist the rapid progress of the Danes, challenged Snio to single combat; a proposal which he accepted, on condition that the kingdom of the vanquished should submit to the conqueror. Upon this proposal Gotho declined the combat, sent his daughter into Sweden, and fought a battle, in which his army was defeated, and he himself forced to submit to the terms imposed by the victorious Snio. The king of Sweden married his ward, and while he was enjoying all the pleasures of love, was suddenly despoiled of his wife and treasure, by a rapid descent made on his kingdom by Snio, who carried her off in triumph. This rape gave occasion to a long and bloody war, which was terminated by a greater misfortune. Both kings having levied all their subjects, hardly any persons were left to cultivate the lands; the consequence of which conduct was a cruel famine, that carried off incredible numbers of the people. This calamity gave birth to a law, prohibiting, on pain of death, a single grain of corn from being converted into malt, or used in any other manner than bread, of which the rich were in equal want with the poor; but this edict not having the desired effect, it was proposed by Aggo and Ebbo, two noblemen of Jutland, that all the old men and children should either be put to death, or compelled to seek for new habitations in foreign countries. Intelligence of this execrable scheme coming to the ears of Cambora, or, as other writers call her, Magga, the king's mother, a woman of an heroic spirit, she immediately entered the council chamber, and in a very pathetic speech represented the inhumanity of sacrificing their aged parents and innocent babes, who were unable to secure themselves possessions in foreign countries. It would better become, she observed, the piety and valour of the Danes to send forth their young men upon expeditions, which required strength, vigour, and health, and thus supply the wants of the infirm, weak, and aged, by leaving them their share of the public stock of provisions. This expedient, she said, would answer the same purpose as barbarously sacrificing with their own hands those beings who gave them life, and those innocent tender babes whose support depended on

A. D. 383.

*A cruel
famine pre-
vails in
Denmark.*

MOD. VOL. XXVIII.

D d

their

*Character
and death
of Snio.*

their parental fondness. She proposed, that if the enterprize appeared so dangerous as to terrify any of the nobility from taking the command of this large colony, she would lead it in person, and banish herself from her native soil, for the sake of her country, for the sake of humanity, and every principle the most dear and valuable to a true-born Dane. Snio immediately acceded to her proposal, and assembled the nobility and commons to settle the plan of migration. In this assembly it was agreed, that every ninth man in Denmark and the provinces, able to carry arms, should compose the colony; that it should be conducted by Aggo and Ebbo; and that the place of rendezvous should be that province lying between the Elbe and the Oder^a, and washed by the Baltic, the ancient name of which is not determined (A). By these means plenty was introduced in Denmark; and Snio lived in peace to a good old age, after having, by prudence and conduct, restored his kingdom to its ancient splendor, and without a single blemish upon his reputation, except his carrying off by force the queen of Sweden, which may be looked upon as the cause of all the dreadful misfortunes which afterwards attended him by a cruel and ruinous war, and a still more destructive famine. We are not informed by any historian, whether Siwald, his father, resigned the crown to Snio, or whether he died soon after he had associated him on the throne.

B I O R N O.

BIORNO, his son, succeeded Snio; a prince of little merit according to Saxo-Grammaticus and Meurfius, though

^a Pontan. & Meurf. lib. citat. Suan. p. 53.

(A) Various are the conjectures of historians and critics concerning the time of this migration, the place where the colony established itself, and the derivation of their name, all agreeing that they were called Lombards after their departure, and Winnuli, or Winnili, before. The Danish writers to a man affirm, that the famine which occasioned the migration happened in Snio's

reign; though Paulus Diaconus, and other writers, make it later. Prosper, a writer of credit, asserts, that they settled in the isle of Rugen and country adjacent, till the year 484, when they removed into Pannonia, and other provinces of the Roman empire. As to their name, some derive it from their beards. Longo-barb; others from their weapons, called bardens, or longo-bardens (1).

(1) Vide & Got. Proteg. Hist. Got. p. 53. & Pontan. Hist. Dan. lib. iii. p. 39. ad p. 57. Radbec Atalant, tom. i.

Lyschander,

Lyschander, Pontanus, and Suaningius affirm, that the male royal line was extinct in Snio. All writers indeed agree, that here is a chasm of two hundred and ninety-eight years in the Danish history, Biorno alone standing in the space between Snio and Gormo; that is, from the year 401 after the birth of Christ to the year 699 of that æra; a period this the most busy but obscure in ancient history, during which all those very extraordinary migrations were made from the northern countries, which destroyed the Roman empire, and wholly changed the face of affairs in Europe. Pontanus and others, to fill up this chasm, relate the expedition of the Vandali, Longobards, Lombards, and other northern nations, giving, at the same time, a long list of Saxon and Swedish kings; but as these matters relate nothing to our history, we think it more satisfactory entirely to pass over this period, and resume our narrative with Gormon, who was elected to the throne in the year 699 or 700 after the birth of our Saviour ^b (B).

Some difficulties concerning the chronology.

G O R M O N I.

ACCORDING to Lyschander, Gormon was the fifty-second monarch who wielded the Danish scepter from Dan, and a prince the most extraordinary of his age, not for the usual qualities of a king, but his profound skill in magic, and deep penetration into the secrets of nature. We must refer the reader to the wonderful tales he will find related of his magic skill by Saxo, who ascribes them all to a strict correspondence he maintained with the parent of deceit; they might pass for truth in the age of that entertaining writer, but they will scarce furnish amusement in these enlightened times, where even fiction itself requires the assistance of probability. We know only for certain of this prince, that he lived to an advanced age without engaging in any wars with his neighbours, and was succeeded by his son Gotrick, surnamed the Generous ^c.

^b Meurf. p. 36.

^c Saxo-Gram. lib. viii.

(B) To supply the chasm, Lyschander, in his Genealogy of the Danish kings, and Suaningius in his Chronicon Danicum, give the following table of kings; viz. Rorick II. Swan I. Guislach II. Harold III. (according to them) Erchall, Ver-

mond II. Omond II. to whom succeeded Biorno his son, whom we have made the son and successor of Snio. Of these princes they give no account, nor have they even quoted their authority for inserting them,

G O T R I C K.

*He subdues
Sweden.*

*Saxony
over-run
by Char-
lemagne's
army.*

Some writers call this prince Guiltach, and others Godfred; but we chuse to follow the authority of Grammaticus and Pontanus. In the first year of his government the Saxons rebelled, and he raised a powerful army to suppress them, an aim which he soon effected, by giving them a signal overthrow, and obliging them, upon the birth of a Danish prince, to send a present to the king of a hundred milk white horses, in token of their submission and vassalage to the crown of Denmark. He afterwards married the princess of Norway, sending at the same time an ambassador into Sweden, to appease certain tumults which broke out at the general diet of that kingdom: but the ambassador was killed by a large stone thrown at him by one of the populace; an insult which Gotrick thought it his duty to punish^d. He accordingly invaded Sweden, defeated the Swedish army, subdued the whole country, and punished the persons concerned in the murder of his ambassador with a heavy fine. Scarce had he returned from Sweden before Saxony was over-run by Charlemagne's army, while Vitichend, lord of the country, unable to resist so potent a force, implored the assistance of Gotrick, whose sister he had married; and the Danish monarch readily promised him speedy succour, because he saw the necessity of checking the growing power of Charlemagne, who, like an impetuous torrent, threatened to swallow up all Europe in one universal monarchy. Charlemagne's retreat to oppose the Saracens prevented a battle at this time with the main army; but some posts which he maintained were forced, and his troops driven quite out of Saxony. When Charlemagne returned from Spain, Gotrick sent ambassadors to remonstrate to him, that Saxony was a fief of Denmark, which he thought himself bound to protect. He therefore requested him not to disturb the peace of that country; otherwise the Danes would be under the necessity of opposing him with all their power; a measure that would not at all be agreeable to a people who entertained the highest respect for his majesty. As Charlemagne gave no explicit answer to this remonstrance, Gotrick resolved to enforce it by arms, and accordingly sent a powerful reinforcement to Vitichend, which enabled him to drive the Franks out of the barrier towns, and garrison them with Danes and Saxons. Charlemagne, offended at this presump-

^d Meurs. & Saxo-Gram. *ibid*.

tion, sent an army under Conrade to reduce all Saxony to his obedience; but this general was defeated, and his army dispersed. Enraged at the indignity, Charlemagne entered Saxony at the head of an army, and by forced marches had nearly surprised Vitichend, who fled precipitately, and took shelter with Gotrick beyond the Elbe. His army being destitute of a commander, became an easy prey to the French monarch, who, determining to strike terror in the inhabitants, ordered above four thousand Saxons to be executed, after which massacre he retired with his army, leaving strong garrisons in all the towns.

Gotrick had no sooner advice of this defeat than he led his army into that deplorable country, expelled all the French garrisons, and reduced it to its former obedience. Upon his return to Denmark he heard that Charlemagne proposed sending his son Pepin, with a strong army, to invade the Danish provinces upon the continent, and resolved to oppose him with an equal force. He levied a prodigious army, and equipped a fleet of above three hundred large ships, with which he proposed making a descent on the coast of France, and by this diversion to weaken Pepin's army. In a word, such was the valour, the conduct, and the mighty force of Gotrick, that Charlemagne's empire was never more endangered than from this formidable enemy, when an unforeseen accident contributed to the safety of that powerful monarch. After Gotrick had over-run East-Friesland, and some other provinces belonging to the enemy, leading his army strait to Aix la Chapelle, at that time the capital of Charlemagne's empire, he was stabbed in his tent by a centinel, bribed, as some writers imagine, by Pepin, to remove this dangerous rival to his father's glory. Other writers imagine, that this unworthy action was committed by his own son, in revenge for his having repudiated his mother, and taken another wife. Be this as it will, certain it is that the great Gotrick fell by the hands of an assassin, at a time when he was about to dispute the empire of Europe with the greatest monarch of the world, leaving behind him the reputation of a just, brave, merciful, and munificent prince, possessed of every quality which could gain the love of his own subjects, and the esteem and respect of all other nations. That he was the dread of his powerful competitor, appears from the excessive and indecent joy which Charlemagne expressed on the news of his death.

*Gotrick
recovers
Saxony a
second time.*

*Is treache-
rously mur-
dered.*

A.D. 801.

e Pontan. lib. iii. Meurf. lib. ii.

f Suoning. 62.

O L A U S III.

GOTRICK being killed, his eldest son Olaus, the third of that name, was elected king of Denmark. This prince is entirely omitted by many historians, and others place him after Hemming, though Saxo-Grammaticus and Meurfius expressly say, that he was the son and immediate successor of Gotrick. Olaus, while he was endeavouring to bring to justice the murderers of his father, had the misfortune to involve himself in a civil war, in which we have reason to believe he perished, though we do not find this circumstance mentioned by any writer besides Eric of Pomerania.

H E M M I N G.

ACCORDING to the same author, he was succeeded by Hemming, his only child. The first act of this prince's administration was to conclude a treaty with Lewis the Pious, settling the limits of their respective dominions, to the satisfaction of both parties, without any encroachment on the boundaries of Denmark, which now comprehended great part of the German continent. After having reigned two years, with great applause, this excellent monarch yielded up his last breath, and left his kingdom to his two cousins, Siward and Ringo.

S I W A R D and R I N G O.

*Civil wars
in Den-
mark.*

DENMARK was divided between them, and a constant jealousy and perpetual wars ensued, by which this potent kingdom began to dwindle, and lose the respect it had so long commanded from the surrounding states. At last the condition of the Danes became deplorable. Siward's subjects deposed him, and raised his infant son Regner to the throne, a measure which furnished his rival Ringo with a fair occasion of invading Zealand and Schonen, where he met with little resistance. Immediately on his arrival he threatened with the most cruel and ignominious death all the inhabitants who refused to acknowledge him for their king. In this critical situation the people desired he would permit them to deliberate upon his proposal, which request being granted, they assembled to debate on the measures which they ought to pursue. On one hand their affection, and the oath they had sworn to Regner, inclined many of the inhabitants to remain firm in their duty; on the other, the power and dreadful menaces of Ringo overwhelmed them with consternation. Various measures were proposed, and

all were attended with a thousand difficulties; in consequence of which the assembly was ready to break up without coming to any conclusion, when Regner, though then but twelve years of age, spoke in the following manner. "To what purpose is it, my faithful friends, to irritate a powerful enemy, by an obstinate attachment to an unhappy prince, whom you have not strength sufficient to defend? As deserting your king, and flying from your colours without urgent necessity, would be a crime of the most heinous nature, so, adhering to them at the hazard of your own lives, when you are sensible you cannot better the cause in which you are engaged, is downright folly, and a trespass against the first principles of nature. Deceit in some cases is allowable: can it ever be practised in a more just cause than the present, or with more probability of success? You must deceive the enemy you are unable to combat; you must counterfeit submission, until an occasion offers of avowing your principles, recalling your king, and throwing off the yoke of the oppressor. Adverse fortune is never so easily surmounted as by yielding to it." This sensible oration from a child, determined them to follow his advice, as soon as they had conveyed him safe into Norway. They accordingly submitted to Ringo, and immediately gave notice of their intention to Siward, who, without hesitation struck his tents, and marched to give battle to his rival, who was equally desirous of coming to a decisive action. The armies met and engaged with unrelenting fury, until Ringo was killed, and victory had declared in favour of his adversary, who had likewise received a mortal wound, of which he died the next day; and happy had it been for Denmark had this event happened earlier, though each was deserving enough of the crown, had he enjoyed it without a competitor. It was their rivalry and ambition that reduced the kingdom to the most melancholy situation; and the continuance of their wars would probably have made way for its total conquest by some foreign power^b.

*Death of
Ringo and
Siward.*

R E G N E R.

BOTH these princes being removed by death, Regner was recalled from Norway, and replaced on the throne (A).

^b Saxo-Gram. lib. ix. Meurs. lib. ii. p. 38.

(A) Authors differ considerably in the orthography of this prince's name, some calling him Grammaticus, Meursius, and Regner, others Ragnifrid, and Pontanus. not a few Ragnifrid. We have adhered to the orthography of

As soon as this prince had settled the domestic œconomy of his kingdom, which he found entirely ruined and perplexed by the late civil discord, he marched into Norway against Froe; king of Sweden, who had invaded that kingdom, imagining that he could easily reduce it before the situation of the Danes would admit of their sending forces to its relief. Froe had, indeed, defeated Siward, king of Norway, and made prisoners his wife and daughters, before the arrival of Regner. He had exposed them, and all the virgins who had fallen into his hands, to the most cruel indignities and insults, which made them receive Regner as their deliverer. The indignation of this prince was so highly inflamed by the moving recital of what they had undergone, that he marched instantly against the barbarous conqueror, and gave him battle. The action continued with doubtful success, when Lathgartha, a virgin of an heroic disposition, who had been ravished by the brutal Froe, entered the ranks, and with incredible valour, drove the Swedes every where before her, till she opened a way to their king, whom she pierced through the body before he was prepared to guard against her furious attack¹. The war being finished by this decisive action, Regner was so captivated with the bravery of the virago, that he sought her of her relations in marriage, and obtained her with little difficulty.

*Bravery of
Lathgartha, a young
lady of
Norway.*

During the king's residence in Norway, the provinces of Schonen and Jutland revolted, and some commotions were excited in Zealand; his presence soon reduced affairs to their former situation; but not till he had given battle, and defeated the rebels, all of whom he generously pardoned, excepting a few of the ringleaders, who were reserved for exemplary punishment. Another revolt soon however broke out, and was suppressed with the same expedition and vigour; to this succeeded a third, and to that a fourth, which obliged him to treat these obstinate delinquents with more severity, and to put it out of their power to disturb for the future the course of government by their rebellious and restless disposition.

Regner's marriage with the valorous Lathgartha was unfortunate; for she was supposed to aspire at the crown independent of her husband, against whose life she was unjustly thought to harbour designs; upon the suspicion of which he repudiated her, and demanded in marriage the daughter of Haroth, king of Sweden. Before he could obtain this lady, it was necessary he should fight the two greatest heroes in Denmark. This atchievement he per-

¹ Saxo-Gram. p. 171, 172.

formed with success, having killed them, and, in consequence, gained the prize, which had been contended for by all the neighbouring young princes, inflamed either by love or ambition. By this lady he had seven sons, Rathbert, Dun, Vorth, Siward, Biorno, Agner, and Ivar. In the mean time the Cimbri threw off the Danish yoke, and chose a king, whom they called Harold Klang; upon which Regner raised an army in Denmark, and obtained a strong body of auxiliaries from Norway, which was afterwards strengthened by a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships of war, which Lathgartha had equipped for his service, and commanded in person. Regner was astonished at this instance of her affection; but she frankly told him, that no inconstancy on his side could wean her from her duty, or oblige her to revolt from the allegiance she owed, both as his subject and his wife. "If, says she, the charms of my person be faded in your eyes, it is requisite that I should endeavour to supply that loss by other qualities, more conducive to your glory and the good of these kingdoms." Such was the generous revenge which this noble lady took on the infidelity of her consort. He marched directly against the rebels, and began an action, which continued with great warmth and spirit without appearance of advantage on either side, till Siward, the son of Regner, was killed, an incident which occasioned great confusion in the wing of the Danish army which he commanded. Regner, hearing of his son's misfortune, flew like lightning along the lines, exhorting his men not to add to his calamity by their misconduct, and rallying them with amazing spirit and resolution, while Lathgartha led on the wing the king had left, and pushed the enemy with such irresistible valour, that they were broke and totally defeated.

Harold, proclaimed king by the Cimbri, defeated by Regner.

Having settled the affairs of this country, rewarded and refreshed his soldiers, he led them without delay into Saxony, which he resolved to punish for its frequent revolt to the emperor. Arriving with a fleet of two hundred sail, he landed his men with such expedition, that the Saxons were subdued almost as soon as they had intelligence of his arrival. The emperor Lotharius being then encamped with a large army on the Elbe, gave battle to Regner, and was defeated; but the Danish monarch was prevented from pursuing his victory, by disturbances that were raised in Sweden after the death of their king Haroth, whose children the nobles had driven out of the kingdom, raising one of their own number to the throne. Regner sent his sons with an

He subdues Saxony.

Regner defeats the emperor Lotharius.

army to reinstate the royal family, an end which they soon accomplished by the signal defeat of Sorlus, the usurper, who finding himself unable to combat the forces of the king of Denmark, sent a herald to desire that the issue might be decided by selecting a certain number of combatants out of each army. The proposal was accepted. Sorlus chose one Scardo, the most famous swordsman in Sweden, and his seven sons for his seconds; and on the side of the Danes, the three princes Biorno, Fridleff, and Rathbert offered themselves as champions. The combat began in fight of both armies, and Scardo being killed, Sorlus and his children, unable to stand against the fury of the Danish princes, were soon forced to follow his fate. Then the Danish army attacked the Swedes, and obtained an easy and decisive victory ^b.

The death of Thora, his beloved wife, so grievously afflicted Regner, that he found it necessary to divert his mind by engaging in some foreign war. Accordingly he published an edict, ordering all his subjects who were harrassed either with idle children or servants, to send them to him for employment. As soon as he had raised a sufficient force, he put the affairs of his kingdom in the best order, and committed them to the care of a council, composed of twelve of the most prudent and weighty men in Denmark. He then embarked his troops, and made so successful a descent on Britain, that in a short time he reduced the island, not even the Orkneys escaping his arms. In his return to Denmark, he appeased some commotions, set on foot in Norway by the pride and ambition of several of the nobility, who aspired at the crown. He was not long in Denmark before he married a third wife, by name Suanloge, and had by her three sons, Reynold, Widserc, and Erick.

*He defeats
Dio, king
of Mysia.*

The next exploits of this conqueror were performed in the Hellepont, against Dio, king of that country, anciently called Mysia, who refused to pay certain duties which had always been claimed by the ancestors of Regner. This war ended as successfully as the former; upon which he turned his arms against the Russians, who had lent considerable assistance to Dio. We are told by the Danish historians, that this rude people confided more in the power of incantations than in arms; that they raised such storms of hail and snow, as reduced the Danes to the last extremity, and almost conquered him by famine, who had always proved invincible in arms. Regner, having lost near half his army, was forced to retreat into Courland, where he was kindly

^b Ibid. etiam Pontan. lib. iv.

welcomed, and furnished with every necessary which the country afforded. Incensed at his late disgrace, he again entered Russia, with a resolution to bring the savage monarch to action. The king of Russia, foreseeing Regner's return, had procured a strong body of auxiliaries from the king of Finland, whose troops were exceedingly expert in throwing the lance. Relying upon these succours, he ventured to attack the Danes, who were unable, on account of the mountains of ice and snow, to extend their wings, or draw out in order of battle. Regner, for this reason, kept in his camp, and watched the opportunity of finding the enemy unguarded. Next night presented the happy occasion he wished for; upon which he led his army with the utmost expedition and silence, in the middle of the night, and broke into their camp, while they were felicitating themselves with the notion of starving the Danes into submission. In this disorder he obtained an easy victory; and after having taken sufficient revenge, withdrew his army out of this inhospitable country.

The long absence of Regner, furnished his bastard son, Ubbo, with an opportunity of displaying his ambition, and unnatural desire of deposing his own father, and seizing upon a crown to which he had no kind of right. In this wild project he was assisted by his grandfather Esbern, a man of great power in Swedish Gothland, where he raised a numerous army in support of Ubbo. But Esbern was defeated by Biorno, who was left prefect of Gothland by his father; and Ubbo meeting with a check from Ivar, the other son of Regner, went into voluntary banishment. Soon after, by the assistance of his grandfather, he equipped a large fleet, with intention to surprise his father at sea; in his return from Russia. He met with him accordingly; but was forced to yield to the superior valour and justice of the parent. In this action Esbern was slain among the first, and his head fixed on the prow of Regner's galley, a circumstance which so terrified Ubbo, that he made all the sail he could towards Zealand, where, once more, making trial of his fortune, he was defeated, made prisoner, and slain by his keepers, for having attempted to make his escape.

*Ubbo, his
bastard son
revolts,
and is con-
quered.*

Regner, who was born to shine as the first of heroes in the Danish annals, had no sooner suppressed this domestic foe, than he was attacked by a more formidable foreign enemy; no other than Daxo, the son of Dio, king of the Hellespont, whom he had lately overcome in several battles. The peace which Dio had concluded, was patched up only with intention of seizing the first opportunity of revenge.

*Regner
conquers
Daxo.*

Daxo murders the brave Widferc, son of Regner.

venge. He submitted from necessity to the terms of the conqueror, and permitted his dominions to be governed by Widferc, Regner's son, who was left in quality of lieutenant, Daxo retaining nothing more than the name and pageantry of majesty. Daxo embraced the opportunity of a fair that was held in the city, to perpetrate his base designs of sacrificing Widferc: accordingly he invited that prince to a feast, and had concealed a number of armed assassins; but this scheme being frustrated by some business, which had prevented the lieutenant's attendance, he went early in the morning to his house, attended with the assassins, dressed like peasants, and finding admittance, was forcing his way to Widferc's chamber, when the prince, alarmed with the noise, leaped out of bed, and placed himself, sword in hand, in the entrance. Here he bravely defended himself till he received a wound, was overpowered with numbers, and taken prisoner. His valour had such an effect upon the treacherous Daxo, that he offered to share the kingdom with him, and to give him his sister in marriage, provided he would promise never to revenge this attack. But the generous Widferc resolutely replied, that he desired no greater favour of his hands than his imbruing them in blood that would not fail of drawing upon the insidious Daxo the vengeance of Regner. Incensed at this haughty repulse, the cruel Daxo ordered him with all his attendants to be bound and thrown into a large fire lighted for the occasion, there feasting his eyes with the unhappy catastrophe of the valorous and noble-spirited Widferc. Advice of this barbarous action coming to the ears of Regner, it gave such a shock to his constitution as had near unsettled his understanding. He ran about the palace like a maniac, tore his hair, rent his cloaths, and committed all the other actions of phrenzy and despair. This paroxysm of madness was succeeded by a fit of despondency and fullness, which it was feared would entirely destroy his reason; but the good sense of the queen Suanloge, got the better of his grief, and roused him to a sense of his own condition, the situation of the kingdom, and the folly of lamenting, like a woman, what ought to be avenged with all the fury of an injured king and father. Convinced by the many forcible arguments this lady advanced, he levied an army, marched into Daxo's country, defeated his army, took him prisoner, and, like a truly generous prince, again set him at liberty: "Enjoy that life, said he, which would only be an unworthy atonement to the manes of my brave son; and let thy own conscience be thy punisher." However, to add to his mortification,

Regner revenges his death; but generously grants his life to Daxo.

tion, he ordered that he should pay an annual tribute, and come in person, once a year, attended by twelve noblemen, all bare-footed, in token of his subjection. Then, leaving his son Eric his lieutenant over the conquered countries, he returned to Norway, where some new commotions began to disturb the public tranquillity. These he soon suppressed, and settling the affairs of that kingdom, left his son Biorno to preside over them.

Before his return to Denmark, his queen Suanloge died, a circumstance which threw him into a fit of deep melancholy, that could only be subdued by the din of arms; and now the occasion offered, for England and Scotland both refused to pay the usual homage. This refusal obliged Regner to raise a prodigious armament by sea and land, which he transported into Scotland, and there fought a dreadful battle, which lasted three days, and ended in the defeat of the Scots, and death of their king. The victory, however, was not cheaply bought; for Regner lost his sons Dan and Rathbert, with a prodigious number of officers and soldiers in the engagement. Passing from thence into England, he fought there with equal success, and subjected the whole kingdom to his obedience, after having defeated Hella, the son of Haum, who was assisted by a powerful reinforcement from France. Nor did Ireland escape the terror of his name, and the weight of his arm; for, transporting his army to that kingdom, he slew Molbric, the Irish general, in battle, routed his army, and made himself master of Dublin, the capital, which he gave to be plundered by his soldiers. Before he returned to Denmark, his subjects there had broke out into open rebellion, and recalled Harold, who had before been set up as king in Jutland. This prince reflecting upon the power and valour of Regner, resolved to make use of every precaution to withstand him, and secure the possession of his new acquired authority. Accordingly he sought the alliance of the emperor, which he obtained conditionally, that he would embrace the Christian religion, and propagate it with all his power through his dominions. Harold, the better to secure the emperor's friendship, without any religion, immediately became a convert to Christianity; without faith, abjured infidelity, destroyed all the pagan idols, and erected a church in Sleswick, where the doctrine of Jesus was publicly preached. Regner arriving in Denmark, as these new schemes of religion and politics were carrying on, attacked Harold without delay, overthrew him, and forced him a second time to seek shelter in Germany. Then he destroyed the Christian temple erected in Sleswick, and restored the worship of the pagan gods; a circumstance which

*Regner
invades
Scotland,
and defeats
the king.*

*Subdues
England.*

*Rebellion
breaks out
in Denmark.*

*Christianity
introduced
into Den-
mark.*

*Regner is
defeated
and cruelly
put to death
by Hella,
king of
England.*

which derogates by no means from his reputation, as he had yet received no conviction of the truth of the Gospel, and had he embraced it, must have proved a convert from political motives : a reflection, which we thought necessary, in answer to the ridiculous defamation of Christian writers. This last act, say they, was evidently punished by the Almighty ; for Hella, king of England, revolting a second time, had seduced Ireland to second his views of independency. This revolt once more drew the aged Regner into the field, where his usual good fortune, but not his valour, deserting him, he was defeated and made prisoner. His cruel enemies, without regarding the character of the hero, threw him bound, into a dungeon filled with snakes, vipers, and poisonous animals, thus ingloriously putting an end to a life grown old in glory and victory. A proverbial saying of this great king's in prison, determined Hella to set him at liberty ; but too late, he had breathed his last before the order came to the jailor. Other writers have given a different account of the death of the great Regner ; but we are of opinion, that the authority of Danish writers ought, in facts respecting their own country, to weigh against the testimony of foreigners : we have therefore related it as we find it asserted by Grammaticus, Pontanus, and Meursius, who correspond directly in all the circumstances of his reign. His whole life was an uninterrupted course of glorious victories, wise measures, and noble generous actions. His repudiating his wife Lathgartha, a woman of so sublime and elevated a soul, may be imputed to him as a weakness, if we suppose it proceeded from the inconstancy of his nature. But this does not appear ; on the contrary, Meursius and Grammaticus affirm, that this lady's chastity was publicly taxed ; and it was unworthy of Regner to cohabit with a wife, who had even been suspected of incontinence. Thus we see the errors of those writers, who place the conversion of the Danish kings in the reign of this monarch^a. It is true, Harold was a Christian, if we may give that appellation to a man who professed this religion only to serve temporary views ; but he never was king of Denmark, he was only an usurper, who, by means of a faction, was raised four months to the throne, during the absence of the lawful prince, by whom he was driven into his primitive obscurity^b.

It is now difficult to fix with certainty the successor of Regner, and continue the series of Danish kings. The disputes and differences on this head, among writers, are

^a Sauning. Chron. Dan. p. 63.
Pontan. ibid. & Sauning, p. 64.

^b Saxo-Gram. Meurs.

numberless, and it would be a vain endeavour to reconcile them: we shall therefore adhere to those who have kept the nearest to a natural chronology, though all, indeed, have greatly failed in this particular (A).

I V A R.

ACCORDING to the best authorities, Ivar was raised to the throne of his deceased father, and began his reign with revenging the unworthy death of that famous warrior. He was proclaimed immediately after Regner's death, which happened, according to Merusius, in the year of Christ 836; but if we credit Pontanus and Suaningius, five years after. He raised an army, equipped a fleet, and without hesitation invaded England; but finding Hella too strong for him, he sent to his brothers for succours. Their arrival with a powerful reinforcement soon turned the scale in favour of Ivar, who defeated Hella, and took ample vengeance on him for the cruel death of his father. Some writers affirm, that he took him prisoner, and ordered him to be hanged on a gibbet before the camp; but Grammaticus, with more probability, relates that Hella fell in battle (B).

A.D. 836.
or,
A. D. 841.

*Ivar re-
venges his
father's
death.*

The better to secure the country, and gain the affections of the people, he remained two years in England; during which time the Danes revolting, raised his brothers Siward and Eric to the throne. This rebellion alarmed Ivar, and obliged him to have recourse to the assistance of the English, of whom he embarked a large body, and sailed with them directly to Holstein. At length he met with the Danish army, engaged and defeated it near Sleswick, after a very bloody and obstinate contest; in which the rebels lost twelve thousand men. He now resolved to keep the Danes in awe by his presence, and therefore sent his brother Agner to

(A) Suaningius and Pontanus entirely omit Ivar in their list of kings, though it is certain that Regner had a son of that name; and as these writers have chiefly made use of the authority of Saxo-Grammaticus, we are at a loss to conjecture upon what testimony they excluded this prince. As they have given no reason for this proceeding, we think ourselves excusable in adhering to

the authority of that elegant historian.

(B) Meursius affirms, that Hella conquering Ivar's father, by the assistance of the Roman forces, whose standard was an eagle, he ordered an impression of this to be scared on Hella's back, his body to be flead, and sprinkled with salt, until he died in the most agonizing torture (1).

(1) Meursius, p. 44.

government in England. Agner resided but a short time in that country; before the English, uneasy under a foreign yoke, raised an army, and were on the point of reducing him to extremity, when Siward, his brother, arrived with a body of forces to his relief; by which he was enabled to reduce them to their former obedience; and to prevent another insurrection, he cruelly massacred the pious king Edmund, with all the nobility of the court^c.

While these horrid transactions were carrying on in England, a rebellion was raised in Sweden, by means of one Osten, a man of a turbulent aspiring disposition. Thither Agner flew with an army of English, and, engaging the enemy with too great impetuosity, was slain in the heat of the engagement; but we are not told which of the parties obtained the victory. Ivar outlived his brother but a short time; for he was carried off by a fever in the fifth year of his reign, but not until he had acquired and merited the reputation of a great and warlike prince.

S I W A R D S N A K E - E Y E.

TO Ivar succeeded Siward, surnamed Snake-Eye, his brother. In his youth this prince had distinguished himself by many extraordinary feats of valour in the field; but now having acquired the crown, he turned his inclinations to the arts of peace, endeavoured to restore industry, and promote the public tranquillity, that had so long been disturbed by a series of foreign and domestic wars. God, says Meursius, seconded his pious intention, and enabled him to complete a reign as pregnant with real felicity and true glory as any which the annals of Denmark can produce. He died, and left an infant son, chosen by the states to succeed him in the throne^d.

E R I C.

THE name of this young prince was Eric, surnamed Bern, or Child. In his minority he was deposed by Eric, brother to the Harold we have so frequently mentioned in the reign of Regner, who took the reins of government into his own hands, assumed the supreme authority, and, by means of a faction, obtained the title of king: a revolution that happened, according to Meursius, in the year 847, though, more probably, just ten years later.

^c Meurs. lib. iii. sub init.

^d Saxo-Græm. & Meurs. ubi citat.

ERIC

ERIC the USURPER.

MINDFUL that his brother was deposed soon after A. D. 857. he had embraced the Christian religion, he conceived the strongest aversion to the doctrine of Jesus, put all the ministers of the Gospel in Denmark to death, and every where restored the pagan religion; from which circumstance we may infer, that Christianity had at this time taken root in this kingdom. As Saxony and England had now begun to shew their uneasiness under the Danish yoke, and to raise armies for the recovery of their liberty, Eric entered into a league and strict alliance with the kings of Sweden and Norway, obtained large supplies of land and sea forces from them, and with a hundred thousand fighting men, and a proportionable fleet, undertook the reduction of England and Saxony, dividing his forces, that he might attack both together, and prevent their mutually assisting each other. The fame of his power was sufficient to reduce the revolters to obedience, and submit to the terms he thought fit to impose, before he had set foot in either country.

It was after his return from this expedition that we may date the æra of Christianity in Denmark; for Eric was again brought back to embrace the truth of the Gospel, in which both he and his brother Harold had been educated. Ansgarius, bishop of Bremen, was the happy instrument of this conversion; in consequence of which Eric abolished the idols he had but lately restored, and published an edict of toleration, permitting all his subjects to follow the doctrine of Christ with impunity. Such was the force of truth, or such, perhaps, the inconstancy of human nature, always eager after novelty, that Christianity spread with amazing rapidity, and was greatly aided in its progress by the zeal and piety of the king, who, notwithstanding his devotion, never once thought of restoring the crown to the right owner: but the invisible hand of Providence brought about justice, in a way which the usurper little expected, amidst the tranquillity in which he had hitherto possessed the throne. Guthorm, his brother's son, became his rival, and connected his own cause with that of young Eric, the son of Siward, and the lawful king of Denmark. Violent were the dissensions raised among all degrees of men by this opposition. Such of the nobility as had taken part with Harold against Regner, or held places under the usurper, remained his fast friends; the rest of the nation in general, those who remembered the glorious Regner, and retained any sense of justice, gratitude, and compassion, took the

A. D. 858.

The usurper embraces and propagates Christianity.

*Young Eric
is restored.*

A. D. 861.

*His cha-
racter.*

side of Guthorm, and declared in favour of the young prince. A bloody battle was fought, in which almost all the nobility of Denmark were slain, and the numerous progeny of Regner entirely extinguished, except the son of Siward, the last hope of this illustrious family*. The usurper too was slain, and his death made way for the young Eric, once more to mount the throne of his ancestors. At first he strenuously opposed the growth of the Christian faith; and took the most vigorous measures to suppress and root it out of his dominions. He put several of the most devout and zealous Christians to death, who had refused to abjure their religion; others he forced or bribed into a compliance with his will. He levelled all the churches with the ground, and sent an army to ravage Saxony, chiefly because the people of that country had received the light of the Gospel. Not long after, however, he not only withdrew his resentment, which had grievously oppressed the Christians, but published entire liberty of conscience, and embraced the true faith, by means of the eloquent and prudent Ansgarius, to whom this as well as the former conversion is wholly to be ascribed. He erected, at his own expence, a magnificent church at Ripen, ordered the pagan temples to be razed, and now became as zealous a Christian as a little before he had been a bigotted heathen; thus acting in extremes, and probably in neither from conviction, but from superstition and prejudice. At the persuasion of Ansgarius, he appointed persons properly qualified to teach the Gospel in every corner of the kingdom, allowed them handsome salaries, and took Ansgarius for his director, not only in spirituals but in temporals likewise; an office for which the good bishop was but indifferently qualified. Having thus afforded a remarkable instance of the weakness of the human understanding, which at different times, and without any particular conviction, can adopt opinions diametrically opposite, he died the proselyte and chief support of that religion, which, but a few years before, he had persecuted with such cruelty and bitterness†.

CANUTE the LITTLE.

ERIC left an only son called Canute, afterwards surnamed the Little, or, according to some writers, the Hairy. As his infancy persuaded the states that a long minority might prove dangerous to the kingdom, they resolved to

* Saxo Gram. lib. ix. Meurs. lib. iii. Pontan. lib. iv. † Aut. mox citat.

elect one of their own body, who should govern with the title and authority of a king during his life, the crown then to revert to Canute or his children. Accordingly Ennignup, a nobleman of great wisdom and valour, was chosen by public consent; but he was scarce seated on the throne before Olaus king of Sweden entered the kingdom, seized upon the crown, maintained it till his death, and then transmitted it to his son Siward, who was slain some years afterwards by an insurrection of the Danes, raised in favour of Canute, who had now attained the years of maturity.

In the very beginning of Canute's reign, a large colony of Danes went forth to look for new habitations, and settled in Prussia, the eastern parts of Courland, and Carelia. Now it was that Norway entirely shook off the yoke of Denmark, under the auspices of Harold, surnamed Yellow-hair (A), which is the only circumstance of any note we find mentioned under this reign. This prince differed greatly from his father with respect to his religious disposition; for Eric was alternately a zealous Pagan or bigotted Christian; whereas Canute was perfectly indifferent to both, and regarded the priests of all religions as little better than pious impostors, whom it was necessary to protect on account of the veneration in which they were held by the people; a way of thinking that brought great scandal upon his memory [†].

A second migration of the inhabitants of Denmark.

F R O T H O VI.

FROTHO VI. the son of Canute, succeeded him; but the year of his succession to the throne is disputed. He was the greatest warrior who had wielded the Danish scepter since Regner. He reduced England, which had rebelled during the indolent reign of his predecessor, and first planted the Christian religion there, if we may credit the Danish historians. The better to propagate the faith in Denmark, he was preparing an embassy to pope Sergius III. to acknowledge his supremacy in spirituals, and to request that he would send some persons perfectly qualified to teach the Gospel in Denmark, when death put an end to all his projects, and deprived his people of an excellent prince. He was married to Emma, daughter to the king of England, by whom he had a son named Gormo, who succeeded to his crown ^h.

[†] Meur. p. 46. Saxa-Gram. lib. ix. p. 178.

^h Ibid.

(A) Pontanus calls this prince Harold, Haarfaar or Fair-Hair,

G O R M O A N G L E II.

GORMO was furnamed Angle, or the Englishman, because he was born in England, where he likewise received the first rudiments of his education. Upon advice of his father's death, he immediately embarked for Denmark, and there received the crown, by the unanimous consent of the people. In his absence the English again took the opportunity of recovering their liberty; nor did he make any attempts to deprive them of it, whether from indolence, or from a rectitude of opinion, a strict regard to justice, and affection for the country of his birth and education, is uncertain. Grammaticus indeed says, that his nature was mild, modest, and moderate; that he was contented with the government of one kingdom, and thought it impossible for a prince to do that justice to the subjects of two different and distant kingdoms, which his duty required; an opinion that reflects great honour on his memory. After a peaceful reign of four years he died, and left the crown to Harold Vⁱ.

H A R O L D V.

THE peaceable reputation which Gormo required, and the tranquillity which his subjects enjoyed, was not lost or disturbed by Harold, who was a prince of much the same disposition. He acted upon his father's principles, preferred ease and tranquillity to every other advantage, preserved the kingdom as he found it, and handed down the crown without additional lustre or stain to his son^k,

G O R M O III.

GORMO III. furnamed the Old, from the extraordinary age to which he lived, was a weak and timid prince, though father to two very warlike princes by his wife, daughter to the king of England. He was a bitter enemy to the Christians, whom he persecuted in every quarter, demolishing their churches, and banishing their clergy. Among other sacred buildings, he totally destroyed and razed the famous cathedral in Sleswick, and ordered the pagan idols to be erected wherever they had formerly stood.

The exploits of Gormo's sons.

Gormo's sons were both men of great ability in war, twins by birth, and rivals in glory. Their first exploits were directed against the Vandals, whom they subdued: next,

ⁱ Meur. p. 46. Saxo-Gram. lib. ix. p. 178. Suaving. p. 65.

^k Pontan. lib. iv.

they

they carried their arms against the English, who had for some time enjoyed their liberty, and conquered them; but without dethroning their uncle, who at that time wielded the sceptre of this country: however, they obliged him to sign an instrument, whereby he conveyed the crown to them at his decease. From England they passed into Ireland, and laid siege to Dublin, where Canute received the wound of which he died a few days after; upon which Harold pushed the siege, took the city, settled the affairs of that country, and returned into Denmark.

While his sons were gathering laurels abroad, Gormo took arms against the Saxons, with a view to oblige them to renounce the Christian religion. Having reinforced his army, by a large body of auxiliary Vandals, he destroyed the country before him with fire and sword, sparing neither sex nor age that did not abjure the faith. The emperor, Henry the Fowler, soon came to the relief of the Saxons, defeated Gormo, and drove him out of Saxony. Pursuing his victory, he entered Holstein, passed into Sleswick, took the city of that name, then a town flourishing in trade, and gave it to his soldiers to be plundered. At a small distance from thence he built another town, as a mark to posterity, that here he fixed the boundaries of his empire. He then granted peace to Gormo, on condition that he would cease to persecute his Christian subjects, and permit liberty of conscience. Gormo was not acquainted with his son Canute's death for some time after his return from Saxony. When it came to his knowledge, it affected him so strongly, that he sickened with grief, and died¹.

H A R O L D VI.

HAROLD his son was immediately elected king; but he refused to accept the crown, until he had first performed his father's last obsequies with all the magnificence becoming his high rank and quality. He was no sooner crowned than he was obliged to dispute the throne of England with Haquin, king of Norway. His claim to this was indeed indisputable, both on account of his affinity, and by the will of Ethelred, who had bequeathed him his dominions, in exclusion of his own son; though, from motives of equity, Harold avoided disputing the crown with this last prince, and permitted him to wear it unmolested to his death. As Adelstan died without issue, he now thought he might fairly assert his claim, and accordingly made preparations for that purpose. Haquin in the mean time in-

¹ Saxo-Gram. lib. ix.

*He succeeds
to the
crown of
England.*

vaded England; besides which, Harold had other reasons for engaging in a war with him. But this alone was sufficient; a conduct that was owing to respect for his uncle and cousin, the late kings of England, might not now be construed into indolence or cowardice, he therefore passed with a fleet into England; and sent another to support the claim of Harold, a prince of the Norwegian blood, who had craved his assistance. The king of Norway, hearing that his dominions were invaded by a pretender to the throne, returned thither before Harold of Denmark's arrival in England. On the coast of Norway he engaged the Danish fleet, commanded by Hovind and Carohio: finding himself inferior in ships, he landed his men, and drew the enemy into a land-engagement, in which he defeated them; but did not live to enjoy his victory, for he was killed in the pursuit: by which means Harold, the pretender to this crown, succeeded him, and paid the promised tribute and homage to Harold of Denmark, in return for the generous aid he had lent him. Thus Norway once more became a province to Denmark^m.

After Harold had settled the affairs of England, he failed against the Vandals, who committed horrid depredations on all the coasts of the Baltic. He had scarce rid his hands of this war, when his aid and protection were solicited by Stubiern, king of Sweden, who was driven out of his own dominions by Eric. To enforce his request, Stubiern had brought along with him Gyntha his sister, a lady of admirable beauty and accomplishments. The stratagem had the proposed effect: Harold became enamoured of her, married her, and promised the brother all the assistance in his power. Raising an army, he led it into Holstein; and marching from thence into Sleswick, he took by storm the new-built city of Henry the emperor, put the commanding officer to death, and made prisoners of the garrison, leaving a sufficient number of his own men in their stead. He restored to this city the ancient name of Sleswick, and annexed it again to the dominions of Denmark. While he resided here, the Vandals resumed their piracies; and Harold again attacked them with such vigour, that he reduced and plundered all their strong holds, and, among the rest, the rich and important city of Wollin, built in an island of the same name, which is formed by two branches of the river Oder. This city he presented to Stubiern, who became extremely dear to him, on account of the brave exploits he had seen him perform in the course of this war.

^m Saxo-Gram. lib. x. p. 182.

He now, therefore, resolved to turn his arms against Eric, and to reinstate his brother-in-law, before he undertook any other affairs. Recruiting his army with the utmost expedition, he led his forces through Holland against Eric. In the mean time advice was received, that Otho I. had entered Jutland with a powerful army, and penetrated to the very heart of the country, to revenge the indignity offered the empire by the attack on Sleswick. Otho, indeed, gave other reasons for his conduct: he pretended to be the protector of Christianity, which Harold persecuted; to be the ally of the Vandals, whom Harold conquered; and the lawful possessor of Sleswick, which the Dane had taken and plundered. The emperor found Jutland an easy prey, all the inhabitants fit to bear arms being enlisted by Harold to serve in the Swedish war. Some assert, that he proceeded to Dantzick, and thence travelling along the coast, flung a spear into the sea, marking that strait as the boundary of his empire. Crantzius affirms, that he passed into the island of Funen, and there built a city called after his own name: but this circumstance we find denied by all the Danish writers; for the city which resembles his name was built, say they, by Othin, many years before the birth of Otho. What the event of this war was, we know not. Some German writers assert, that Harold, collecting all his force, pitched his camp on the narrow neck of land at Sleswick, to intercept Otho, by whom he was defeated. On the contrary, Grammaticus writes, that Otho, hearing of Harold's march against him, retreated with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind many necessaries of his camp, which became so many trophies to the Danish monarch^a. All agree, that the princes having adjusted the preliminaries of a personal conference, met; and Harold, overcome by the arguments of Otho, and the clergy about him, embraced the Christian religion, solemnly and publicly abjuring paganism. On this occasion he received baptism, Otho, the emperor, being sponsor; and the same ceremony was performed on his queen, and all his children. During this congress Stubiern was defeated by Eric, who, in consequence of his victory, seized upon Halland and Bleking, two provinces of Schonen, belonging to Harold. This seizure occasioned the latter to provide against all future irruptions, by erecting that strong wall across the isthmus of Sleswick, which he called Danemarck, or the work of the Danes. Some writers ascribe this wall to the emperor Otho, though for what

Otho's expedition into Jutland.

^a Saxo Gram. ibid. Mæurs. lib. iii. p. 48.

reason we are at a loss to conjecture; the very name sufficiently indicates the authors.

*Defeats
Eric king
of Sweden*

*His son re-
bels and
disputes the
crown
with him.*

Amidst these transactions, Harold king of Norway died, and his son Haquin succeeding, refused the homage and tribute which his father had constantly paid to Denmark. This he believed was a seasonable opportunity for claiming his independency, when Harold was engaged in quarrels with such powerful monarchs, as the emperor Otho, and Eric king of Sweden. It fell out, however, otherwise than he imagined; for Harold immediately demanded the usual homage, and levied an army to enforce his demand. Haquin refusing to comply, he sent a fleet and army thither, under the conduct of some of his generals, while he himself marched against Eric, whom he defeated, and obliged to sue for peace upon such conditions as were proposed by the conqueror. Mean while his army was defeated in Norway by Haquin, and this was only the prelude to his future misfortunes; for his own son Swen, spurred on by ambition, and the intreaties of the Sami and Cimbri, two powerful provinces, who were ready to revolt, aspired at his father's crown. Swen was accordingly crowned king at Weiburg, and a great force raised to support his claim; and, indeed, such was his influence, that the seeds of disaffection began to spring up in every part of Denmark. Harold, however, determined not to be wanting in his duty, raised an army, and gave battle to his son, but was defeated in consequence of the treachery of his officers, many of whom went over with whole troops to worship the rising sun. He next equipped a fleet; nor was his fortune at sea more favourable, for he was a second time defeated, and obliged to take shelter in Zealand, where he found means to refit his ships, with which he determined once more to hazard an engagement. The event was no less unsuccessful than the former, upon which he fled into Normandy, and obtained large supplies of men and ships from the duke. With this reinforcement he returned to Zealand, and once more gave battle to his son. Both were sensible that they now fought for the last stake, and the battle continued for two days with the utmost obstinacy. Great numbers were killed and wounded on both sides; but neither could resolve upon yielding the victory, and of consequence the crown. A treaty therefore was set on foot by some of the more moderate and prudent men in either army; to which the father and son assenting, a truce was settled, and next day appointed for a congress to adjust the particulars of the ensuing treaty. In the mean time Harold was killed by the hands of a common soldier, while he

was

was walking in a grove near his camp, to relax his mind after the fatigue of the day, by which event, the crown descended to Swen without dispute or litigation. Thus died Harold, a prince of very shining qualities, and equally versed in the arts of war and of peace. His piety was no less remarkable than his other virtues. Under him the Christian religion had made great progress, and three bishopricks were endowed in his dominions. He built many churches, founded monasteries, convents, and other religious houses: but what renders his memory respectable is, that he governed with equity, was a just king, a kind master, a tender husband, and an affectionate father, though he met with ungrateful returns from his son and subjects. His body was buried with great funeral pomp, his son paying those honours to his memory, which his ambition prevented his performing while he lived; and now only it was that his subjects became sensible of his merit, and their own folly, when it was too late to remedy their fault.

His unfortunate, end and character.

S E C T. IV.

In which is contained all the material Occurrences until the Year 1147.

S W E N.

AS Swen was the first Danish monarch who had been bred from his youth, and publicly baptized in his infancy, according to the Christian faith, we may date the perfect establishment of the Gospel in Denmark in his reign. He was called Swen-Otho, in compliment to his godfather the emperor, and surnamed Split-beard, from some peculiarity observed about his beard. He was scarcely established on the throne when it was perceivable that the minds of the nobility began to relapse into the idolatry of paganism, and recur to their old superstition. Swen, willing to shew his gratitude to those men who had forfeited their fidelity, and hazarded their lives to procure him a crown, ordered the heathen idols again to be erected in compliment to them. He even went farther, and persecuted the clergy, though he never publicly abjured the doctrine of Christ, or sequestered those lands which his father had annexed to the church. Next he took up arms against the inhabitants of Wollin on

A. D. 981.

Swen, though educated a Christian, persecutes Christianity.

- Saxo-Gram. lib. x. Meurs. lib. iii. Pontan. lib. v.

the

*He is taken
prisoner by
the Van-
dals.*

the Oder, for having assisted his father in the late war; but he was thrice defeated by those brave and loyal islanders, and in the last engagement taken prisoner, and set at liberty on paying a ransom of twice his own weight, when full armed, in pure gold. This ransom was settled at three payments; but the king's person was confined till the last payment was made, which was raised by the generosity of the Danish ladies, who sold their jewels for this purpose, the treasury being quite exhausted, and the country oppressed by heavy taxes for the payment of the two former divisions of the ransom. Upon his return he made some laws favourable to the women; and among others ordained, that they should inherit a third of all estates real and personal. Moreover, he redeemed with all possible expedition all the jewels they had sold for his liberty, and returned them to the proper owners.

*He is de-
feated and
banished by
Eric king
of Swe-
den.*

His misfortunes did not, however, reclaim him, says Grammaticus; he still pursued his idolatrous courses, and persecuted the faith, which drew down upon him the vengeance of the Almighty with more weight. Eric of Sweden, contracting an alliance with the king of Poland and the emperor Otho, and besides, holding Swen in the utmost contempt, after the frequent defeats he had received from a handful of Vandal islanders, raised a great army and invaded Sehonon. Swen marched against him; but was defeated in the first engagement, and driven out of his kingdom. Thence he wandered an exile into Norway, went to the court of Olaus, who had succeeded his brother Haquin, reminded him of the obligations his father Harold owed to the king of Denmark for placing him on his throne; but was answered, that no ingratitude could equal his, who had robbed his father of his crown and his life. Finding no hopes of success by farther applications to this monarch, he went to England, and there met with a reception equally cold and mortifying. Then he retreated into Scotland, and was kindly received by the king, and maintained handsomely at the public expence, for the space of fourteen years^b. Eric now dying, and misfortune opening the eyes and softening the heart of Swen, he began to perceive the folly he had committed, in persecuting the faith in which he had been instructed. He attributed his past calamities to the hand of God, who had thus justly punished his impiety, and returned with redoubled fervour and zeal to the profession of Christianity. His restoration soon followed, through the mediation of the king of Scotland, who exerted himself warmly in behalf of the unfortunate prince. On

*Received
by the king
of Scot-
land, and
restored to
the throne.*

^b Vide auct. citat. ibid.

his return he recalled all the clergy he had banished, set at liberty, and compensated in the best manner he was able, the sufferings of those he had confined; and lastly convoked a diet of the states, to whom he related the circumstances of his banishment, by which he became the sport of his enemies, and the object of the compassion of his friends. He had lost his crown and reputation, dearer than life itself, by the hands of a man who had been defeated, and driven out of Schonen, by his mother; whence it was visible that the hand of God had interposed, and made use of Eric as the instrument of his vengeance, in order to render his punishment and defeat the more disgraceful. As he could not now avoid acknowledging the justice and wisdom of that invisible Power which he had impiously abjured, he requested his people, as they valued their present and future happiness, to be warned by his example, to receive the light of the Gospel, and leave that false and profane religion, which God might permit for a time, but would not fail to punish and destroy in the end. His proposal did not meet with the reception he expected, and he therefore resolved upon other means of accomplishing his wish, and re-establishing Christianity. This was soon effected by the arrival of Poppo, a German divine of great piety and eloquence, who, by dint of example and persuasion, brought about what the king's authority could not effect. Several miracles are related of this prelate; and indeed he was possessed of the happy talent of impressing the people with whatever notions he thought fit to inspire, in which perhaps consisted his supernatural powers. All the clergy were recalled, lands and houses appropriated to their maintenance and residence, and a see was given to Poppo, with power to preside over the rest of the Danish clergy; but at the same time he was suffragan of Adelage, bishop of Bremen.

The Christian religion restored in Denmark.

While Swen was thus employed in promoting piety and the Christian religion, Olaus king of Norway was taking measures for disturbing the public tranquillity. Apprehensive that Swen, after having settled the internal œconomy of his kingdom, might resume his claim to a supremacy over Norway, he determined to anticipate his measures by levying a powerful army, and entering into a strict league with Sweden. Swen receiving advice of these intrigues, found means to countermine the machinations of Olaus, by marrying the queen-mother of Sweden, by which alliance he secured the friendship of king Eric; inasmuch that they executed a treaty for the defence and propagation of Chris-

*Invades
England.*

*His death
and char-
acter.*

tianity, and the mutual security of their kingdoms. Olaf was now enraged with disappointment, and, determined at all events upon revenge, he declared war. The fleets of Denmark and Norway met: they fought with inveteracy, and the latter was defeated and totally dispersed. Olaf escaped out of the battle with a few ships; but was so closely pursued, that, to avoid the disgrace of being taken, he leaped into the sea, and was drowned. In consequence of this victory, Norway was again annexed to the crown of Denmark, and Swen immediately published an edict there in favour of the Christian religion^c. Having settled the affairs of Norway, he prepared to invade England, which had for some years thrown off its subjection to the crown of Denmark. Ethelred II. held at this time the supreme authority in that kingdom, and a peace between him and Swen was concluded, after the latter had over-run great part of the kingdom, and obliged the former to acknowledge his sovereignty^d. In this island he breathed his last, much regretted for the exemplary piety, strict justice, and remarkable proofs of military genius, and valour which he had displayed towards the close of life^e.

It is not very certain who was the immediate successor of Swen, though almost all historians allow that he had two sons, Harold and Canute. Saxo-Grammaticus and Pontanus take no farther notice of the former, than by mentioning him as the son of Swen; affirming that the latter, though youngest, was raised to the throne in preference to his brother.

H A R O L D.

ON the contrary, Meursius and Lyschander number Harold among the kings, asserting, that he succeeded Swen by right of primogeniture; this being an invariable maxim with the states, where some very extraordinary circumstances and reasons for laying aside the elder brother do not occur, upon their authority we shall venture to insert Harold in the list of kings, however unworthy of that dignity he afterwards proved. His effeminacy, lewdness, profligacy, and entire contempt of decency, virtue, and morality, rendered him so odious to a people always brave and now perfectly civilized by the beautiful system of religion and morals introduced among them, that he enjoyed but a short time the honour he so little merited. He was deposed with every possible mark of disgrace and infamy, and his brother raised to the throne; of which he likewise

*He is de-
posed.*

^c Saxo-Gram. etiam Pontan. lib. 5. ^d Meurs. lib. iii. p. 3.
^e Saxo-Gram. lib. v. p. 191. Pontan. p. 145. Meurs. Hist. p. 51.

had like to have been deprived, on account of his constant engagements in foreign wars, the Danes neither bearing with temper a perfect indolence, nor too great activity in their princes^b.

CANUTE the GREAT.

CANUTE, deservedly surnamed the Great, began his A.D. 1015. reign with the invasion of England and Norway, both these kingdoms having thrown off the subjection they had promised to his father Swen. The talents of Canute for the cabinet and the field were greatly superior to his father's, and indeed equal to those of any prince who had wore the Danish diadem. The English recalled Ethelred their king; who had abdicated the throne; and as their affections were ever in extremes, Canute perceived that this event would be attended with an attempt to render him independent of the crown of Denmark, and took his measures accordingly. But that he might not be oppressed with such a multitude of foreign wars, as he found he must necessarily be engaged in, he temporized with the Vandals, and other northern nations, who claimed the same independency with England and Norway, in order to direct his whole force against the two last kingdoms. England was his main object; and to prevent its receiving succours from Norway, he artfully drew Claud, the king's brother, into his views, by persuading him to lay claim to the crown. He afterwards sailed for England; and in his way met, say the Danish historians, with the English fleet, commanded by king Edward in person, whom he defeated after a sharp engagement (A). At first, say they, victory, which was disputed with great obstinacy, seemed to incline to the English, when Thymon, a nobleman of Zealand, arriving with a reinforcement, soon obliged her to declare in favour of Canute^c. Numberless difficulties, indeed, occur in this period of our history, and the strongest contrariety of sentiments in the Eng-

^b Crantzius apud Meurs. lib. iii. p. 53. Pontan. lib. v. p. 147.
^c Saxo-Gram. lib. x. Meurs. lib. iii. Pont. lib. v.

(A) These were the express words of Meursius and Pontanus, which are diametrically opposite to the relations of all English historians. According to these last, Ethelred reigned in England at this time. Canute landed without opposition;

and, relying upon the dilatory disposition of the English monarch, imagined he should carry all with little trouble; but misfortunes had rendered Ethelred more prudent, and his vigorous measures obliged Canute to reembark for Denmark.

Contradiction of the English and Danish historians.

kish and Danish historians: but we shall leave them to be discussed in our history of England, that being the theatre of the war, and the proper place for entering upon such disquisitions, which very little affect the history of Denmark.

Canute had other motives than the power of Ethelred for returning to Denmark. His absence had furnished Olaus of Norway with an opportunity of invading his kingdom; but his return, and the vigour with which he attacked the Norwegians, obliged that monarch to embark not only with great loss, but also to seek shelter in Russia, whither he was pursued by Canute's son, who ravaged a great part of that country, and totally subdued Esthonia, a province of Livonia, at that time subject to the Muscovites, obliging the inhabitants to pay tribute to the crown of Denmark^d.

Canute enters upon a war with Sweden and Norway.

In the mean time Canute, after having held a personal conference with the king of Sweden, to adjust some disputes which threatened to disturb the public tranquillity, and settling the affairs of Denmark, was preparing to embark again for England, where he imagined his presence would be advantageous to his affairs, upon the death of Ethelred. But the old king of Sweden dying before the fleet intended for England was ready to put to sea, his intention was deferred, upon receiving advice that Omund, the young king of Sweden, was taking measures to reinstate Olaus of Norway in his throne and dominions. Omund, in fact, not only granted Olaus a passage to Norway through his dominions, but assisted him with a powerful body of troops, by which the exiled prince was soon in a condition to appear at the head of a formidable army, and to fortify all the posts against Canute. Not contented with this, it was agreed between him and the king of Sweden, that the former should invade Zealand, and the other Danish islands in the Baltic, while the latter should make a descent upon Jutland: they had moreover endeavoured to stir up an insurrection in England, where the malecontents were to declare themselves at the very time when he should be most engaged in the defence of his own dominions. By this extended plan, and such a variety of attacks in different places, they hoped to confound his councils, to weaken and divide his forces in such a manner as would render victory certain, and clip the wings of this soaring and ambitious king. But his policy, his penetration, courage, and steadiness, frustrated all their designs, and turned their intrigues against themselves. He procured some of the most faithful noblemen of Zealand to carry on a secret correspondence with

^d Aust. citat. *ibid.*

Olaus, and to promise that they would take up arms, with all their vassals, as soon as his fleet appeared. Several other designs they formed; and appeared so earnest and sincere, that Olaus, having no suspicion of treachery, had nearly been surrounded by Canute's fleet, while he was waiting the effects of the promised insurrection. Thus were all the measures of Olaus overturned, without the loss of a man, and himself forced to retreat with such precipitation, as equalled the disgrace of a defeat. As soon as Canute had refreshed his troops, he passed with such celerity to Schonen, that he surprised, defeated, and slew in battle the king of Sweden^d.

Having now rid his dominions of foreign enemies, his next measure was to raise such civil commotions in Norway as would render it impossible for Olaus to disturb the peace of Denmark. With this view he artfully distributed large sums of money among the leading men of that kingdom, encouraged Harold the king's brother to renew his claim to the crown, and, in a word, took such effectual and politic steps, as not only answered his purpose, but ended in the death of Olaus, who, as some affirm, was murdered, by a conspiracy formed by his brother Harold; while others say he was deposed and put to death by his own nobility, influenced by the gold and intrigues of the court of Denmark^e.

Canute was now the most formidable potentate perhaps in Europe. Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and England, were tributary to him: his alliance was courted by the greatest monarchs; even the emperor Conrade sought his daughter in marriage, and voluntarily renounced all claim to Holstein. When Conrade was afterwards deposed, he reaped the fruits of Canute's friendship; for, by means of his interest and power, he was again restored to the imperial dignity. He afterwards embarked for England, in which country he spent the remainder of his life. Finding the extent of his dominions, and the government of so many distant kingdoms, too great a weight for any single person, he resolved to divide the authority; and accordingly gave the crown of Denmark to his second son Hardi-Canute; to Harold, the eldest, according to the Danish historians, he gave the crown of England; to Swen, the youngest, he assigned Norway. As we shall have occasion to enlarge upon the military actions of this great prince in our history of England, to avoid repetition, we shall only subjoin in this place, that he died a natural death in England, after he had

The success of Canute's policy.

His character and death.

^d Saxo-Gram. lib. x. Meurs. lib. iii. p. 55. citat. ibid.

^e Vide Aust.

reigned

reigned with great applause for the space of twenty-five years over that kingdom, and is deservedly enrolled with the greatest princes who ever wore the diadem. His early age was rendered famous by glorious victories, and the most refined policy: the last years of his life are celebrated for his temperance, a strict regard to justice, affability, clemency, and every other virtue that could render him beloved and respected by his subjects.

H A R D I - C A N U T E.

THIS prince, the second son of Canute, obtained the appellation of Hardi Canute, or Hardi-Knute, from the difficulties he combated; and the valorous actions he performed in Russia, when his father sent him thither in pursuit of Olaus king of Norway. He was preparing to invade England, then governed by his brother Harold, when some insurrections among the Norwegians, who were desirous of recalling the Olaus family, rendered his presence in that country necessary. His transactions in Norway are variously related. Some affirm that he sent an army thither, which was defeated by Magnus, the son of Olaus, the elected king of Norway. Others are of opinion, that, in order to prosecute his voyage to England, Hardi-Canute entered into a treaty with Magnus, and yielded to him the crown, of which his brother Swen was unworthy; but still obliged him to acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Denmark. Certain it is Hardi-Canute equipped a great fleet, and sailed to Bruges in the Low Countries, at that time the residence of his mother Emma, by whom he was made acquainted with the death of Harold. Here he was met by the English ambassadors, sent to invite him to accept of the crown. As from henceforward he may be looked upon as an English king, we shall leave the particulars of his reign to be related in the history of that country. Sufficient for our purpose it is to observe, that he reigned king of Denmark from the year 1035, to the year 1041; and died with the reputation of a prince whose character was compounded of the most detestable vices and the noblest virtues. His valour and generosity were in the number of the latter; his cruelty, ferocity, intemperance, and debauchery, composed the former^f.

M A G N U S.

PONTANUS relates, that, after the death of Hardi-Canute, Magnus, the son of Olaus, king of Norway, suc-

^f Crantz. apud Meursi. lib. iii. Saxo Gram. lib. x.

ceeded to the throne of Denmark, in consequence of a compact between him and Hardi-Canute, that the survivor should inherit both kingdoms; but we find no mention of this treaty in any other historian, nor was it in the power of Hardi-Canute to bequeath his crown without the consent of his people. On the contrary, Meursius affirms, that Magnus invaded Denmark with a powerful fleet and army, immediately on the death of Hardi-Canute. It was the dread of his power that induced the states to elect him, in order to avoid the necessity of being compelled into that measure. Immediately he received the allegiance and homage of the nobility, and was publicly proclaimed king of Denmark and Norway; for by this time the English had renounced the Danish blood, and raised Edward, surnamed the Confessor, to the throne. His election was uncontested; but Swen, the nephew of Canute the Great, by his sister, soon after the accession of Magnus, put in his claim to the throne, imagining he should be strongly supported by England, in consequence of a promise he had received from Edward, and some other steps he had taken in that country. This Swen is spoken of as if he had been king of England after Hardi-Canute's death; for Grammaticus and Meursius both say, that he left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of Harold, Godwin's son, who betrayed him, and was the great instrument of expelling the Danes out of that island. Relying upon this support, he disputed the crown of Denmark with Magnus, intending to use force, should his application to the states prove ineffectual. Both his designs were now frustrated, and the Danes driven out of England, which they could never afterwards recover.

Swen, nephew to Canute, claims the crown of Denmark.

Notwithstanding these unfortunate occurrences, Swen determined not to relinquish his claim: he had the address to gain over a great number of the Danish nobility to his interest, by their means he equipped a fleet in Jutland, with which he gave battle to Magnus, and was routed, being forced to take shelter in the island of Funen. Here he re-fitted, and ventured upon another engagement, which terminated as unsuccessfully as the former. His whole fleet was taken or dispersed, he himself escaping with a single ship to Zealand, whither the conqueror pursued him, and obliged him to retire to some of the remoter provinces of Sweden.

Swen defeated.

This war being ended, Magnus resumed his operations against the Vandals, with whom it seems he was at war before Swen occasioned the late commotions. He had slain

Magnus overthrows the Vandals in a bloody battle.

o Pontan: lib. v. p. 198.

their prince Ratiborius, who left behind him eight sons, all sworn enemies to Magnus, and men of great valour, who resolved on revenging their father's death. Accordingly they over-ran the coasts of Jutland, laying waste all the country through which they passed, with all the cruelty of incensed barbarians. Fired with resentment, and a sense of the deplorable condition to which his unhappy subjects were reduced, Magnus raised an army, seized the strait or narrow pass at Sleswick to intercept the enemy, and there gave them battle, with such advantage as fully avenged his subjects, and punished those barbarians for their savage cruelty. Some historians relate, that forty thousand of the Vandals were left dead on the field, and those that remained compelled to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion; but Meurfius reduces the number of slain to fifteen thousand, affirming, however, that the prisoners greatly exceeded this number^c.

*He is sur-
named the
Good.*

This victory, and his clemency to the prisoners, acquired him the surname of Good; and so endeared him to all his people, that on his return they met him in crowds, loading him with blessings, abjuring Swen, and offering their lives and fortunes for the extirpation of that pretender to his crown, and the defence of his majesty's person and dignity. It was not long after the defeat of the Vandals that Magnus died by a fall from his horse, which took fright at a hare's crossing the road before him, and threw his rider upon stakes fixed in the ground, or some trunks of trees that had just been cut down. Other writers allege, that he was drowned in the Baltic, in passing from one ship to another in a small boat. Certain it is, that his death was greatly and deservedly lamented by his people, who enjoyed under him all the happiness which it was in the power of a wise and brave monarch to communicate to affectionate and faithful subjects, in so short a reign as eight years, or, as some writers imagine, of no more than three years^d.

*His death
and cha-
racter.*

S W E N III.

AFTER the death of Magnus, Swen, who had ever since his defeat been an exile in Sweden, was called without opposition to the throne, to which he was the nearest heir by blood. From his mother, who was sister to Canute the Great, he took the surname of Estrith; but notwithstanding his alliance to this great prince, necessity, rather than affection, induced the Danes to elevate him to the dignity of their king, the whole blood royal being extinct

^c Meurf. lib. iii. p. 48.

^d Andr. supra citat. ibid.

in Hardi-Canute. A great part of the nation, and indeed the bulk of the nobility and people, who had sided with Magnus against him, would have been glad to see any other person upon the throne; as they dreaded the resentment of a prince whose pretensions they had so strenuously opposed. Another circumstance besides the necessity from kindred, contributed greatly to Swen's promotion: the late defeat of the Vandals had greatly weakened that people; but then it increased their animosity to the Danes, in the same proportion as it diminished their strength. They impatiently watched the opportunity for revenge; and a better could never offer than when Denmark was embroiled in a civil war, which would have inevitably happened, had any opposition been made to Swen's elevation. This the prudent men foresaw, and chose therefore to run the hazard of his resentment, for having taken part with Magnus against him than to expose the kingdom to certain destruction, from the incursions of so barbarous, cruel, and incensed a foe as the Vandals.*

Reasons why Swen was elected king.

Swen began his reign by making some regulations in the church, and settling the jurisdiction of the several bishops, concerning which some disputes had arisen among the clergy. While he was busied in this manner, the Norwegians recalled Harold, the brother of their king Olaus, and placed him on the throne, after he had lived a great number of years in exile. Harold knowing that Swen was elected king of Denmark, and finding that his power was insufficient to cope with that monarch, scrupled not to hold his kingdom as a fief of Denmark, until a fit occasion should offer for his claiming its independency, and throwing off so shameful a vassalage. He seized the opportunity of Swen's being engaged in a war with the Vandals, and levied powerful forces, with which he had the presumption to invade a part of the Danish dominions. Intelligence of his proceedings soon recalled Swen, who gave him battle, and was defeated with prodigious loss. A great part of his fleet was taken without a single man on board, the seamen plunging into the sea to avoid the disgrace of falling into the hands of an enemy they had been taught to hold in contempt, in consequence of the repeated victories gained over them. Meursius relates, that Swen having first gained a complete victory, but generously setting the captives at liberty, Harold immediately renewed the fight, while the Danish monarch was wrapped in security, and easily defeated him. Swen, being thus conquered, took

Harold of Norway makes war upon Swen.

* Pontan. lib. v. p. 182. Saxo-Gram. lib. xi. p. 204.

*Swen de-
feated.*

refuge with the remainder of his fleet in the small islands, from whence he went over to Schonen and Zealand to recruit his forces, and endeavour to retrieve the loss sustained from his too great humanity. As soon as he had completed his levies, and repaired his fleet, he again fought the enemy in the Baltic. He caused his ships to be chained together, and though greatly inferior in force, bravely maintained the engagement till night, and would probably have obtained a victory had not Harold received a reinforcement, which greatly dispirited the Danes, or rather a number of Germans who served in the fleet, and now separated themselves in the night, to prevent the consequences of a defeat, and their falling into the enemy's hands. Swen, whose courage was invincible, renewed the battle next morning, notwithstanding a third part of his fleet had withdrawn, and hoping to make up by resolution what he wanted in strength, fought with the utmost fury, and most obstinate valour, until he was at length overpowered by numbers, and forced to yield to his ill fortune.

*Harold
killed and
defeated in
England.*

Harold, not satisfied with two victories obtained over the Danes, landed his forces, and laid waste all the coasts of the islands and Danish continent, burning, destroying, and ravaging many villages and cities, and among the rest Sleswick. Swen was forced to content himself with harassing Harold in his march, not being able to raise a force sufficient to give him battle; but when he had least reason to expect it, Providence wrought a happy change in his situation. The civil divisions in England had roused Harold's ambition to extend his conquests and influence, which he thought he might probably do by taking part with Godwin's children against their sovereign. The low condition to which he had reduced Swen, gave him no disturbance about the consequences of his absence from Norway; he therefore resolved upon an expedition to England, where he was killed; by which means Swen recovered the peaceable possession of all his dominions. Harold's sons, Olaus and Magnus, shared their father's dominions, and entered into a treaty and alliance with Swen, which was confirmed by the marriage of Olaus with the daughter of Swen.

The death of Harold II. king of England, who was slain in a battle fought with William of Normandy, called the Conqueror, furnished Swen with an opportunity of putting in his claim to the crown of England, as the only remaining descendant of Canute the Great. He had kindly received the two sons and daughter of Harold, who took re-

¹ Meurs. lib. iii.

² Meurs. Hist. ibid.

fuge

fuge with him upon their father's defeat; and the latter he married to the prince of Russia. He accordingly equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, and put on board a large body of land-forces, under the command of his sons Harold and Canute. On their arrival in the mouth of the Humber, they were suddenly joined by a great body of malcontents, who were resolved at any rate to throw off the unsupportable tyrannical yoke of William. After a series of transactions, which will be recited in the English history, they retired, at the persuasion of Osbern, brother to Swen, who had been corrupted by the gold of Normandy. The king his brother was so incensed at his venality, that on the return of the fleet, he immediately ordered Osbern into perpetual banishment^h.

The Danes depart from England.

A few years before Swen's death, the Vandals again revolted, from their dislike to the Christian religion, which they had been forced to embrace, after the great defeat they last received from Harold. They now overthrew or ruined all the Christian churches among them, setting up their pagan idols, and putting to death a bishop and several Christian prelates: then they entered Holstein with fire and sword, and made the country an entire desert. They moreover pillaged the city of Sleswick, levelled the churches with the ground, and, in derision, broke the crucifixes which mistaken piety had erected in different quarters of the town. But the greatest insult upon Swen was the manner in which they treated his sister Syrih, whom they stripped naked, and in that condition sent to Denmark. With such celerity did they execute all these barbarities, that the provinces of Sleswick and Holstein were over-run before Swen had intelligence of the irruption. He immediately raised an army to revenge these injuries, but soon dropped his resolution, and wasted his time in unseasonable acts of devotion at Roschild. Superstition had now weakened all his faculties; priests became his privy-counsellors; and all the duties of a king and of a man, were absorbed in a narrow zeal and bigotted attachment to the pageantry of religion. His subjects were oppressed with taxes to support the luxury and pomp of the clergy, to purchase plate, and other church ornaments, and to endow religious foundations. Hence it is that the clergy alone have extolled the character of this prince, as the most munificent, pious, and merciful monarch that ever filled the throne of Denmark: notwithstanding his incontinence was so great, that of fifteen sons he left behind him, not one was legitimate; and

The Vandals over-run Holstein.

Swen's death and character.

^h Saxo-Gram. lib. xi.

he had polluted the house of God by the cruel murder of several of his nobility: an offence which he sufficiently expiated by his munificence and generosity to those who assumed the power of granting absolution for the most heinous crimes¹.

*His five
sons succeed
him in the
throne suc-
cessively.*

This prince died of an acute fever in Jutland, while his son Canute was employed in quelling a rebellion which appeared in Esthonia. When Swen perceived that his dissolution was approaching, he assembled all the nobility, and obliged them to promise that they would chuse his eldest son for their king, and after him the next surviving brother; in consequence of which obligation, five of his children successively arrived at that dignity; an instance that cannot perhaps be equalled in history. As to the character of this prince, his unfortunate battles with Harold of Norway prove him a great warrior; for military talents are not always to be estimated by the event. His excessive indulgence to the clergy, at the expence of his people, who were almost ruined by his pious donations, prove him either to have been naturally weak, or at least emasculated by superstition. The number of his illegitimate children demonstrate that he was remarkably libidinous; and his massacring his nobility as they were offering their devotions in church, is a testimony of his cruelty and impiety; nevertheless, his conduct in the Norwegian war are sufficient proofs that his natural disposition was brave, liberal, and generous to a degree of weakness.

H A R O L D the S I M P L E.

HAROLD, the eldest son of Swen, was elected in the room of his father, after warm disputes about the succession. The noble qualities of Canute, a younger son, had raised a strong party in his favour; but the promise made to the late king, and Harold's gold, at length prevailed: upon which Canute went over to Schonen, there to prosecute the war against the Vandals, which had been left unfinished by his father. This was a kind of honourable banishment, into which he entered to avoid exciting his brother's jealousy, or disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom. Such prudent and moderate conduct in a young prince of known ambition, affected Harold in such a manner, that he gave him the kindest invitations to return, and offered to receive him as his colleague in the administration; but Canute adhered to his first resolution, either foreseeing that divided authority would be attended with inconvenience, or disdaining to share the supreme power with a brother whose capacity he despised².

¹ Saxo-Gram. Pontan. & Meurs. *ibid.*

² Saxo-Gram. lib. xi.

Before Harold mounted the throne, he made the most ample promises to the people of framing new laws, such as would redress all the grievances consequent on those at that time in force, and of governing them with the most scrupulous regard to justice and the public good; but the first part of his engagement he never fulfilled, except in one instance: this was a law by which criminals, where positive evidence was wanting, should be allowed to clear themselves by an oath, and, without passing the ordeal, or trial by fire, as was usual in Denmark, and all the other kingdoms in Europe. The law was received with universal approbation: Harold afterwards, as if he had sufficiently established his reputation, resigned himself to the most shameful indolence and sloth, neglected to enforce the laws already made, and suffered the whole kingdom to be polluted by the most scandalous corruption, licentiousness, and venality; in which situation Canute found it at the death of his brother, who survived his elevation but two years, according to Grammaticus and Meursius¹, though the latter acquaints us, that some writers have prolonged his reign to upwards of six years.

A law made by Harold.

CANUTE the PIOUS.

CANUTE was recalled by the states on the death of his brother, and appointed his successor. Grammaticus says, this prince accepted of the crown merely with a view to extend the Christian religion, and not from motives of ambition. The war he had waged in his brother's life-time against the Vandals was for the sake of religion; and he now renewed it, when his power enabled him to punish the impiety of those infidels with more success and severity. Nor did he ever relax in this design until he had accomplished it, by obliging several idolatrous nations lying on the frontiers of Livonia and Muscovy, to receive the truths of the gospel. Having happily finished this war, he married Ethla, daughter to the earl of Flanders, and then applied himself to curb the licentiousness, immorality, and corruption which had crept into public offices, and among all degrees of men, during the inactive reign of Harold. But sensible that example would operate more powerfully on the minds of the people than the most rigid laws, he began a reformation, by the strictest observance of every moral and religious virtue, by enforcing the laws already made, and by shewing his own obedience to them, in the same manner as he required it of the meanest subject. The

His conduct.

His virtues.

¹ Meurs. lib. iii. p. 63

effect answered his most sanguine expectation. Every man was ambitious of emulating his sovereign; merit and virtue were the only recommendations to court-favour; and this consideration rendered them universally sought after. In a word, Canute's reign may be called the reign of religion, virtue, and true worth in Denmark, in which temperance, chastity, liberality, justice, and all the heroic and social virtues were cultivated from the king to the peasant *.

After civil affairs had undergone a thorough alteration, Canute applied himself to ecclesiastical matters, in which he made several useful regulations. The first was to detach the body of the clergy entirely from the civil government, and confine their authority wholly to the affairs of the church; such as inspecting into the lives, manners, and doctrine of the inferior clergy, and prescribing the forms of public worship. The power of the bishops, however, was greatly augmented, for they were raised to the dignity of dukes and princes, and took place of the senators and nobility of the highest quality. Such was his regard for the bishops, that he even invested them with the civil sword, and permitted them to go to war with all the power of independent sovereigns †.

*Canute's
regard for
learning.*

But it was not the least glory of Canute, that he paid the utmost respect to men of learning, and promoted the study of arts and sciences by his own private benevolence, as well as by public rewards, and certain literary foundations, which he annexed to the ecclesiastical government. It is certain, however, that a prince may carry his regard to religion and learning, to a pitch dangerous to himself and oppressive of the people. Canute's bounty to the clergy and learned men had no bounds; besides the numberless institutions he made in their favour, he granted them the tythes, a step which occasioned universal disaffection, and at length brought on his ruin. Large sums of money were expended in erecting churches and pious foundations, which were raised from the sweat of the labourer, and the oppression of the useful husbandman and mechanic ‡.

*He medi-
tates the
reduction
of England.*

In this situation were the affairs of Denmark when Canute, laying aside civil and ecclesiastical affairs, resolved once more to embark in war, and attempt the recovery of England. He communicated his intentions first to his brother Olaf, who greatly approved of it from private views, and afterwards to the senate, who did not discourage the project. He therefore equipped a fleet, and raised an

* Pontan. lib. v. p. 298.

† ibi supra.

‡ Meurs. lib. iv.

* Saxo-Gram. lib. xi. Pontan.

army with all possible expedition. The earl of Flanders, and a great number of English exiles residing at that court, rejoiced at the occasion that was likely to restore them to their own country, whence they had been driven by William's severity and partiality to the Normans. While the fleet and army were waiting at the appointed rendezvous, until Canute had finished some public business, and appointed regents to govern the kingdom in his absence, he discovered that his brother Olaus had been secretly endeavouring to deprive him of the crown: upon this discovery, he immediately set out with a few troops for Sleswick, of which his brother was governor, to secure his person, and bring him to public justice. Olaus had, however, so gained upon the affections of the soldiers, that they refused to obey the king's orders to seize him: upon which Eric, brother both to Olaus and the king, broke into his apartment, and brought him, bound in chains, to his majesty. Canute, not caring to pollute his hands with a brother's blood, sent him to his father-in-law the earl of Flanders, with directions that he should be treated in a manner suited to his rank, but so narrowly watched as to prevent his return to Denmark. In the mean time, the tools of Olaus had so wrought upon the minds of the soldiers by their artful insinuations, that they disbanded of themselves, before the king's return; a defection which obliged him to postpone his expedition to England, and convoke another diet, before he could raise an army.

His brother conspires against him.

The army deserts.

This diet he opened with a speech, reminding the people of the glory acquired by his ancestors, by the faithful attachment of their subjects; of their conquests in different parts of Europe, and particularly in England, which country they had held for two hundred years in subjection, and lost from indolence and pusillanimity. He represented to them the shame of deserting their monarch, who was in full pursuit of glory, conquest, and dominion: and of so scandalously abandoning a cause, which required no more than their presence to terminate happily. He laid before them the advantages which would result to Denmark, a poor, rocky, cold, and unfertile country, from the conquest of an island abounding with all the conveniences and luxuries of life: in a word, he omitted no arguments that could seduce or impel them to their duty; but in vain. The emissaries of Olaus were indefatigable, and the minds of the people wholly alienated from their sovereign from the time he had granted the tenths to the clergy. They insisted upon th

The king calls a diet

He is betrayed and put to death.

revocation of this decree, and Canute was unhappily obstinate to reject the proposal. The people rose in arms in different quarters, and he was forced to seek shelter in the island of Funen, where he soon after perished through the treachery of a nobleman, in whose fidelity he had placed his greatest confidence. He died by the hands of a people he loved; and but for a few errors in his conduct, and the ambition of his brother Olaus, would have governed happily. His valour, justice, generosity, and piety, were universally acknowledged; but a certain easiness of temper, and tincture of enthusiastic devotion, betrayed him into weaknesses that were the original causes of his unfortunate end.

OLAUS, surnamed the HUNGRY, or Famished.

CANUTE's death was no sooner known than the friends of Olaus set every spring at work to procure his liberty, and raise him to the throne. They doubted not but they should enjoy his chief confidence and favour, as they were the instruments of his promotion. Accordingly a sum of money was raised for his ransom, and his brother Nicholas sent to the earl of Flanders to conduct Olaus to Denmark. On his arrival his brother Eric, who had seized him in Sleswick, retired with his family into Sweden, not doubting but the young king would deeply resent an action which had occasioned his long imprisonment.

The first act of Olaus's government was the shewing his gratitude to his brother Nicholas, who had voluntarily remained prisoner in Flanders in order to procure his release. Olaus sent thither a large sum of money for his redemption. He next proceeded to several popular regulations, in order to secure the affections of the people, as he knew that a great part of the nation dreaded his resentment, on account of their espousing the cause of Canute; but he was interrupted in this laudable conduct by a terrible misfortune, which he could neither foresee nor prevent. A dreadful famine, in consequence of a bad harvest, prevailed so much, that the richest people in Denmark were forced to supply the want of bread with roots and other vegetables, while the poor, who were unable to procure even these, perished in the streets and highways. Nor was this all the calamity they underwent: the heat of the preceding summer, and the deluges of rain which had fallen in the autumn, occasioned such a corruption in the air, and alteration in the human frame, as was attended with the most

deplorable pestilence that had ever been known in any northern country. Famine and pestilence seemed to contend which should most afflict the miserable Danes. Thousands were swept off by each, and public fastings and prayers appointed in all the churches, to beseech God to remove so insupportable a scourge, which they now looked upon as the just punishment of their late rebellion against the best of monarchs. Sweyn, bishop of Roschild, undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, thereby to appease the Almighty, and atone for the crimes of the people. At length it pleased God to put a stop to the plague, and to send a plentiful harvest, which removed the wants of the people; but not during the life-time of Olaus, who, oppressed with grief at the miseries of the nation, died suddenly, and, as some affirm, upon the following occasion. It had long been customary for the nobility to dine with the king on Christmas-day, and they were accordingly invited by Olaus. When dinner was served up, the king called for bread, but was told there was not a morsel in the kingdom: a reply that struck him with such horror, that he put up a prayer to God, beseeching him to accept of his life as an atonement for his crimes, and the sins of the nation. His prayer was heard; he instantly expired, and the famine ceased. We must, however, observe, that this anecdote is not very consistent with the account given by the best writers, and even by Grammaticus himself, though he relates this story; for they all assert, that the famine was removed by the ensuing plentiful autumn. Some writers allege, that Olaus reigned only seven years; but Ælnothus, a contemporary historian, affirms, that he wore the crown eight years and nine months^b.

*The cause
of the death
of Olaus.*

E R I C III.

OLAUS dying suddenly, the states immediately assembled to elect a successor, and it was unanimously agreed that a deputation should be sent to Eric, then an exile in Sweden, to invite him to the throne. Under this excellent prince, who was possessed of many heroic and amiable virtues, Denmark began to retrieve her ancient character and power. In the beginning of his reign, he engaged in a war with the Vandals, because they had protected two notorious pirates, who were banished out of Schonen for their crimes, and now committed the most impudent depredations and robberies on the high seas, as well as on the coasts of Denmark. Fitting out a fleet, he invested their

^b Apud Meursi. lib. iv.

capital in the isle of Rugen; and, after a vigorous siege, took it by assault. Then, to deprive those pirates of this strong hold, he ordered the fortifications to be razed, and the town so thoroughly dismantled, that, for a great number of years, it did not recover its ancient strength and splendor. He next pursued the pirates into all the different ports of the Baltic, and punished severely those who fell into his hands, in order to terrify others by these examples. Eric's nature was mild, and prone to mercy; but he saw the security of Denmark depended on the extirpation of this nest of thieves. After having wholly subdued the Vandals as he imagined, he returned to his capital, where he was received with the acclamations of a joyful people, who had penetration enough soon to discover the true character of their sovereign. His residence here was but short, when the Vandals made shift, notwithstanding their late reduction, to enter Denmark, spreading terror and desolation wherever they went, in revenge for the destruction of their city; but making so short a stay as rendered it impossible for Eric to attack and punish them before they quitted his dominions. Enraged at this insult, he raised a body of troops, and, entering their country, so severely chastised them, that, during his life, they never again attempted giving him the least molestation^a.

*He severely
chastises
the pirates.*

*Canonizes
Canute.*

On his return he sent a deputation to Rome, setting forth the virtues and piety of his brother Canute, who perished a martyr to religion by the hands of an enraged populace, and requesting that he might be enrolled in the calendar of saints; which petition was honourably received and granted by his holiness, who had too much policy to refuse a request from so potent a monarch, which, at the same time, implied a compliment to his own authority. Not long after this incident the pope, Paschal II. found an opportunity of displaying his power more amply to the Danes. A dispute, concerning some temporalities, arising between Eric and the bishop of Bremen, that prelate went in person to Rome, and, laying the case before his holiness, obtained a verdict, though Eric refused for some time to stand by this award; but was afterwards forced to yield to the clamours of his own clergy, and the thundering menaces of the conclave. It is even affirmed, that he was forced to go in person to Rome to supplicate the pope's pardon, and make up the breach between him and the holy see by the most respectful submission^b.

^a Pontan. lib. v.

^b Meurs. lib. iv. p. 68.

After

After Eric's return from Rome, a musician, boasting to him of his skill on the harp, asserted, that his power over the faculties extended so far, that he could at any time deprive his hearers of their understanding, and render them frantic by the force of harmony. Eric, who greatly doubted the truth of the musician's asseveration, ordered him to give a specimen of his skill, and was himself the first instance of the truth of what the artist asserted; for his passions were so wound up, that, in an extasy of madness, he flew like a maniac round the apartment, and, in his transport, killed four soldiers of the guard, when the musician immediately changing his cadence to a soothing strain, soon assuaged the violent transports he had excited. Grieved at what he had done, Eric made all possible recompence to the relations of the deceased, and vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in order to do penance, and expiate thereby the horrid crime he had committed. For some time he concealed his intention from the states; but all things being ready for his journey, he made public declaration of his vow. They unanimously remonstrated against his design, which would inevitably involve the kingdom in numberless calamities: they embraced his feet, and bathed them with their tears, begging that he would not expose to danger a life upon which depended the felicity of a whole kingdom; but Eric was inflexible. He accordingly pursued his journey, and passing through Greece, was honourably and magnificently entertained by the emperor Alexius. From Constantinople he took ship for Cyprus, and there ended his days a short time after his arrival. His death so affected Bathilda his queen, and faithful companion of his pilgrimage, that she survived him but a few hours, and was buried with him in the same tomb. This event fell out, according to Grammaticus and Suaningius, in the year 1101 after the birth of Christ, although an author quoted by Meursius, places it four years earlier; and thus Denmark was deprived of an excellent king through a false and mistaken spirit of devotion. Eric was surnamed the Good, from an excessive benevolence in his disposition, which rendered him the sure friend and patron of the distressed and unfortunate. His affability was so great, that he conversed with his meanest subjects, received their complaints, and relieved them, either by his authority or out of his own private purse; yet had he the address of blending the dignity of a king with the humility of a subject; for he was equally beloved by his nobility and commons, and respected by all the neighbouring powers. We are told that his eloquence was so great, that he was never under

*The power
of music.*

*Eric's pil-
grimage to
the Holy
Land.*

*Dies at
Cyprus.*

*His cha-
racter.*

under the necessity of exerting his authority in the senate ! the irresistible persuasion that hung upon his tongue carried all before it ; and if he was ever opposed, it was only that his people might have the satisfaction of yielding to the sweetness of his oratory. However absurd his piety may appear in these more enlightened days, his implicit faith in the pope's infallibility was the fault of the times : in other respects he practised the rigid precepts of morality, which are ever inseparable from true religion ; and the last act of his reign shewed his strict regard to his vows, though it may be condemned by such as are of opinion, that a proper regard to the public good might have sufficiently absolved him from an obligation which had been rashly incurred ^b.

When Eric departed for the Holy Land, he left his son Harold regent of the kingdom ; but the states being made acquainted with his death, recalled Nicholas, paid his ransom to the earl of Flanders, and placed him upon the throne, but of respect to the promise they had made to his father on his death-bed. They were urged the more to this by the severity of Harold's manners, which they foresaw would render them unhappy if they raised him to the throne. Before the arrival of Nicholas, Swen, relying upon his interest with the diet of Wiburg, had put in his claim to the crown as the elder brother, and was hastening thither when he was seized by a fever, of which he died in a few days. Ubbo, the next in age, wanted not a party of the nobility to espouse his cause ; but he declined the crown out of respect to his younger brother, whose capacity he modestly declared was more adequate to the weight of governing ; a rare instance of self-denial and brotherly love.

N I C H O L A S.

A.D. 1107. **THUS** the scepter was put into the hands of Nicholas, who at first wielded it with great applause ; but falling off in his character, and degenerating from the virtues of his ancestors, he fell into the utmost contempt, and involved himself and his people in a variety of misfortunes. The breach of the public tranquillity had its first rise from Henry, son to Godeschal, prince of the Vandals. This prince, after the destruction of his country in the last reign, lived privately for some years in Denmark ; but, on Eric's setting out for the Holy Land, found means to recover his hereditary dominions. He was nephew to Nicholas, and had frequently besought him to restore his mother's portion ; but had always met with a harsh refusal. This irri-

^b Aust. citat. *ibid.*

tated the young prince, and determined him to have recourse to arms. Entering into an alliance with the Nordalbingi, a people of Lower Saxony, or properly the Holsteiners, he soon subdued all that country lying between the Elbe and Sleswick. Thence he made such terrible incursions into the duchy of Sleswick, that Nicholas, who at that time resided in the capital, was forced to double his guards, and provide for the security of the city. For this purpose he sent to the several parts of his dominions for troops, and unfortunately committed that trust to Elive, a nobleman, who held a clandestine correspondence with Henry, and stipulated with him to betray his royal master. With this view he used all possible delay in marching the troops; and, to cover his treachery, was continually sending expresses to Nicholas, representing the occasion of his dilatoriness, and raising some new difficulty. At length the infantry arrived, and with them Nicholas, at Elive's persuasion, determined to give battle to Henry. The event fell out as the traitor foresaw: Henry's horse broke and put in confusion the Danish infantry; and now, when it was too late, the perfidy of Elive was discovered. Nicholas was defeated, and forced to retreat with precipitation into Denmark; where he no sooner arrived than he divested the treacherous Elive of all his employments, and confiscated his estate, believing that, and its necessary consequence, poverty, to be a more severe punishment than death itself.

Some of the Danish provinces laid waste by the Vandals.

In the mean time, Henry, grown bold by his victory, repeated his incursions into the Danish territories, and, laying waste all the sea-coasts, made an attempt on Sleswick; but was repulsed with loss. Canute, the son of Eric the late king, and nephew to Nicholas, perceiving the misery to which this fine duchy of Sleswick was reduced by the cruelty of the Vandals, requested the government of a country which had been refused, on account of the danger, by many of the nobility. With a great deal of interest and influence he at length obtained it, and immediately set out to perform the duties of his employment. His first measure was to offer proposals of peace to Henry, which he assured him he would willingly grant, without any other conditions than his indemnifying the duchy of Sleswick for her losses, and the king of Denmark for the expences he had been at in the war. These were terms which he was sensible the haughty spirit of Henry, now rendered more insolent and untractable by prosperity, would reject, and therefore provided accordingly, by raising a

Canute, the son of Eric, obtains the government of Sleswick, and obliges the Vandals to sue for peace.

body of troops with the utmost expedition and secrecy. With these he marched in the middle of the night, directly to a castle on the frontiers of Sleswick, where Henry kept his head-quarters, and was fortunate enough to surround the place before the Vandal prince received any intimation of his approach. In this situation, Henry, perceiving that resistance would be fruitless, mounted his horse, and by a secret path made his escape, leaving the castle to be plundered by the Danish soldiers^f.

Canute defeats Henry prince of the Vandals.

Henry's escape occasioned a prolongation of the war: he levied a strong body of troops, with which he had frequent skirmishes with Canute, without ever venturing upon a general engagement. At length the Dane, tired out with the tediousness of a war which kept him in perpetual apprehension, determined to finish it by one decisive stroke. He augmented his army, entered the enemy's country, laid it waste, and then defeated Henry, who had hazarded a battle. The consequence was, that Henry sued for peace in the most abject terms, promising to submit to any terms which the conqueror would think fit to impose. His submission was immediately accepted by the magnanimous Canute, who was satisfied with humbling a haughty foe, and delighted with extending his clemency to the conquered. He immediately took horse, attended only by an escort of twenty persons, and entering Henry's dominions with more valour than discretion, sent a messenger to his castle to acquaint him with his arrival. The Danish messenger entered the castle just as Henry was sitting down to dinner; upon which he instantly seized his arms, and ordered all his people to stand on their defence; but being told that Canute was come to conclude a peace, he went out to receive him. These brave princes embraced each other with tears, signed a peace, and contracted the strictest

Canute and Henry enter into a strict friendship.

friendship, which continued inviolable for the remainder of their lives. Such was the esteem which Henry conceived for Canute, that on his death-bed he appointed him guardian of his infant-children, and put the government of his kingdom wholly into his hands; he had even taken such precautions and measures with the emperor, that, after his death, Canute found himself raised by his means to be duke of Mecklenburg. Thus the valour and generosity of Canute not only secured the duchy of Sleswick to the crown of Denmark, but strengthened the interest of that kingdom, by attaching to it a brave people, ever before in a state of hostility with the Danes, and procured to him-

Canute's wise policy, by which he is made king of the Vandals.

^f Saxo. Gram. lib. xiii.

self the dignity of a duke and prince of the empire, without art, intrigue, or ambition. Soon after the emperor invested him with the title of king of the Vandals.

In the mean time, the king of Sweden dying, the Ostrogoths chose another king in his room; but the Swedes, believing that the right of election belonged only to themselves, put to death the Ostrogoth king, and chose Magnus, the son of Nicholas king of Denmark. This prince marrying a daughter of the king of Poland, was by that alliance involved in a war with Vratisslaus, prince of Sclavonia, into which he likewise drew his father Nicholas, not as an auxiliary, but a principal in the quarrel. Denmark, Poland, and Sweden, being combined against Vratisslaus, he found himself under the necessity of making proposals of peace, which were extremely advantageous to the allies; but Nicholas would admit of no overtures until he had subdued the greater part of Sclavonia: then he insisted upon the conquered prince's making his submission in person; and was weak and perfidious enough to break the word of honour he had given for the security of Vratisslaus, and retain him prisoner, until the remonstrances of Canute, king of the Vandals, obtained his liberty. Nicholas afterwards thanked the generous Canute for this interposition, which, he said, had saved his and the national reputation, which must have received an indelible stain from so notorious a breach of public faith. He then vented his indignation against the advisers of such unworthy and dishonourable measures; yet, after all, his generosity proved the ruin of the noble-minded Canute. His enemies increased in proportion to his virtue, and they were overwhelmed with shame and confusion at his superiority of character: far, however, from endeavouring to imitate his example, they laboured to remove this mirror of true honour, that only served to reflect with redoubled force their own disgrace. They found means to persuade the credulous Nicholas, that ambition was the basis and spring of all Canute's actions; that, far from being satisfied with the crown he wore, and with the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, he aspired at a still higher dignity; and that his popularity was paving an easy way for his ascending the throne of Denmark. As his own children were in the number of his accusers, the weak Nicholas the more readily credited these slanders, and only now watched a fair opportunity of robbing Denmark of its greatest ornament and support.

Denmark, Swe. en, and Poland unite against the Sclavonians.

His virtues raise him a cloud of enemies.

g Pontan. lib. v. Meurf. lib. iv.

MOD. VOL. XXVIII.

G g

In

A conspiracy against his life.

In the mean time, Nicholas prepared to celebrate the nuptials of his son with a princess of Poland; for which purpose the nobility and vassals of Denmark appeared with all possible magnificence at Ripen, and among the rest Canute, who eclipsed them all in splendor and pomp, as much as he did in merit. This circumstance added fuel to the fire that was soon to consume him. The king of Denmark was now convinced of the truth of all those treacherous insinuations that were daily whispered in his ear; while Canute, guarded only by his innocence, and unacquainted with the machinations carried on against him, gained the esteem and affection of all worthy men. The plot was ready to break out against him, when a sudden revolt in Pomerania called him to his own country, and for a time postponed his fate. He quickly subdued the rebels, and afterwards returned to Denmark to receive his sovereign's applause; but how was he thunderstruck at the cold reception, nay, the stern aspect of the deluded Nicholas, on his approaching that throne, to which he added so much lustre. He besought that prince to acquaint him with the cause of a conduct so different from what he flattered himself with; he offered to submit his actions to the most minute scrutiny; he breathed nothing but loyalty and duty, and expressed himself with so noble but respectful firmness of mind, that queen Margaret, a woman of great prudence and virtue, espoused his cause, and, during her life, frustrated all the attempts of his enemies. This excellent princess, however, falling into a dangerous malady, he soon lost the benefit of her protection. On her death-bed she sent for Canute, and told him, "that his greatest enemies were those whom nature and duty ought the most firmly to bind to his interest. She recommended to him to establish harmony and tranquillity at home; to gain the love and confidence of his own children, which would be a certain barrier against all the insinuations of other enemies. They had, she said, the king's ear, who allowed great weight to the allegations of those who were supposed best acquainted with the private designs of their own father. She was now departing out of life, and would die contented in the thoughts, that this intelligence, the goodness of the Almighty, the justice of Canute's cause, and his own integrity, prudence, and virtue would surmount all difficulties, preserve Denmark from the calamity of a civil war, and enable him to triumph over all his adversaries." Canute was moved no

The queen's speech to Canute.

* Saxo Gram. lib. xiii. Pontan. ibid. Meurs. lib. iv.

less with the death of so generous a friend than with the particulars of her dying words. He was shocked at the unnatural conduct of his own children, and greatly perplexed in what manner to execute the wholesome advice of the queen. Before he had settled any plan of operation, his enemies, taking advantage of her death, prevailed upon the king to have him solemnly cited before a general diet of the states, where he was accused of heinous crimes, and particularly of a design upon the crown of Denmark; but such was the eloquence of Canute, inspired by conscious innocence, that even now he baffled all his foes, and fully convinced Nicholas of his honour and loyalty ^b.

*His enemies
renew
their at-
tacks.*

Notwithstanding this victory, it was not long before malice found means to renew the attack with redoubled vigour, after having drawn the young queen into their party, who soon wrought a change upon the mind of Nicholas, and persuaded him that he could not expect Magnus, his son, should ever succeed to his crown while Canute enjoyed such a share of popularity as even affected himself, and made him totter in the throne. An accident added strength to her suggestions; for Nicholas going to Sleswick, the government of Canute, both kings had occasion to appear with their royal ornaments, at some public assembly, when Nicholas entering first, seated himself on his throne at one end of the hall, and was soon followed by Canute, who took his place at the opposite end, without remembering to pay the expected compliments at his first entrance. As soon as he recollected himself, he leaped down in the utmost confusion to apologize for the omission; but Nicholas construed it into pride, and the queen, with her party, wrested it into the most invidious sense. In consequence of this notion, the king assembled, with the utmost privacy, the leading men of the faction, and, after having bound them to secrecy by an oath, declared his wish, that so dangerous a person as Canute might be taken off, in such a manner as would not excite the clamours of the people, whose idol he was. The manner of executing their design was committed to Magnus, who possessed the art of dissimulation in the greatest perfection. This person invited, according to the annual custom, all the nobility of the kingdom to an entertainment on Christmas-Eve. Canute was not forgot, and he, desirous of wiping off the late omission, did not fail to obey the summons, that he might shew his respect for his sovereign. He was treated by Magnus with the most extraordinary marks of esteem.

*An oath of
secrecy ta-
ken by the
conspira-
tors.*

*The trea-
chery of
Magnus.*

Authentic. ibid.

G g 2

The

*Canute
fills a sa-
crifice to the
ambition
and perfidy
of Magnus
and the
conspira-
tors.*

The perfidious friend told him, that the generosity of his conduct, and steady adherence to virtue, had blotted out all suspicions in the king's mind, and united the whole kingdom in one chorus of applause, and admiration of his great qualities. He said, that intending a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he would request it of Canute, as a proof of his friendship, that he would charge himself with the guardianship of his children, and superintendency of his affairs during his absence. In a word, he said every thing which could flatter, cajole, and confirm Canute in his opinion, that he was perfectly reconciled, because he spoke truth, though it was for the basest and most perfidious purposes. After he had sufficiently lulled Canute's suspicions, he formed his plan, and hearing that he proposed visiting a sister in the country, whither he would repair with few attendants, he fixed upon this as the proper occasion for his destruction. The day arrived, and Canute, who had no suspicion of treachery, though his wife had sent a messenger from Sleswick to acquaint him of the conspiracy, set out with no more than four domestics. He was attacked in a little wood by Magnus, supported by a large body of conspirators, and slain before he scarce had any suspicion of the treachery of this artful friend, and with such circumstances of deep dissimulation and savage cruelty, as render this story one of the most pathetic in history, though our plan will not permit us to dwell upon particulars. Thus fell the generous, the great Canute, the ornament of Denmark, and the greatest hero of his age. His virtues, which had raised him from a private station to a throne, were now the cause of his death, by the hands of wicked conspirators, who could not without envy see themselves eclipsed in the eyes of the people by such superlative merit^c.

*The whole
kingdom in
a tumult.*

The news of his death soon reached Roschild, the residence of the court, and the king himself could not help shedding tears at the loss of this great man, though he was privy to the plot. The people were inconsolable, they poured out imprecations against the murderers, and nothing prevented an universal insurrection besides the consideration, that now all their endeavours would only augment the public calamity, without being able to recall him to life. His friends solicited the king for leave to bury him with the pomp becoming his quality and merit, in Roschild; but this he prudently declined, from an apprehension of the consequences that might flow from so affecting

^c Saxo-Gram. lib. xiii. Meurs. lib. iv. Pontan. lib. v.

a fight as his mangled corpse exposed to the people. He was therefore privately interred at Ringstad, without any other monument than what he had established in the hearts of the affectionate Danes, who to this day adore his memory ^a.

Magnus, after this infamous exploit, returned to Roschild; but could hardly escape the vengeance of an enraged populace. His party however was so strong, that he soon quelled all opposition, and began publicly to boast of what he had performed. He now looked upon himself as the immediate and sure successor to the throne, assuming, in all respects, the importance of the heir-apparent; but he could little foresee how just and inscrutable are the ways of Providence, which, sooner or later, never fails to punish the wicked and unjust. Ingeburga, the wife of Canute, was delivered of a son about eight days after his murder: the infant became dear to the public, from the love they bore to his father. Harold and Eric, his uncles, were appointed his guardians, and joined with the brave sons of Scialmond, his cousins, to vindicate the cause of oppressed innocence, determining, at least, that he should succeed to the crown of the Vandals, the dukedom of Holstein, and the government of Sleswick. They held an assembly of their friends at Ringstad, where they pathetically lamented the fate of the deceased, exposed his rent and bloody cloaths to the view of the populace, craving their aid and assistance to avenge his memory, and support his infant son. All were fired with the affecting sight; they cried out for arms, and desired to be instantly led against the barbarous and perfidious murderer, chusing Eric for their general ^b.

Canute's wife delivered of a son, and guardians appointed him.

The king soon had intelligence of this transaction, and immediately consulted Ascer the primate, in whose fidelity and prudence he greatly confided, what steps should be taken in so dangerous a conjuncture. After many proposals it was determined, that Magnus should be concealed, and that the king should immediately proceed to Ringstad, and there convoke the people. His edict was published, and when the day arrived, Eric made a speech, calculated to inflame the minds of the populace; which had a violent effect, until the primate appeared, and by his winning manner and persuasive eloquence appeased the tumult, and determined the people to receive their sovereign with becoming respect. While the primate was gone to introduce the king, Eric, seizing the opportunity, made

An insurrection of the people to revenge the death of Canute.

^a Moleworth, chap. vi.

^b Saxo-Gram. lib. xiii.

*Magnus
banished to
appease the
people.
The king
recalls
Magnus,
which oc-
casions an
open rebel-
lion, head-
ed by Eric.*

a short speech, which soon roused them to their former sentiments, and confirmed them in their resolutions of revenge. On the king's arrival he was received with a sullen murmuring, which ran through the whole assembly; upon which Eric again rose, and told him, that the friends of Canute, and the nation in general, demanded that justice should be executed on the murderers of that great man. He was supported by the whole assembly; and the king found it necessary for his own safety, to promise that Magnus should immediately be sent into perpetual exile ^b.

In compliance with his oath, Nicholas sent Magnus to Ostrogoth, where, by his influence, he was created king; an instance of paternal affection against which the people shewed no resentment: but, unhappily, he was persuaded soon after, by those who had been engaged with Magnus in the conspiracy, to recall him to Denmark, as his heir apparent. This step raised a ferment in the kingdom, and obliged Eric and Harold immediately to convene the people at Ringstad. Here they set forth the king's perfidy and breach of vows, which rendered him unworthy of the crown he wore; and obtained a resolution of the assembly, that both he and Magnus should be persecuted as enemies to the nation: the assembly farther insisted upon Eric's accepting the crown, which, out of policy, he refused, until he should merit it by his services, and some signal acts of valour. An army, however, was instantly raised, with which Eric marched directly to Jutland, where Nicholas at that time was, and would immediately have made him prisoner, had not the policy of Truro, bishop of Ripen, diverted his intention. This prelate made use of such specious arguments in defence of the king's conduct, which he urged arose from necessity rather than affection for Magnus; he related so many plausible schemes, which he determined to execute as soon as opportunity offered, that Eric's impetuosity was checked; and he encamped in the place where he then was, with a view to receive proposals from Nicholas. His troops were suffered to forage, and wander round the country, as he had no suspicion of treachery in the prelate, who bore the reputation of great piety. This was the opportunity which Nicholas wanted, and he improved it to such advantage, that attacking Eric unprepared, he totally dispersed his army, after having made great slaughter in his camp. Eric's rage, at this fresh instance of his perfidy, was inconceivable; and, indeed, the disaffection of the nation rose now to such a height, that

*Eric de-
seated.*

^b Ibid. etiam Pqntan. lib. v.

it was not to be satisfied with less than the lives and crown of Nicholas and Magnus. Another assembly was held, and Eric now accepted the sceptre which he before refused: an army was raised with all expedition, and ambassadors was sent to crave the assistance of the emperor Lotharius, in revenging the cause of Canute, for whom he had always professed the strongest friendship. Lotharius promised every thing to the ambassadors: he had, in fact, no other view than the extension of the empire, which he thought might easily be effected by seizing upon the Danish provinces, bordering on his dominions, during the heats of a civil war. For this purpose he levied an army; and marching into Holstein, found Nicholas encamped with a strong body of forces behind the wall of Danewark. Here, instead of giving him battle, he entered upon a treaty, created Magnus a prince of the empire, and then drew off his army. Eric, who had come to Siefwick with a fleet to support the emperor, was astonished at his treachery. He upbraided him with perfidy and cowardice; and told him, that Magnus would return his favours with the same ingratitude he had shewn to Canute: a prognostic that was soon verified by the event; for Magnus, equally deaf to the dictates of honour and conscience, fell upon the rear of the imperialists, cut them off, and obliged Adolphus, who led that part of the army, to save his life by swimming^d.

In the mean time, Eric, having no hopes of assistance from the emperor, returned to Zealand, and there received ambassadors from the king of Norway, who demanded the infant son of Canute in marriage for his daughter. Pleased with the hopes of so powerful an ally as this connexion would produce, he assured the ambassadors, that he was ready to enter upon a treaty with their king, and would with pleasure embrace every opportunity of cultivating his friendship by the strongest ties; to testify which inclination, he immediately offered the king his niece in marriage, and gave pledges for the faith of his nephew.

Both parties now prepared for war; and Nicholas drew to his side all the bishops of Jutland, and several of the principal nobility of the kingdom, besides the conspirators, who were all strongly attached to his interest. In Eric's army was his brother Harold, with his two sons, who could not help espousing his honest cause, though they were displeased at his elevation in preference to Harold,

The ingratitude of Magnus to the emperor

^d Meurs. lib. iv.

*Eric de-
feats Mag-
nus.*

*Nicholas
defeats the
land army
of Eric.*

*Harold de-
serts to the
king.*

*Eric de-
feated by
the king.*

*Eric flies
into Nor-
way.*

the elder brother. He was likewise strengthened by the presence of the bishop of Roschild, and Christiern, a nobleman of great influence and personal valour, to whom he gave the command of the forces intended to oppose the king in Jutland, while himself with the fleet should attack Magnus. He soon came up with his antagonist, and, after a vigorous action, totally destroyed and took his fleet, Magnus making his escape in a boat. But this good fortune was counterbalanced by a victory which the king gained over Christiern by land, who was made prisoner, and carried to Sleswick. Before Eric received advice of his general's defeat, he was so elated with his own good fortune, that he entered the gut of Alberg, with intention of landing his forces, joining Christiern, and gaining an easy victory over the king. This security rendered him less rigid in point of discipline, so that he permitted the soldiers to relax after the confinement on board, by strolling round the country; an imprudence which the king did not fail of turning to advantage. He attacked Eric in this situation, and defeated a great part of his army. Nor was this all his loss; for Harold, his brother, envious of his dignity, and perceiving the king's cause bore a better aspect, deserted him, and carried over a strong reinforcement to the king's army. Happily however for Eric, the winter came on, and prevented the king from pursuing his advantage, or even keeping the field ^b.

Before the next campaign Sweden revolted, and raised to the sovereignty Licerco, a nobleman of high rank. He immediately assumed his independency by a very extraordinary act, which was no other than debauching Uvilda, wife to king Nicholas, whom, for the greater security, he had sent into Sweden. Early in the spring Nicholas took the field, and joining battle with Eric, who was greatly inferior to him in strength, obtained so complete a victory, that Eric was forced to fly into Norway, accompanied only by his wife, his natural son, Swen, and a few attendants. Here he was at first kindly received, until Nicholas bribed the Norwegian king to put him to death, or deliver him into his hands; but Eric escaped this danger by means of the queen his niece, who privately sent him notice of what was transacting. Upon this intimation, he instantly wrote to his friends in Langland, to send a ship to Norway to carry him off. The ship arriving, he artfully contrived to escape from the castle where he was confined, under pretence of being secure against the machinations of Nicho-

las. As the ship's crew were determined to hazard all for their king, he soon found himself as safe as so slender a force could make him, and wafted into the midst of his friends in Langland. As they coasted along the shore, they found several of Magnus's ships entirely deserted by the crews, who were making merry on shore. To prevent their being again serviceable, they bored them through the bottoms, and sunk or destroyed them, with all possible silence and expedition. The report soon spread that Eric was escaped; but Magnus was in no condition to pursue him, his fleet being wholly destroyed^c.

Eric being now safe among his friends, resolved to make one more attempt to revenge Canute's cause, punish the perfidious Magnus, and establish himself on the throne, to which he was elected by the people. His first step was to hang up Ubbo, whom Nicholas had made governor of Langland; an ignominious death he justly merited, as one of the principal conspirators against the life of Canute. After this execution he made a descent with a small fleet on Schonen, which he soon reduced, by the means of the friends he had among the inhabitants, who only wanted an opportunity of declaring themselves dissatisfied with the present government. Early in the spring king Nicholas entered upon measures to stop the progress of his rival. He raised an army, equipped a fleet, assembled the bishops and his most warlike vassals, and sent a number of scouts abroad to examine into the situation, number, and condition of Eric's force. It was not long before advice was received, that Eric was boldly marching to attack the king, though supported but with a handful of men. The scouts, who had probably been corrupted by Eric, farther declared, that he appeared like something supernatural, riding upon a white horse that raised him into the clouds, and cut the air with incredible velocity. Nicholas perceived, that either fear or treachery had occasioned this phenomenon; but his soldiers judged otherwise, and fled with great precipitation to the ships, from which they could hardly be prevailed upon to return. In this confusion Eric attacked the king, and entirely defeated him, having slain Magnus in the field, who in this last act played the hero, chusing rather to die honourably than escape by an ignominious flight^f.

Eric makes one more effort to recover the throne.

Eric defeats the king.

The news of this event reaching Norway, the king Magnus was so incenced at his wife for the information she had given Eric, by which he escaped, that he sent her back to

^c Meurs. lib. iv. Saxo-Gram. lib. xiii.

^f Auft. citat. ibid.

Denmark.

*Nicholas
declares
Harold his
successor.*

Denmark. As to king Nicholas, he escaped with Harold into Jutland, where he assembled a council of the nobles, and declared Harold the successor of his son Magnus, not from any personal regard he had for him, but to render it his interest to oppose his brother Eric with all possible virulence and animosity. His next step was to go in person to Sleswick, in order to conciliate the inhabitants, who were greatly incensed at the murder of Canute their governor. His friends had done all in their power to dissuade him from this measure; but he was obstinately bent on it. There had always been an annual festival held at Sleswick, all the members of which were obliged, previous to their admission, to vow revenge against whoever should injure any individual of the society. Canute, while he lived, had been constantly president of this society, and by his affability, kindness, and generosity, had entirely won their affections. On the king's arrival they instantly flew to arms; in the space of a few minutes the city-gates were shut, and the walls surrounded with armed men; every thing in commotion, and all means of escape cut off from Nicholas, who now, when it was too late, perceived his error, but determined to support the consequences with the intrepidity of a hero. His friends advised him to take sanctuary in St. Peter's church; but this expedient he refused, that he might not pollute the holy altar with his blood, and by that sacrilege aggravate the crime of his infatuated people. However, he endeavoured to seize upon the citadel; but was slain in the tumult that arose between his guards and the citizens, after he had reigned thirty-five years, according to Saxo-Grammaticus and Meursius; though Pontanus and Suaningius place his death in the year 1135^c; and all writers agree, that he ascended the throne in 1107. When his friends represented to him the danger of his going personally to a city so strongly attached to Canute, he told them, that majesty had nothing to fear from shoemakes and taylor's; yet did he fall by the hands of those very citizens he affected to despise, leaving this useful lesson to his successors, that moderation, affability, and clemency, are the surest guardians of the crown; and popular hatred the most dangerous enemy in a free constitution (A).

*Nicholas
put to death
by the Sles-
wickers.*

ERIC

^c Pontan. lib. v. Suan. p. 76.

(A) With Nicholas ended on his death-bed exacted from the reign of Swen's fifth son, his nobles; a circumstance rather agreeable to the promise he had given, than

E R I C IV.

AS soon as the burghers had executed their design upon the king, they marched in a troop to the prison, in which Christiern had been confined since his defeat, and set him at liberty. Their next step was to proclaim Eric king, agreeable to a former election in a full assembly of the nobility and commons of Zealand and Schonen. Eric having as yet no intelligence of what had been transacted in Sleswick, was making preparations for finishing the war. Accordingly he passed over with his fleet to Jutland, and there was first made acquainted with the death of Nicholas. Though he greatly rejoiced at this event, yet believing that neither his own authority, nor the public tranquillity, could be sufficiently established while his brother Harold lived, and claimed the ensigns of sovereignty, he resolved to march against him. Harold, on the other hand, hearing of the king's death, and Eric's approach, was greatly perplexed how to act. His force was very unequal to his brother's, and hazarding a battle would therefore be exposing himself to the most imminent danger; yet he had no other alternative than flying into banishment. His two eldest sons continued faithful to Eric, and were now in his camp: Harold, however, persuaded himself, that probably they were not destitute of filial affection, though honour obliged them to remain firm to their engagements, resolved to consult them secretly in what manner he should act in so dangerous a conjuncture. A trusty friend had access to them, and they, without hesitation, requested that he would escape with all expedition to the king of Norway, assuring him, that risking a battle would be attended with certain ruin. Thus they acquitted themselves like faithful adherents to Eric, and like dutiful children to Harold: the former, however, having some intimation of this secret correspondence, had them seized; and, after a short imprisonment, ordered them, at the instigation of Christiern, to be drowned in the river Sley^b.

Harold greatly perplexed.

He flies into Norway.

As soon as Eric had settled the state of affairs in Jutland and Sleswick, he returned to Zealand, where he found Harold supported by a strong body of Norwegian auxiliaries, and proclaimed king of Denmark at a diet held in

^b Meurf. lib. iv.

than fortunate in the issue, as each reign was afflicted successively with some uncommon misfortunes, which the reader must have observed in the perusal of the preceding pages.

that

Harold returns with an army, and Eric has his six sons put to death.

that island. On this intelligence Eric speedily returned to Jutland, and ordered five of the six remaining sons of Harold to be put to death, without remorse or pity. As for the youngest son, Olaus, he made his escape in a peasant's dress to Sweden ^c.

Eric subdued Rugen.

Mean while, the Vandals, encouraged by the intestine divisions in Denmark, made a sudden irruption into Holstein, and laid waste with terrible desolation every place through which they passed. To repress their insolence, Eric assembled a fleet of eleven hundred sail, embarking in each vessel four horsemen, with their proper accoutrements, besides foot; with which armament he passed over into their country, and soon reduced it. From thence he went to the isle of Rugen to punish the inhabitants, who had not only assisted the Vandals, but renounced Christianity, exercised the most abominable and prophane pagan superstition, and, what more immediately concerned the state of Denmark, the most desperate piracy on the high seas. Having subdued them, he compelled the whole island to banish idolatry, to establish funds for the residence of a bishop to instruct them in the duties of the Christian religion, and to swear allegiance to the crown of Denmark. However, they did not long continue in this state of submission; for Eric was scarce returned to Denmark before they restored their idols, and banished the Christian prelate. He was preparing to punish them with more severity, when the return of Harold, as we have mentioned above, diverted his intention. History relates, that he soon removed this rival brother by assassination; but we no where find the particular circumstances mentioned ^d.

Harold assassinated.

An insurrection in Norway.

During Eric's residence in Denmark, some disturbances arose in Norway, that terminated in the ruin of king Magnus. Harold, who claimed the crown in consequence of his affinity to the late royal family, had so engaged the hearts of the Irish, among whom he lived for a great number of years, that they sent him to Norway, attended with a considerable body of troops. An insurrection of the people immediately appeared in his favour; and they insisted, that Magnus should receive him as his colleague. This proposal he refused, gave battle to the rebels and auxiliary Irish, and defeated Harold, who took shelter in Denmark, where he was kindly received by Eric. The truth was, revenge and policy, not humanity to the distressed, were the motives of Eric's conduct. He considered this as a favourable occasion of punishing Magnus

^c Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv.

^d Pontan. lib. v.

for his treacherous attempts upon his life, in contempt of all the laws of hospitality. Harold solicited his aid; and Eric made no scruple of promising it as soon as he had put an end to the affair, in which the revolt of Rugen now involved him. Against these islanders he set out a second time, and so totally subjected them, that he apprehended no other rebellion for some years. He afterwards applied himself to the performance of his obligations to Harold: he augmented his land and sea-forces, and passed over to Norway with a very formidable army, attended by Harold. Here he took some sea-port towns; but Magnus declining battle, he returned to winter in Denmark, resolving to resume his operations early in the spring.

Next year he returned with a superior force, and coming to a decisive action with Magnus, defeated his army, and took him prisoner. His victory he disgraced by his cruelty; for, to prevent all attempts to reinstate the unfortunate king, he put out both his eyes, deprived him of his virility, and enclosed him for life in a monastery, raising Harold to the throne.

Eric's cruelty to Magnus, king of Norway.

Having finished the war in Norway, he returned to settle the domestic oeconomy of Denmark, which had fallen into great confusion during the long series of civil and foreign wars. in which the nation had been for several years engaged. While his mind was thus usefully employed, an unfortunate dispute arose among the bishops, about the archbishoprick of Lunden, then vacant. Eschil, bishop of Roschild, supported by the people, and Rico, bishop of Sleswick, for whom the king entertained a personal friendship, on account of his attachment during the civil war, were the candidates. Eschil raised an army, and obliged the king and Rico to retire to Jutland. Here they levied forces, returned to Zealand, gave battle to the haughty prelate, and took him prisoner, keeping him in close confinement, until he was released at an exorbitant ransom, and the strong intercession of the most powerful of the nobility.

The bishop of Roschild raises an army against Eric, and is made prisoner.

This dispute being for a time laid aside, the king resumed his attention to redress the grievances of his subjects, in which he met with numberless difficulties; for, in easing the burthen of taxes laid on the commons, he offended the nobility, and in granting new honours and privileges to the latter, he only rivetted the chains of the former. This conduct soon raised a ferment in the nation, which could be composed only by his death; an event that was

Eric murdered by Plogus.

treacherously brought about, while he was publicly administering justice in full court, near Ripen, where he was stabbed by one Plogus, surnamed Black, a nobleman of great distinction in Jutland. Thus died Eric, after a reign of scarce four years, resigning with his last breath a crown which he obtained by many valorous exploits, and dignified by such acts of popularity and justice, as long endeared his memory to the commons of Denmark. He obtained, says Pontanus, the surname of Emund, from his courage and the dangers he had surmounted; and of Harefoot, from his agility and swiftness, according to Meursius and other writers ^b.

The royal family being almost extinct in the male-line, great disputes arose in the diet about the succession. Some proposed Swen, the natural son of the late king; others again supported the claim of Canute, son to Magnus, and grandson to Eric; while a third party, headed by Christiern, of whom we have made mention in the late civil war, espoused the cause of Valdemar, the son of Canute, king of the Vandals, by his wife Ingeburga. There were many reasonable objections started against all the three candidates: the first was a bastard son to a prince, who was himself the fruit of an illegitimate embrace; the second was a minor, the son of a prince detested by the people, on account of the murder of their favourite Canute, and banished the kingdom by a solemn decree of the diet; lastly, the third was so young, that dreadful consequences were apprehended from so long a minority as must ensue from his election. However, the influence and address of Christiern surmounted this last difficulty, as the people were greatly disposed to favour the offspring of a person they had perfectly adored. He sent privately for Ingeburga, and introduced her and her infant son to the people, with a pathetic speech, reminding them of the noble virtues of his father. The effect was sudden, and the diet, with one voice, proclaimed him king; but Ingeburga, aware of the dangers to which the child must be exposed by this exaltation, would by no persuasions consent to his election, until a regent should be appointed. She farther insisted, that the regent should actually enjoy the badges and authority of majesty during his natural life; that his ambition might be gratified, and all cause for conspiring against the life of her son removed. This was a wise precaution suggested by maternal tenderness, that probably secured the crown afterwards to Valdemar. So

^b Pontan. & Meurs. loc. citat.

strenuously

strenuously did she maintain this point, that Eric, surnamed the Lamb, from the mildness of his disposition, was chosen regent, or rather colleague to Valdemar, and sole king during the young prince's minority. He was the son of Hacquin, who had married the late king's daughter, and related to Eric the Good, by the marriage of his son Harold.

It was his temper which gave rise to his elevation; for his known moderation, and extreme love of peace and tranquillity, caused no jealousy, that ambition would tempt him to disturb the public quiet^a.

ERIC V. surnamed the LAMB.

ERIC V. had scarce ascended the throne, when the divisions among the clergy broke out afresh with redoubled rancour. Eschil, bishop of Roschild, as soon as death had removed Eric, who was the greatest obstacle to his aspiring views, went over to Schonen, and by the consent, and even at the persuation of the inhabitants, assumed the title and authority of primate, without obtaining, or indeed asking the permission of the new king. The people were enamoured of the late archbishop; and as Eschil was his relation, they strenuously insisted that the dignity should be kept in the family. This induced Eric, surnamed the Lamb, to maintain the pretensions of Rico, bishop of Sleswick, who had been patronized by the late king, and likewise to curb the ambition and insolence of Eschil. Observing, however, the obstinacy with which the whole province of Schonen espoused his cause, and that degrading him would necessarily be attended with a civil war, he dropped the design rather than disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. The dispute about this archbishoprick of Lunden was the first occasion the kings of Denmark had to repent of their having invested their turbulent prelates with temporal authority, and elevated them to such a pitch of grandeur as rendered them haughty, insolent, and even dangerous to their sovereigns. In some measure to gratify Rico for his disappointment, Eric made him chancellor of Denmark, and gave him the bishoprick of Roschild, vacant by the removal of Eschil^b.

Amidst these transactions, Olaus, the son of Harold, who escaped the massacre in which his brothers perished, by order of the late king, now returned to Sweden, and publicly demanded his father's estate that had been confiscated. This the king refused, pleading a law passed in the

A.D. 1139.

Ecclesiastical disputes renewed.

^a Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv. ^b Id. ibid. Pontan. lib. v.

*Attempts
on the
king's life.*

*Eschil
raises
forces for
the king.*

reign of Frother the Great, by which the estates of all persons who had taken up arms against their king and country, were forfeited to the crown. Olaus finding that he could not avail himself of intreaty, law, or force, had recourse to plots and conspiracies. He endeavoured one night to assassinate the king in his bed-chamber; but was prevented by the guards, from whom he escaped with difficulty, and fled a second time into Sweden. Returning thence into Schonen, he levied forces, assumed the regal title, and prepared to invade the whole kingdom. Eschil, notwithstanding his quarrel with the king, raised forces to oppose him, and performed the part of a loyal subject, but unsuccessfully; for being defeated in the field, he retreated to Lunden, and was there besieged by Olaus. After having defended the city with great bravery, he was at length, from the scarcity of provisions, forced to surrender it upon honourable terms. Some writers say that he was taken prisoner, and dismissed, after having sworn allegiance to Olaus, which oath he broke as soon as Eric's army came near enough to protect him. He offered his services to this prince, and took it upon him to crush the rebellion, provided his majesty would furnish him with a suitable army, which was readily granted. As soon as the prelate found himself at the head of a formidable body of men, he went in search of the enemy, who did not decline the battle. Here he was a second time vanquished, and returned to the king with apologies that were easily admitted, as his misfortunes could not be attributed to want of loyalty, but to unskilfulness in a profession no way appertaining to the character of a dignified prelate.

Olaus, elated with his two victories, began now to assume the king in reality. He plundered all the effects belonging to Eric and Eschil; deposed the latter from his archbishoprick, and placed another in his room; he revoked all the decrees made in this and the last reign; and lastly, sending his army into winter-quarters, he went over to Schonen with only a few attendants, as if the war had been wholly ended, and himself in quiet possession of the throne. This imprudent security would have wrought his destruction had not fortune interposed for his safety; for Eric receiving intelligence of his total neglect of military discipline, collected a small body of forces, and passing over in the night, attacked the enemy just as their camp was ready to break up, and while every thing was in the utmost confusion and disorder. The consequence of this attack was

*Eric de-
feats
Olaus.*

^d Meurs. lib. iv.

2 com-

a complete victory. He took four of Olaus's generals, dispersed his whole army, pillaged his camp, reduced Lunden, seized his arms and magazines, and put to death the new bishop, appointed by Olaus in the room of Eschil, or, as others imagine, Eschil himself, for having traiterously suffered himself to be twice defeated in the field*.

Olaus escaped to Sweden, from whence he soon returned with another army, and gave battle to Eric, in which he was a second time defeated at Glimstorp. Nor did this disaster destroy his hopes, or any ways dispirit him; for we are told, that in the same campaign he fought no less than twelve obstinate battles with Eric, in all of which he was unsuccessful. He had indeed an admirable talent at accommodating himself to circumstances, and retrieving the situation of affairs, after they had been given over as lost by all other men; but he never stuck at the means, whether honourable or not: his whole object was success in whatever manner it could be obtained. Finding, therefore, that all attempts in Schonen would be vain, he passed over suddenly into Zealand, and was there defeated by Rico, bishop of Roschild. Determining however to have his revenge, he gave out that he had quitted the island, and concealed himself with a strong party of desperadoes in a wood adjacent to Rico's palace. This he attacked furiously in the night; but finding the doors too strong to be forced, he called out for fire to consume the building. Rico then demanded a parley, which being granted, he was going to remonstrate with Olaus, when he was treacherously slain by his order, before he had well passed through his own gate.

Olaus a second time defeated.

After this infamous action Olaus returned to Schonen before Rico's death could be known there; but Eric took his measures so well, that he had almost put an end to the war by a sudden attack on the enemy, in which Olaus narrowly escaped being made prisoner. This was only a short respite from the fate which impended; for he was soon after defeated and slain in a bloody battle fought just as he was upon the point of quitting Schonen†.

Olaus slain.

This dangerous rival being removed, Eric applied his attention to compose the state of the kingdom, which was greatly disturbed by this tedious war. He married the sister of the bishop of Bremen; remunerated the nobles with some beneficial grants of estates forfeited in the late war, for the zeal and fidelity with which they had served him; and distinguished himself by many acts of piety, jus-

Eric falls into indolent and shameful measures.

* Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv.

† Meurs. lib. iv.

tice, and popularity, until at length he fell into an inactivity and indolence that greatly impaired his reputation. To redeem his character he fitted out a fleet against the Vandals, who resumed their old trade of piracy; but a lazy humour had now so strongly possessed him, that loitering on the coast of Zealand without keeping proper watch, he was surprised by the enemy, and very nearly taken prisoner. It is supposed that his fondness for his young queen had totally emasculated his mind, and rendered him indifferent to every consideration but domestic felicity, which he indulged to an excess of weakness. He now returned home after his shameful flight, without again attempting to wipe off the disgrace, or repress the insolence of those barbarians. Next year he was seized with a fever, of which he died, leaving the reputation of a prince endued with excellent natural qualities, corrupted, and at last obliterated by a shameful indolence, the consequence of too uxorious a disposition. On his death-bed he was weak enough to put on a monk's habit, looking upon that as a sure passport to the mansions of bliss; and in this apparel assembled his nobility, to whom he delivered his scepter. Yet though he resigned the badges of authority, he could not bear to have a successor mentioned; for when that expedient was proposed by one of the nobility, in order to put a stop to the incursions of the Vandals, he turned his face, and expired with marks of resentment^f.

S E C T. V.

Wherein the History is brought down to the Accession of Canute VI. in the Year 1182.

SWEN IV. and CANUTE V.

ON the death of Eric V. the kingdom was divided among three persons, each enjoying a sovereign and equal authority. These are the words of the Danish writers, though it appears in fact, that Valdemar was still in his minority, and enjoyed no part of the supreme power. The Zealanders, at the persuasion of Steno, a person of great influence, espoused the cause of Swen, son to Eric Emund, and chose him for their king. The Jutlanders, however, favoured Canute, the son of Magnus, and accordingly elected him for their sovereign, until Valdemar should ar-

^f Helm. Chron. Slav. lib. i. cap. lxxviii.

rive at the age of maturity. Whether he was then to share the authority with the young prince, or entirely to resign it to him, is not clearly determined by historians; but certain it is, that Valdemar had no division of the kingdom appropriated to him during his minority; nor did he at all enjoy either the ensigns or authority of a monarch. He was educated indeed as the prince apparent and immediate successor to the crown, had a household and liberal appointments, but bore no sway in the administration.

The consequence of this partition of power was an immediate rupture between the rivals Swen and Canute, which again involved the nation in a civil war. The latter taking advantage of Swen's absence in Schonen, where he was levying an army, invaded Zealand, reduced it, and drew Eschil, the archbishop, into his interest; whence it appears, that this prelate was not put to death in the former reign, as some historians allege. Endeavouring to join Canute in Zealand, the primate was taken, and, by order of Swen, inclosed in a cage, and suspended in the steeple of his own cathedral, exposed to the derision of the populace. He was afterwards imprisoned, and at length dismissed at the request of the pope.

*A war
breaks out
between
Swen and
Canute.*

As soon as Swen had completed his levies, he embarked his army for Zealand, determined to drive the enemy out of the island. Both armies willingly came to an engagement, fought with the utmost obstinacy, and made terrible slaughter, until victory, long hovering in suspense, at last embraced the cause of Swen, and his rival was compelled to retire to Jutland.

Pope Eugenius this year published an edict, strictly enjoining all Christian princes to combine against the infidels, an exhortation which brought about a temporary reconciliation between Swen and Canute, that ended in a confederacy and junction of forces against the Vandals, who still adhered to their Pagan idolatry. Scarce had the allies arrived on the enemy's coast, when they were joined by the Saxons, and now the fleet was divided into three squadrons, who were to make their several attacks. Swen was unfortunate; for the inhabitants of the isle of Rugen, in alliance with the Vandals, destroyed a great part of his fleet by a sudden sally. Terrified at this loss the Danes reembarked, and, without any farther attempt, returned home; upon which the civil discord was again revived between the rival princes. Swen, by his late defeat, was now inferior in strength to his enemy; which deficiency he determined

A D. 1148.

*Swen and
Canute
reconciled,
and march
against the
Vandals.*

*The civil
war again
breaks out.*

to compensate by all the precautions suggested by the art of war. He set about fortifying Roschild in the strongest manner, and Canute resolved to impede the work as much as possible, and maintain his superiority. Accordingly he passed into Zealand, attacked the city, took the governor, who commanded in a fall of the besieged, and, after having put out his eyes, and plundered the city, he re embarked for Jutland, to recruit his army and prepare for giving battle to Swen ^h.

*Canute
defeated.*

In a short time he returned, and meeting his rival at Thorster, a bloody battle was fought, that terminated to the advantage of Swen. Canute was not only forced to abandon Zealand, but, before his return to Jutland, was deserted by two of the chief nobility, whose weight and valour proved of the utmost importance to his antagonist.

*Valdemar
declares for
Swen.*

To this loss was added the influence of young Valdemar, now of age, who, out of hatred to the son of his father's murderer, declared in favour of Swen, and accepted from him the government of Sleswick, which had formerly belonged to his noble father. Young Valdemar's natural vigour, the influence he possessed in consequence of the people's affection, and the forces he drew together, enabled Swen to retaliate upon his rival, and, in his turn, to project the invasion of his dominions ⁱ. Valdemar was accordingly provided with a fleet, and ordered to make a descent on Jutland; the first expedition he had ever undertaken. His courage and ardour to signalize himself soon infused a spirit of intrepidity in his troops, that made them as desirous of battle as their young leader. The opportunity offered, and Valdemar embraced it with a cheerfulness that prognosticated a happy event. Canute was totally defeated; his whole army taken, killed, or dispersed, and himself obliged to fly for shelter to his stepfather, Suerco king of Sweden.

*Canute
again de-
feated.*

Swen, being thus freed from all apprehensions about his rival, resumed the war against the Vandals, who had become more insolent by the late repulse they had given the Danes, and by the civil discord that rent this miserable people. Impetuosity and fire, mixed with a certain dissipation of mind and inconstancy, distinguished the character of Swen. This disposition rendered the war in general unsuccessful, though he succeeded in all his attacks upon the barbarians. As he never followed his stroke, they always again made head, and were as insolent at the end of Swen's hostile operations as before ^k.

^h Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv. Meurf. lib. iv.
^k Pontan. lib. v.

ⁱ Meurf. lib. iv.

During these transactions, Canute, leaving the court of Sweden, repaired to Poland and Saxony to solicit assistance, and met with ample promises. At length he visited the archbishop of Bremen, who received him into his protection. This prelate, having been deprived of some privileges which he claimed in Denmark, vowed revenge, and assisted Canute with all his power. He likewise sent trusty persons to sound the inclinations of the Jutlanders, who all declared they would take up arms in favour of their prince, the moment he appeared with a proper force to protect them. They did not deceive him with false hopes; for the moment he arrived, incredible numbers flocked to his standard; and Swen, finding himself inferior in the field, took all necessary precautions for standing a siege in Wiburg. Canute pitched his camp before the city, laid close siege to it, and in time reduced the garrison to great straits for want of provisions. Swen resolved, in this emergency, to risque every thing rather than fall into the hands of his rival. Accordingly, attended by young Valdemar, he sallied out in the night upon the enemy's camp, when a furious action ensued. The besieged fought with the despair of persons who had all at stake; and the besiegers determined not to be disgraced by a handful of men. Both Swen and Valdemar performed miracles of valour; but especially the young prince, who was present wherever danger and glory called. Fortune seconded their brave efforts; Canute's army was entirely defeated, his camp pillaged, the siege raised, and himself forced to fly with a few attendants into Saxony.

Canute again invades Denmark, and besieges Swen in Wiburg.

In the mean time, the Vandals had invaded Funen, burning and destroying the country with all the fury of incensed barbarians; but Swen, marching against them, drove them out of the island, after having defeated them in a pitched battle. To prevent their future depredations, he granted, with the consent of the nobility, the power of making reprisals to all his subjects, who had sustained losses by their descents and piracies. These privateers at first composed but a small squadron; but their success encouraged others, that in a short time they became a formidable armament, under the conduct of one Vithemar. Their power rendered them no less a grievance to Denmark than the Vandals themselves; for wherever they met with a ship fit for the purpose, they thought themselves sufficiently justified in seizing upon her, if they first paid down her value to the owner. Other abuses had

The Vandals defeated, and a law passed in favour of privateers.

likewise crept in, which rendered it necessary for Swen to compile a certain set of laws to regulate their conduct. What these were, history does not inform us : we are only told, that they proved extremely beneficial and salutary ; notwithstanding which it was long before the sea-port towns resumed their ancient splendor, and trade recovered its wonted vigour °.

A third attempt by Canute.

Canute in the mean time was not idle : after having used every art to induce the Saxons to support him, he went to Embden, where he met with some encouragement, from the eager desire with which he found the people possessed of recovering their usual liberty, as they imagined they should, in reward of the services they proposed doing Canute, should he be so happy as to be reinstated in the throne. A small army was soon raised ; but there wanted a fleet to transport it into Sleswick. A few ships were therefore obtained from that duchy, and every thing threatened the nation with a new civil war. Nor was Swen less diligent in taking the proper measures to suppress this insurrection. He levied troops with such expedition, and marched them, with Valdemar at their head, with so much celerity, that Canute was attacked, and the rebellion suppressed, before it was believed that Swen could have intelligence of the rising ; and thus the unhappy prince was once more driven into exile. After Swen had punished with death the ringleaders, imposed a fine upon the rest, and settled the good order of the country, he returned to Denmark.

Canute once more driven into exile.

He engages the emperor in his service.

Canute resolved upon one more effort ; and accordingly went to the court of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, craving his assistance, and promising, if he succeeded, to hold Denmark as a fief of the empire : an argument which weighed so powerfully with Barbarossa, that he cited Swen to appear before him. Meursius says, that he sent a polite compliment, desiring that the king of Denmark would favour him with a meeting at Stadtberg, then called Marberg, in order to renew the ancient amity between their predecessors ; assuring him, at the same time, that only affairs of importance prevented him from going more than half way. This embassy was extremely agreeable to Swen, as it flattered his pride, and raised his self-importance. Without hesitation he embraced the proposal, and set out on the journey, attended by Valdemar, contrary to the advice of the senate and most prudent personages of the nation. On his arrival at Stadtberg he was magnificently

received at the first congress; but, in the second meeting, Frederic began to accuse him of having driven the lawful heir to the crown of Denmark out of the kingdom, and usurped his throne. Then the emperor proposed, that he should hold his crown upon the same terms offered by Canute, or run the hazard of his vengeance. He told him, that, if he accepted the first, it should be his endeavour to prevail on Canute to lay down his arms, and renounce all pretensions, accepting of Zealand as an equivalent, which he should hold for his life: on the contrary, should he prove refractory, he threatened to divest him (Swen) immediately of the sovereignty, and confer it on his rival. Swen perceiving now, when too late, the snare into which he had fallen, desired that the matter might be debated before the aulic council, or a diet of the princes of the empire, each of the parties chusing an advocate, upon whom he should rest his cause. This proposition seemed so equitable, that Barbarossa, ashamed to refuse it, desired he would fix upon his advocate. Accordingly Swen chose Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony; and Canute made choice of the archbishop of Bremen. The cause was debated with great warmth, and Henry was near carrying the point for his client, when Barbarossa put an end to the argument, by decreeing, that they should hold an equal share of the sovereignty, as colleagues; a determination with which Swen was forced to appear satisfied, though the injustice of it was flagrant and notorious to all the world. In consequence of this award, he was permitted to return to Denmark; but had no sooner arrived at the capital than, assembling his nobles, he wrote a letter to the emperor, by their advice; in which he upbraided him for his perfidy, and violation of the laws of nations and public faith. He told him, that his consent to his unjust verdict being extorted, he was determined not to abide by a sentence so partial and iniquitous; and that, as he had not only obtained the crown by the election and free choice of his faithful people, but likewise held it by right of conquest, it was his resolution not to participate his authority with the man he had so frequently vanquished; and either to live a king, or die in maintaining his right and crown.^a

*Treachery
of the emperor.*

*The dispute
between
Swen and
Canute referred to a
diet of the
empire;
but Swen
refuses to
stand by
the emperor's
award.*

He afterwards, entered upon a treaty of marriage with the house of Saxony, in order the more strongly to unite families already linked together by friendship, neighbourhood, and mutual good offices; but this connexion, says

^a Vide Aust. citat. ibid.

Grammaticus, was the bane of his reputation, and the ruin of the kingdom. Swen began to emulate the luxurious and expensive manners of the Saxons. The simple homely coarse dress of Denmark was changed for the more superb and costly ornaments of the neighbouring country: the minds of the nobility were emasculated with foppery, their estates ruined with pomp and ostentation, and the public treasury was exhausted by frivolous shew and mere gaudy external grandeur. The low condition of the treasury introduced a train of bare-faced corruptions: honours and preferments were bestowed, for a certain price, on the mean and unworthy; merit was estimated by wealth, and court-favour bestowed only upon those who could administer for a time to its prodigality¹.

In this condition stood the kingdom on the eve of a war with Sweden, from which the pope's nuncio did all in his power to divert Swen. The motives for it were a gross affront put on the nation by the brutal conduct of John, the son of Suerco, king of Sweden. This young prince had violently carried off the wife of the duke of Halland, ravished her in the most savage manner, and then dismissed her with all possible marks of ignominy. The whole kingdom of Denmark was fired with the desire of revenging so brutal an injury; for however corrupted the minds of the nobility might be, the nation in general was not lost to a sense of public honour.

Swen invades Sweden.

In the beginning of the winter Swen led his army into Finland, where it was supplied with all necessaries by the voluntary contribution of the inhabitants, who cheerfully offered a part of their substance to avoid being plundered of the whole. Crossing the gulf, he made a descent on the coasts of Sweden; and the inhabitants flying for shelter into the mountains, were soon reduced by the pinching cold and hunger to hazard a battle, in which they were defeated; after which they submitted at discretion. Such was the consternation into which his arrival had thrown the whole kingdom, that he would have found it an easy conquest, but that the inclemency of the weather rendered it impossible for him to keep the field, and the badness of the roads prevented his penetrating into the country to any distance from the sea-coast.

Swen was scarce returned to Denmark with his army, when an insurrection in Schonen required his presence. Not chusing to exert force where gentle measures might prove equally efficacious, he demanded a cessation of hosti-

¹ Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv. Meurs. lib. iv.

lities, and a truce until he could hear the grievance of which they complained. As soon as the proper securities were passed, the king, attended by a few of his officers, went over to the rebels, and harangued to very little effect; for they grew more insolent by his lenity, attributing to fear what was really the result of his indulgence and clemency. Presently he saw himself surrounded by armed men, and his life in imminent danger; but finding that all attempts to escape would be vain, he again waved his hand, as a signal that he wanted to be heard: but before he had spoke a syllable, they began pelting him with stones; upon which Tocho, a man of quality in his train, called out to them to forbear; for he himself would take it upon him to redress their grievances, and, if the king should oppose it, would be the first man to lead them on to his destruction. Perfectly satisfied with this assurance, the tumult ceased, and every man returned peaceably to his own home^b.

Swen almost murdered by an insurrection of the peasants in Denmark.

As soon as the king was set free, he shewed his resentment to this impudent attack upon his life by destroying the whole country, which he totally desolated, reducing the unhappy natives to the most extreme misery. He permitted the soldiers to indulge themselves in every kind of excess, and to commit the most shocking barbarities: a conduct not to be justified, even by the cause of his resentment. But his usage of Tocho, who had been the immediate instrument of his safety, admits of no apology or palliation; it was the basest ingratitude, and what alone sufficiently stigmatizes his memory to the latest posterity. This honest courtier, moved with the distresses of the deplorable sufferers, and with seeing innocence involved indiscriminately in the ruin of the guilty, ventured to intercede for them; an effort of humanity which the king construed into treachery, for which he ordered him to be put to death, as a person who had connived at and fomented the rebellion^c.

Swen's ingratitude.

This last action was so unpopular that all men began to swerve from their affection, and even Valdemar himself publicly espoused the cause of Canute, rather than see a wrong-headed tyrant sporting with the lives and felicity of his subjects. Canute, the more strongly to attach a prince of such qualities to his interest, prevailed on Suerco, king of Sweden, to give him his daughter Sophia to wife, who was likewise sister by the same venter to Canute. As Valdemar did not seem very inclinable to the match, as the

Valdemar espouses the cause of Canute.

^a Pontan. lib. 7.

^c Meurs. ibid.

lady possessed no dowry, in Denmark, Canute willingly made over to him a third of all he should acquire, if fortune proved favourable. The terms were accepted, and the marriage concluded, by means of which these two princes were connected in the same cause, by treaty, affinity, and interest, the most powerful of all ties ^b.

They invade Denmark.

This affair being concluded, they both returned to Zealand; and Canute, leaving Valdemar to make preparations in that island, went himself to Jutland. Swen, having intelligence of these proceedings, tried every measure to recall to his interest young Valdemar, to whose courage, prudence, and popularity, he was no stranger. For this purpose he went to him at Ringstadt, and expostulated with him on his breach of trust, and the perfidy of uniting himself with Suerco, the avowed enemy of Denmark. He then produced a forged anonymous letter wrote to him, with a view of dissuading Valdemar from engagements replete with dissimulation and villainy, contrived for his ruin. Valdemar's apprehension was quick, and immediately penetrated into the artifice of the king; upon which he gently upbraided him for contriving such a mean artifice, vindicated his own conduct, and lamented the measures which had forced him for the public good to relinquish his engagements to his majesty, concluding with a short recapitulation of his own services. Swen, full of resentment at the young prince's freedom of speech, ordered him to be surrounded by the foldiers, and carried off prisoner; but this order they refused, out of respect to Valdemar; upon which the king returned in a fury to Roschild, and the prince joined his associate in Jutland.

Swen's treachery.

Valdemar's moderation, and a partition made of the kingdom.

His relation of this transaction to Canute had such an effect on the Jutlanders, that they all called out for arms to revenge the indignity; but Valdemar, whose courage was equalled by his prudence and patriotism, endeavoured to assuage their passions, by representing the horrors of a civil war in terms so pathetic that they left the conduct of their affairs wholly to him. It was his intention to compromise their differences, and procure a partition of the sovereignty without shedding the blood of the subject. Accordingly he met Swen a second time, each being attended with a number of troops, and they agreed that Denmark should be divided between Swen, Canute, and Valdemar; but we are not acquainted with the provinces assigned to each, only that the Jutlanders and Sleswickers insisted upon being governed by Valdemar ^c.

^b Meurs. *ibid*.

^c Pontan. *lib. v.*

Public tranquillity being established upon this footing, Swen attacked the Vandals, who, during the late troubles had made a descent on Zealand, and penetrated to the gates of Roschild. They had also invaded Funen, Falstria, Laaland, and the smaller islands, which they entirely reduced, carrying off a prodigious booty. There was no security of property on any of the coasts of Denmark while these freebooters roved about the sea at pleasure, and carried terror and desolation wherever they came. Swen checked them for a time, by a successful effort of arms; but finding every part of his dominions insulted, he called in Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, to his assistance, promising him a subsidy of fifteen hundred pounds of pure gold, if he would co-operate in suppressing the barbarians. Henry first demanded the money, which being paid with great difficulty, he entirely neglected his engagements, and applied himself wholly to promote pomp, luxury, and pleasure at his court, at that time the most brilliant in Europe. The people were so enraged at Swen, that they wished for the opportunity of deposing him. They exclaimed that he had dishonoured the nation, by purchasing with immense sums of gold that tranquillity their ancestors used to secure by the sword^d.

Vandals invade Denmark, and defeated by Swen.

Swen, imagining that the disaffection of his subjects was fomented by Valdemar and Canute, neglected the Vandal war, in order prosecute a scheme of revenge. He could have but little dependence upon the force of arms, and therefore chose to have recourse to dissimulation and treachery, as the least dangerous method. Intending a visit to Conrade, his father-in-law, who resided in Saxony, he proposed to Valdemar to accompany him as far as Sleswick, the government of which he obtained. Valdemar, though he knew the treachery of his disposition, yet generously accepted the proposal, believing that no man would be so dishonourable as to be guilty of so flagrant a breach of hospitality and faith. On their arrival at Stadt, Swen sent to Conrade to give him notice of his purpose, desiring he would take measures to secure the person of Valdemar; but Conrade honourably declined the business, saying, that he had rather himself, his son-in-law, and daughter, should suffer the most ignominious and excruciating death, than commit an action which would render them unworthy to live. Valdemar, escaping through the integrity of Conrade, went immediately to Canute in Jutland; and, finding there was no reliance on the promises of Swen, began to levy

He lays a trap for Valdemar.

Valdemar escapes the snare.

^d Meurs. lib. iv.

forces. It was now that he first assumed the badges of majesty, and not until he was forced to it in self-defence. Swen, hearing of their preparations, began to enter upon measures to subdue them by force: perceiving, however, that the affections of the people were wholly alienated, he retired first with his wife and son to Faltre, and then to Saxony, contrary to the advice of all his friends^a.

Swen abdicates the throne.

Canute and Valdemar, who were yet unacquainted with the king's flight, transported their army into Zealand, where, meeting with no resistance, they received the allegiance of the people. In the same manner they obtained possession of the rest of the kingdom, while Swen lived an exile with his father-in-law, in Saxony; after whose death he went to the court of duke Henry, and made him the most liberal offers, if he would assist to re-establish him on his throne.

Endeavour to recover it by means of the Saxons.

In this manner three years elapsed from his first abdication; but now Henry, excited either by his large promises, or emulous of the honour of restoring an unhappy exile, gave orders to the Vandals, who obeyed his authority, to equip a prodigious fleet, and invade Denmark; he himself determining to march at the head of a Saxon army, and a body of auxiliaries, sent by the archbishop of Bremen, by land. Hathwick likewise, in hopes of recovering a paternal estate which he claimed in Denmark, joined him in person, attended by a considerable body of troops. Swen was to pay him a sum of money when the army should advance to Danewark, the strong wall raised across the land that separates Sleswick from Denmark Proper. Accordingly Henry marched through Holstein, without offering any injury to the inhabitants. On his arrival at Danewark he found it strongly garrisoned, and the officer determined to dispute his progress; but imagining that money would effect what force could not, he offered the Dane a bribe too considerable to be resisted, and was suffered to pass; yet his business being done, he refused the traitor his reward, and even caused him to be put to death, shewing thereby his contempt of perfidy, and detestation of treason, however convenient a tool the traitor might be. Thence he marched to Sleswick, and took it by capitulation, after the city had stood a siege of some weeks. His success in this place, enabled Swen to perform his engagements to Henry, and pay the soldiers their arrears; for, seizing upon all the merchandize in the harbour, the booty was prodigious. The city, indeed, was

The Saxons take Sleswick.

^a Gram. *ibid.*

ruined

ruined by it, and the credit of a port which had been the emporium of the Baltic trade, frequented by ships of all nations, which never again returned after this violence done to commerce ^b.

In the mean time a rebellion appeared in Sweden, which had some influence on the affairs of Denmark. Magnus, a nobleman of distinction, aspiring at the sovereignty, procured the assassination of Suerco by one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber; then taking arms against his son Charles, was defeated and slain by him in battle. Canute was called thither by the queen, his mother-in-law; upon which he devolved the whole care of the Danish monarchy on Valdemar, who prepared with all speed to put a stop to the progress of the Saxons. His march was so rapid, that the Saxon army was seized with a panic, and Henry was obliged to retreat with precipitation. He marched back the same space in two days that had employed the army for fifteen in their progress to Denmark; a circumstance that irritated Swen beyond all measure, as he had now advanced the subsidy. However, to satisfy him, Henry joined the Vandal fleet with a strong squadron, gave the command of the whole to an experienced officer, and directed him to land Swen in Denmark, and support him by every possible method. This method promised more success: for the fugitive king being landed in Funen, all the inhabitants submitted without resistance, and acknowledged him as their sovereign. At the city Otho he was received with the utmost joy, persons of both sexes flocking to him in crowds, and offering their lives and fortunes for his service.

Swen makes a second attempt.

Valdemar sent to Canute, then in Sweden, and both armies marched with an army to give battle to Swen; but Valdemar, desirous to avoid the spilling of Danish blood, proposed a cessation of arms, and a congress, just as the armies were ready to engage. Swen embraced the proposal with an insidious view, and the appointment was made in Laaland, where the nobility of the kingdom were to attend. Numberless were the attempts which Swen made upon the lives of his rivals, previous to this meeting: but they were all frustrated, the congress sat, and the following terms were assented to by all parties. 1st, That Swen should enjoy the title and authority of a king: 2dly, That an act of oblivion should be passed: 3dly, That Swen should be sole sovereign of Schonen, Halland, and Bleking: 4thly, That Jutland should be the property of Valdemar: and, 5thly, That Zealand, Funen, and the neighbouring islands should

A new partition of the Danish dominions.

^b Pontan, lib. v.

form the dominions of Canute; both the latter princes enjoying the badges and authority of monarchs within their several jurisdictions. This, in fact, appears to be the partition which some writers affirm was made immediately after the death of Eric. It was ratified by the diet, and each prince bound himself by an oath solemnly to observe it.

*Swen's
attempt
against
Valdemar's
life.*

It was not long before Swen shewed his dislike to this partition; being upbraided it seems by his wife for accepting a third of the sovereignty, which he had a right to enjoy alone. In order to recover it he employed the infamous means of assassinating his colleagues by the hands of desperate ruffians, while they were entertaining him with the utmost hospitality. Valdemar was saved by his strength and valour, he made his escape after he had killed two of the ruffians, who attacked him; but Canute fell by their hands. This event happened, according to Eric of Pomerania, in the year 1156, in the month of August; but Albert, abbot of Stadt, places it on the same month in the year following. Canute was a prince of a character very opposite to his father, and would have filled the throne with great reputation, and felicity to his subjects, but for the unhappy civil wars which necessarily attended such a number of claimants^c.

A.D. 1157.

Valdemar escaped in a small boat to Jutland, and immediately on his arrival assembled a diet of the states at Wiburg, relating before the whole people the late transaction at Roschild: he shewed them the wound he received in his thigh, while he was struggling with the villain Thilleff, who had descended from the rank of a nobleman to the character of an assassin. At sight of the wound the whole assembly cried out with one voice for revenge, and offered their lives and fortunes to bring to condign punishment Swen, the most perfidious of all men: upon which Valdemar thanked them for their attachment, and assuring them that he would take up arms, not so much with a desire to avenge his own private injury, as the public insult, dismissed the diet^d.

*Another
civil war
breaks out.*

Now Denmark was again thrown into the utmost confusion, before the people had well breathed from the hardships of the late civil war. Nothing was to be seen but the tumult of war, or heard but the din of arms. Valdemar well knew that Swen would not stop at this abortive attempt upon his life; he therefore made all possible preparations to oppose him. On the other hand, Swen used all his endeavours to reduce Zealand, and the other dominions of the deceased

^c Meurf. lib. iv.

^d Pontan. lib. v.

Canute,

Canute, which he suddenly besieged with his fleet, cutting off all the intercourse between the islands, in hopes of obliging them to surrender up Valdemar, who, he doubted not, lay concealed in some remote skirts of the islands. The more effectually to prevent his escape, he ordered all the boats and vessels on the coasts to be perforated at the bottom and sunk. Afterwards he had all the fens, woods, and caves, diligently searched, but without meeting with Valdemar, who was now at the head of a powerful army, ready to march and punish his perfidy. Swen had even the presumption to order proclamation to be made, that Canute and Valdemar, in defiance of all the rights of hospitality, had laid a snare for his life; but this palpable and notorious falsity served only to render him more odious to the people, already too well acquainted with his character.

Understanding that Valdemar had escaped to Jutland, he made a descent on that coast, but found it so well defended that he was forced to retreat. Next year he was invaded in his turn; first his fleet was defeated, afterwards Funen taken, and then the two armies coming to a general action, he was defeated and slain in the pursuit, endeavouring to conceal himself amidst the rushes which bordered a lake near Grant-head, the place where this victory was obtained. Among the prisoners was Thitleff, who was executed upon the spot; a punishment too slight for the villainy of his attempt basely to murder two princes of sublime merit.

Swen defeated and slain.

Thus ended all the plots and machinations of Swen, in the month of October, in the year 1157; Valdemar came to the sole possession of the crown of Denmark, after the kingdom had been continually involved in civil wars for upwards of ten years. It would be unnecessary to sum up the character of Swen after what has been related. He was certainly possessed of talents which might have perpetuated felicity to himself, had he known how to apply them. A fickle disposition, a false heart, and a head bent on contrivances and secret plots, in which he employed the most infamous tools, distinguish him from every other prince who had sat on the throne of Denmark, and transmit his memory to posterity with such indelible stains of dishonour as time can never efface (A).

V A L-

• Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv.

(A) Meursius relates, that his resolution never to elect a king name was held in such detestation, that the diet came to a kings have, for that reason, been

V A L D E M A R I.

VALDEMAR, now ascending the throne of all Denmark, began his reign with several acts of clemency to his enemies, and among others to Magnus, natural son to the late king Eric, one of the strongest adherents of Swen. Those only he punished who committed actions worthy of death, had they been his friends. He blamed no man for acting according to principle and inclination, provided he fought like a generous enemy; it was vice, without regard to party, that felt the scourge of his displeasure^f.

He next turned his attention to the barbarians, who had never ceased, from the first rise of the civil war, to harass the coasts and shipping of Denmark. He prepared a fleet to invade the Vandals; but the expedition was laid aside by the advice of the senate, and on account of the scarcity of provisions.

In this as in the former reigns sharp disputes arose among the clergy about the see of Roschild, now vacant by the death of Rico, whom Meursius falsely calls Aper. These feuds caused an insurrection of the burghers, who despising the king's authority, insolently attacked and beat his procurator. The incensed Valdemar entered the city, at the head of a body of troops, and would have severely punished their temerity had they not made their submission, and voluntarily mulcted themselves in a large sum of money. He then ordered four of the principal clergy, the most celebrated for learning and piety, to be chosen candidates, among whom was Absalon, his old friend and school-fellow. One of these was to be elected by ballot; and upon a scrutiny it appeared, to the great satisfaction of Valdemar, that Absalon was raised by universal assent to this high dignity.

The Vandals invade the small islands.

Having thus, by his prudence, terminated the ecclesiastical disputes, he resumed his intention of punishing the Vandals. Just as he was preparing to invade them, they anticipated him, by making a descent on the smaller Danish islands, from whence they were quickly driven. They afterwards spread themselves over the coasts of Jutland, and over-run the island Falstre, before a proper number of troops could

^f Saxo-Gram. lib. xvi. Pontan. lib. vi.

been careful to avoid it in baptizing their children (1). By Conrad, he left a son, an only child, whose name we are not told (2).

(1) Meurs. lib. v. p. 97.

(2) Saxo-Gram.

be

be got together to oppose them. At length a fleet of light ships was sent out under the command of Absalon, bishop of Rosehill; or, according to Grammaticus, under the king in person, who reconnoitred the enemy in the harbour of Lunden, and found their armament (greatly superior to his own) consisting of two hundred and sixty stout ships. This consideration made him defer fighting until a reinforcement arrived, before which time his fleet was dispersed by a storm. The same misfortune happened to the second fleet he equipped, Valdemar very narrowly escaping the fury of the waves. Towards the end of the year, however, he came to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeated them, being greatly assisted by Perislove, son to Nicotes, prince of the Vandals, who embracing Christianity, sought refuge with Valdemar, and was by him made governor of the small isles^s. This victory was obtained off Rugen, which island the king plundered and destroyed (B).

*Vandals
defeated.*

A.D. 1168.

Returning home laden with spoils, in order to repair his fleet and renew the war, he was followed by the Vandal ambassadors, who supplicated peace with such submission, that the good king, laying aside his just resentment, granted their request. Their unbridled insolence, however, drew down upon them that vengeance next year from which their servile obedience saved them at this time. It would appear that only a cessation of arms was granted by Valdemar; for Grammaticus says, that the Vandals sent back Domboro, their former ambassador, to conclude the treaty, and demand hostages for its performance; his directions being besides to accept of no terms but such as were honourable. Domboro first applied himself to Absalon, who he knew had the king's ear, and told him, that the first article of his instructions was to demand hostages; Absalon replied, that the Danes were not accustomed to grant such terms to their inferiors whom they had vanquished. He then acquainted the king with the purport of the embassy, with which he

^s Mæurf. lib. v.

(B) This island is situated in the Baltic, on the coast of Pomerania, and at present does not exceed nine leagues in length, though it is confidently asserted, that its dimensions were formerly larger, being joined with the little island of Ruden, now separated by an arm of the sea. It formerly had the strong town of Arcona for its capital, ruined in the year 1168 by Valdemar (1).

(1) Vid. Baudrand Voc.

MOD. VOL. XXVIII.

I i

was

was so offended, that he ordered Domboro to quit his dominions, without giving him any answer.

A.D. 1162.

*The king of
the Van-
dals slain.*

Immediately he prepared for war; but his fleet was so long wind-bound, that, fearing the consequences of a long delay, he endeavoured to prevail on Henry of Saxony to chastise the Vandals. Induced by a large subsidy, and the hopes of extending his dominions, Henry accepted the proposal, and agreed to attack the enemy by land, while the king should distress them by sea. In consequence of this plan, the Vandals were reduced to great extremities, having lost a battle which they hazarded with the Saxons, and their king, who was slain fighting with great intrepidity, amidst heaps of his slaughtered enemies. His head was fixed on a pole by the Saxon soldiers, carried triumphantly to their duke, and sent by him to the king of Denmark, just at the time when he was at supper with Perislove, the son of the deceased. That prince, after he had paid the tribute due to nature, and shed tears over the head of his parent, said, he thanked God for thus punishing impiety; disclaimed the brave Niclotes for his father, and proved himself a true barbarian by his want of filial affection, a principle so strongly and wisely implanted in the human breast. Valdemar himself seemed displeased at this overstrained Christianity, gently rebuked the young prince for his impetuosity and want of natural feeling, and ordered the head to be buried with the honours due to the valour of the deceased.

*Vandal's sue
for peace.*

Notwithstanding the death of their king, the Vandals ventured to engage the Danish fleet, which they surrounded in a shallow creek, whither they had been driven by a storm. Here the Danes fought to great disadvantage, their large ships being intirely useless; but, animated by the presence of their king, and encouraged by his example, they not only repulsed the enemy, but obtained a complete victory. This, with two other defeats, compelled the Vandals to sue for peace in the same abject manner they had used before; which the king granted upon such terms as he thought fit to impose, in order that his presence in Denmark might appease some tumults occasioned by Eschil, archbishop of Lund.

During the contest between Alexander and Victor, about the papal dignity, the bishop of Sleswick dying, one Occo was substituted by Victor, with Valdemar's approbation, in his room. This promotion was disagreeable to the archbishop Eschil, who espoused the cause of Alexander, and declared the election void, prohibiting Occo from the use

^h Saxo Gram. lib. xv. Meurs. lib. v. Pontan.

of fire and water, after having first excommunicated him. What increased the prelate's fury was the loss of a large sum of money sent to him from France, which he imagined had been seized by the king's order at the instigation of Occo. This notion made him send a haughty message to Absalon, desiring him to acquaint Valdemar, either to return the treasure or prepare for war. Absalon was shocked with the insolence of this message, and declined informing the king of the express terms used by the proud priest, though he told him enough to raise his indignation, and make him threaten to punish the archbishop. Eschil, upon reconsidering the matter, began to apprehend the effects of the royal vengeance, and sought an opportunity of appeasing it, without diminishing his own dignity. With this view he withdrew to a remote part of the country, from whence he proposed to accommodate the breach: but Valdemar, collecting a body of troops, laid siege to Lethra, a strongly fortified city which Eschil had built in the midst of a morass. The siege was tedious, but at length the city was forced to surrender for want of provisions, but chiefly by a stratagem which Valdemar contrived. Gerhard, the governor, had before demanded a parley, and promised to surrender the place within a limited time, if Eschil did not come to its relief, and, as a pledge of his faith, he put the archbishop's grandson into the king's hand, and immediately acquainted Eschil of what he had done. The prelate's answer was to defend the town to the last extremity, he valued it far above the life of his grandson. Upon this hostilities therefore recommenced, and the king forged a letter, in which he made Eschil retract his former sentiments, express great concern for his grandchild, and order Gerhard to deliver up the city rather than let his life run any hazard. The more strongly to enforce this letter which Valdemar pretended to have intercepted, he ordered a gibbet to be erected before the walls, on which he threatened to hang up the hostage, if the keys were not sent to him within an hour; and the governor finding him peremptory, and his master's orders express, complied. Here he left a garrison, and passed over to Schonen, reducing all the strong holds within the diocese of Lunden¹.

The king's rapid progress obliged the proud Eschil to ask peace in the most submissive terms; and his request was granted: but upon this mortifying condition, that the archbishop should restore to his majesty all the donations of former kings to the see of Lunden.

Eschil rebels against the king.

¹ Meurs. lib. v.

*The Nor-
wegians
offer him
the crown.*

Valdemar having by his rigour and penetration escaped all the snares laid for him, determined more strongly to fortify his dominions on the German side, and to build stone bulwarks at Danewark, which before consisted entirely of wood. While he was thus employed an embassy came from Norway, offering him that crown, provided he would drive out Erling, who had invaded the kingdom. Valdemar, that he might not rashly embark in a foreign war, took care to sound the sentiments of the people before he made any reply; and finding they were strongly affected to him, promised speedy assistance. Crossing over with an army, he was joyfully received; and traversing the country to Tonsberg, was in that city crowned king of Norway, in a full assembly of the states; though it was observable, that not a single bishop or private clergyman was present, notwithstanding their great influence in Norway. A scarcity of provisions, however, obliged him to return to Denmark, attended with a great number of the Norwegian nobility, who chose to live in exile, rather than subject themselves to the indignation of Erling. This prince still continued with a small army in Norway; and now, taking advantage of the king's retreat, made a descent on Jutland, and ruined and destroyed the Danish fleet that rode at anchor on the coast ^k.

A.D. 1163.

*Erling,
king of
Norway,
comes over
to Den-
mark, and
submits to
Valdemar.*

Erling was married to Christina, cousin to Valdemar, a lady of prudence and valour superior to her sex. She, finding that, if the war was protracted, her husband must necessarily sink under the weight of Valdemar's power, took the resolution of going in person to the king, and endeavouring to effect a reconciliation. Having provided herself with a passport, she crossed the seas, and was kindly received by Valdemar, who was pleased with her good sense and spirit, and honoured her with a great many audiences. When she believed she had softened his resolution, she detached a messenger to Erling, who suddenly joined her, and presented himself before the king, whom he thus addressed, "See, Valdemar, the confidence I place in your generosity, thus to put myself into your hands, even without your word for my security: but I know the greatness of your soul, and, though your enemy, have no apprehension of being treated as such while I am your guest." Valdemar replied, "You may safely confide in me: it is not my custom to abuse the confidence reposed in my hospitality." Upon which Erling, approaching respectfully, kissed the king's hand, and obtained peace, upon condition that he should himself remain a hostage in Denmark, and Esbern be sent to govern the

^k Fontan. lib. iv.

king.

Kingdom of Norway in quality of viceroy for Valdemar; who, in return, conferred upon Erling several dignities and lands of considerable value for his support ¹.

No sooner was the tranquillity of Norway established than new insults from the Vandals occasioned a renewal of the war; that it might be carried on with vigour, Valdemar entered into a fresh alliance with the duke of Saxony; and the more firmly to cement their friendship, a contract of marriage was executed between Canute, prince of Denmark, and Gertrude, an infant, the daughter of Henry, the duke. The plan of operations was settled, and Henry sent a body of horse into the enemy's country, while he himself followed with slower marches at the head of the infantry; the king blocking up the sea-ports, and opposing the Vandal navy. An ambush was laid for the Saxon horse, by which they were at first defeated, till Guncelin, a Saxon general, rallied them, and renewed the fight with such intrepidity, that the enemy, intent upon plundering, were driven out of the field, and victory wrested out of their hands. Nevertheless, Henry was so much incensed at the repulse his troops had met with, that, entering Pomerania, he carried terror and desolation wherever he marched.

A.D. 1164.

*Alliance
between
Denmark
and Saxo-
ny.*

On the other hand, Valdemar finding the Vandals had drawn their forces from the fleet, the better to oppose the Saxons, landed his troops, and marched to the city of Vologast, or Wolgast, the capital of Swedish Pomerania, then the country of the Vandals, which he found deserted by the inhabitants. They, however, dreaded that he would set fire to the city, and sent ambassadors to assure him of their allegiance, provided he would restrain his soldiers from plundering and destroying their houses. The proposal was accepted, on condition that Rugen should pay a tribute, and give hostages that the inhabitants would shut up the mouth of the river Pene, which was a nest for pirates; that, dividing the city into three parts, they would obey Tolislaw, Casimir, and Prisslaw, as governors, who should be answerable for their conduct to the king of Denmark; and, lastly, that the duke of Saxony should remain in possession of all his conquests in Pomerania ^m.

*Rugen
submits to
Valdemar.*

This treaty of peace did not hold long; for next year the citizens of Wolgast, disliking the administration of Casimir, entered into a secret alliance with the people of Rugen; in which, indeed, Henry of Saxony, the good ally of Valdemar, was a party, and began to make new depredations upon Denmark. Valdemar was incensed more at the per-

¹ Saxo-Gram. lib. xv.

^m Meurs. lib. v.

fidly of Henry than the inconstancy of the Vandals. Without delay he invaded Rugen; and, by the conduct of the faithful Absalon, who, though a bishop, shewed the capacity and courage of a soldier, reduced many of the most important places; then he returned to his own dominions, to refresh his soldiers. After a short stay he again came back; and laid siege to the strong city of Arcona, which was well fortified by nature and art. Such were the difficulties he met with from the situation of the place, and valour of the besieged, that, breaking up his camp, he marched to the interior part of the country, which he laid waste. The Vandals, terrified at this desolation, applied to Henry the Lion for the promised aid; but being put off under various pretences, they once more received the yoke, purchased a peace at a heavy price, and gave hostages for the security of payment. They likewise agreed to abjure idolatry, and embrace the Christian religion, which Valdemar made a preliminary article to the treaty.

A.D. 1165.

*Dantzic
built.*

About this time it was that Valdemar laid the foundation of the city of Dantzic, so famed for its opulence and freedom. At first it was composed of the huts of poor fishermen; but Valdemar conferring upon the inhabitants certain privileges and immunities, it soon became a flourishing place of trade, and not the least ornament of that glorious reign. Some writers indeed affirm, that this city owes its origin to Sobislaw, prince of Pomerania; but the Danish historians, and the accurate Crantzius, with one voice attribute the honour to Valdemarⁿ.

On the king's return from this expedition, the diet taking into consideration the danger to which the kingdom would be exposed, should any misfortune befall him in the wars in which he was constantly engaged, humbly proposed, that his son Canute, then but four years of age, should be taken as his associate, and consequently owned as his successor on the throne. The king, who was by no means displeased with their request, willingly complied, and Canute was proclaimed king of Denmark, conjointly with his father, by universal consent; without we except Burisius, young Canute's kinsman, who had himself some designs upon the crown, and therefore refused his vote at the election. Valdemar put up with the affront for a time, but did not forget it: he saw through the views of Burisius, and resolved not only to frustrate them, but to punish the author as soon as a fit occasion should offer.

ⁿ Lib. ii. Hist. Saxon.

Next year great preparations were set on foot for giving such a blow to the Vandal power, as should for a while disable them from disturbing the peace of Denmark, if not totally destroy the state. Almost all the inhabitants of Schonen, Zealand, and Funen, fit to bear arms, went forth under the conduct of Absalon, Magnus, son to Eric Lamb, and Christopher, natural son to the present king. They entered the enemy's country, and, without mercy, set the whole in a flame; but did not come to action with their main army. Next year the expedition was repeated, in which the Danes had the good fortune to destroy part of Arcona, the capital, and strongest hold in Rugen.

While Valdemar was gathering laurels against foreign enemies, he received a letter from Henry, duke of Saxony, acquainting him with the impending danger from domestic foes. Burisius, his brother Ormos, and Erling of Norway, had secretly conspired against his life, and concerted a plan for making themselves masters of Jutland, which was proved by an intercepted letter from Norway. They had engaged several of the nobility in the plot, and had taken their measures so well, that nothing but this early intelligence could have saved Valdemar. The king immediately seized upon such of the traitors as were within his reach, and sent Absalon with a fleet to intercept Erling and Ormos in their return for Norway. Absalon obeyed his orders, and defeated their fleet; but had not the good fortune to take Erling, who escaped under favour of a dark night. Burisius was already a prisoner, and authors differ about the nature of his punishment. Saxo-Grammaticus says, that he was confined for life in prison; Eric of Pomerania affirms, that his eyes were put out; Albert, abbot of Stadt, asserts that he was strangled; and others, that he was smothered under a feather-bed^d.

A conspiracy formed against Valdemar.

A.D. 1167.

About this time it was that Absalon built the castle of Stegelburg, afterwards called Exelhusia, then Hafnica, and now the celebrated port and city of Copenhagen. The intention of this castle was to awe the pirates, and afford a safe protection to the Danish ships of commerce.

Next year was ushered in with preparations for attacking Erling; but from this design Valdemar was restrained by certain advice that Henry, duke of Saxony, had entered into a strict alliance with Bogislaus, prince of the Vandals, who had sought his protection against the Danes, and received the strongest assurances of support. There could be nothing more absurdly inconstant than the conduct of

A.D. 1168.

Henry the Lion breaks his alliance.

^d Vide apud Pontan. notæ ad Hist.

Henry; sometimes forming alliances with Valdemar, cementing them with the ties of blood, and proving his friendship by discovering to him the machinations of his enemies; at other times, and perhaps within the space of a few months, contracting alliances with his inveterate enemies, contriving schemes with them for Valdemar's destruction, and shifting diametrically opposite to the sentiments he had lately espoused. The truth is, Henry's profusion and magnificence always rendered him necessitous, and every tie of honour and affinity yielded to his wants. Money was the actuating spring of all his conduct, and the last and largest subsidy confirmed his friendship. Valdemar was not ignorant of this disposition; but he disdained purchasing alliances at the expence of his people, except when emergencies required it. The present occasion might well be reckoned such, for Denmark was hardly ever in a more critical situation, or beset with more enemies. On one side were the Vandals and Saxons; on the other, Erling and the Norwegians; so that Valdemar had reason to dread a descent from one while he was acting against the other. His first care was to fortify the coast of Zealand, the superintendence of which work he committed to Esburn Snare, who built a number of strong castles and towns in the most commodious places. He next employed Gondecal, a man of high distinction, that had passed the first years of his life among the Vandals, and had acquired a perfect knowledge of their manners and language, to break the league between them and Henry of Saxony; which business he cheerfully undertook, and effected with such consummate address, that the Vandals, taking arms, drove all the Saxons out of their garrisons and country.^e

*Henry the
Lion surrenders
for peace.*

Henry was terrified at this very extraordinary and sudden change in their councils, for which he could assign no cause, the Danish agent having come over with such privacy, that not a syllable transpired to the public. Dreading lest Valdemar should seize this opportunity of punishing his treachery and fickleness, he sent ambassadors to him to apologize for his conduct, and promise measures more steady and consistent for the future. As his eldest daughter, betrothed to young Canute, was dead, he offered the younger sister in marriage upon the same terms; requesting, at the same time, an interview at Bremen with the Danish monarch, in order to put the last hand to the proposed treaty.

^e Meurs lib. v. Saxo-Gram. lib. xvi. Pontan. lib. v.

The princes met, and it was agreed they should join forces against the Vandals, Henry marching to Demin, and Valdemar to Wolgast. The devastation they made was terrible, and unbecoming Christian princes, had it not been absolutely necessary to repress those barbarians by cruel methods, that ought not to be used against a people more civilized, who fought by regulated laws of war. This conduct had the desired effect; for the Vandals, perceiving nothing but destruction before their eyes, purchased peace with a large sum of money, and gave hostages for the security of the payment.

A new alliance between Leo and Valdemar against the Vandals.

Having finished matters on the side of the Vandals, Valdemar turned his arms against Norway; but, after many fruitless attempts to bring Erling to a battle, he returned home with his fleet. The soldiers had begun to complain of long confinement on board in search of a fugitive who eluded all their endeavours, a scarcity of provisions began to prevail in the fleet, and the winter was now approaching. Another circumstance which contributed to his return, before he had done any thing decisive, was intelligence, that the Rugians had again revolted, notwithstanding the low state to which he had lately reduced them. He now determined fully to extirpate this perfidious and obstinate people, and for that purpose formed an alliance with Bogislaus, prince of Pomerania. After having ravaged different parts of the island, he sat down before Arcona, the suburbs of which had been destroyed in the former war. Nature never, perhaps, formed a stronger situation than this place, itself standing on a high promontory, the east, north, and south sides defended by steep and lofty precipices, inaccessible to men; and the west by a wall fifty feet high, proportionably thick, and secured by a deep and broad ditch. Nevertheless, Valdemar carried on his operations with such skill and perseverance, that the garrison was forced to surrender upon the conditions he thought fit to impose: one in particular was, that the Rugians should destroy a temple they had erected to St. Vitis, and deliver up the vast treasure of this tutelary god, which had been amassed by a tax on the consciences of his votaries. They likewise agreed to embrace Christianity; to restore the Danish prisoners without ransom; to pay forty silver yokes for oxen by way of yearly tribute; and to enter as soldiers in the service of Denmark, when called upon, in the same manner as the other subjects of the crown^f.

Arcona besieged and taken.

Vandals reduced.

^f Saxo-Gram. lib. xvi,

The princes of Pomerania were of opinion that Tetlaw, prince of Rugen, ought to have been divested of his sovereignty, and that authority translated to themselves, in reward of their services; they were disgusted at Valdemar's moderation, which they deemed an injury done to them, and therefore resolved to withdraw from his alliance; a measure which gave no disturbance to the Danish monarch, who had now accomplished his business.

A.D. 1169.

The beginning of this year was employed in acts of piety to his father's memory. He sent an ambassador to Rome to have him canonized. On the day of his return, with the pope's assent, he convoked the people at Ringstad, and solemnly proclaimed his son Canute an associate in the throne, and his successor; an event which has greatly perplexed historians with respect to the chronology. His next care was the firm establishment of Christianity in Rugen, to which place a number of the clergy was sent to instruct those rude barbarians in the truths of the Gospel; and the superintendency of the whole was committed to Absalon, his favourite prelate.

*The Cour-
landers
subdued.*

These acts of piety were considerably disturbed by the piracies of the Esthonians and Courlanders, against whom he sent a fleet under the conduct of Absalon, strictly enjoining him to beware of their snares and ambushes. Absalon, however, was entrapped, and a great part of his army, which he had disembarked, cut off. This loss he soon retaliated upon the enemy, whom he blocked up in port; and, at length, bringing them to an action, they were totally vanquished.

Soon after this transaction, the succession was strengthened by the birth of a second prince, whom the king called after his own name; and, to augment the general joy, ambassadors arrived from Erling to sue for peace, and obtain leave that he might come to Denmark, and have an interview with Valdemar. His petition was granted; Esbern was sent in his room to Norway, and Erling admitted to a conference with the king. At first he was received so coldly, that he began to despair of obtaining his ends. Next day, however, renewing the conference, his majesty changed his behaviour, and graciously received him again into favour on these conditions, which may seem hard.

A.D. 1170.

*Conditions
of the
treaty.*

1st, That Valdemar, the new-born prince, youngest son to Valdemar, should be educated at the expence of Norway, and enjoy the title of duke of that country. 2dly, That this young prince should succeed to the throne of

† Pontan, lib. vi. Meurs. lib. v.

Norway,

Norway, provided that he (Erling) and his son Magnus, died without male issue. 3dly, That Erling should serve in Valdemar's wars as a vassal of Denmark, and have sixty ships ready to put to sea on the first notice. 4thly, and lastly, That not only Erling, but all the nobility of Norway, should ratify and confirm these conditions by oath, and a written instrument, signed with their hands, and sealed with the great seal of the kingdom, as well as the private seals of individuals.

Peace being concluded in this quarter, the king found it necessary to repel some fresh insults committed by the restless and barbarous Vandals, who could neither support war nor endure peace. While the king and his general Abfalon were taking their towns and ravaging their country, a design was concerted by Casimir, Henry the Lion, and Bogislaus, for giving a decisive blow to the Danish power, by surrounding the king, and obliging him to surrender, with his whole army, at discretion. Their design was discovered and frustrated by Valdemar's resolution and the prudence of Abfalon, who had raised himself a number of enemies by the share he possessed of the royal confidence. They now accused this brave prelate of having betrayed them to the enemy; but the king knew his merit, and was too discerning not to penetrate through the thin veil of patriotic dissimulation. Committing, therefore, the whole care of extricating the Danes out of this difficulty to the bishop, the event answered his hopes. Abfalon took such precautions, and made so good a disposition, that Casimir found himself reduced to the necessity of retreating or fighting upon unequal terms. He chose the former part of the alternative; the Danes were delivered, and the character of Abfalon raised above envy. In a word, so glorious was this expedition, that the power of Casimir and Bogislaus was entirely broke; the designs of the fickle but ambitious Henry frustrated; most of the towns in Pomerania obliged to give hostages for their future quiet behaviour; and the Vandal princes so exhausted and reduced as to be obliged to seek protection in Saxony.

The Vandals defeated.

Advice of this success being received in Denmark, Valdemar made another descent on Pomerania, and laid siege to Stetin, then the best fortified city in all that country. With such vigour did he carry on his attack, that Wratiflaus, the governor and kinsman to Casimir and Bugislaus, was driven to extremities, and forced to capitulate (A).

A.D. 1172.

Val-

(A) As our only guides thro' subsequent to Valdemar's reign, the period of the Danish history, are Pontanus and Meurfius, which

A.D. 1177. Valdemar was wholly employed in settling the affairs of Pomenaria, and the Vandal country, till the year 1177, which produced a conference between him and Henry, duke of Saxony, for adjusting their mutual right and claims. Authors however are not agreed about the nature or end of this congress: we are only told, that in consequence of it, another expedition was undertaken against the Vandals, in which Absalon gathered fresh laurels, Valdemar acquired great addition of glory, and the whole kingdom of Denmark an increase of wealth, by the prodigious quantity of rich booty brought home. But we know not, whether this expedition was entered upon in consequence of an agreement between Valdemar and Henry, or whether the latter bore any part in it. Certain it is, that next year they acted as enemies to each other; the guardians of the young duke of Holstein levying soldiers in Saxony, in order to make war upon Denmark. His usual good fortune attended Absalon; the enemy were defeated, and the Danes again permitted to enjoy the fruits of this victory.

Disturbances in the Lower Saxony.

But the repose consequent on these advantages was soon again disturbed by fresh commotions in the duchy of Bremen, and other parts of the circle of Lower Saxony. The Saxons highly resented the late disgrace of their countrymen, and, fired with the desire of revenge, assembled in a tumultuous manner in order to march against Absalon; but being met by the fugitives, who escaped from the late defeat, their courage was somewhat repressed by the relation they received of the extraordinary prowess of Absalon's army, and the good conduct of the general. Olimar, a Vandal prince, on whom the command was bestowed, finding that all his endeavours would only serve to hasten his own ruin, went over to Valdemar, and obtained peace from that generous conqueror.

A.D. 1178. Next year was introduced by a new conference between Valdemar and Henry the Lion, now elated by his conquests in Bavaria. Henry proposed this meeting, in order to settle the differences between them, and thereby secure his frontiers against the incursions of the Danes, during his necessary attendance at the diet, and the emperor's court. The banks of the Eyder, a river emptying itself into the Baltic, between the duchies of Sleswick and Hol-

Conference between Valdemar and Henry the Lion.

which last is here a mere copier, it may be sufficient that we refer the reader to the last book of Saxo-Grammaticus, the sixth, seventh, and eighth books of

Pontanus, and the third book of the second part of Meursius, without quoting every particular page.

stein,

stein, was the place fixed on for the congress; but such was Henry's pride, that he refused crossing the bridge, or going to the opposite side where the king was. Valdemar only smiled at the ridiculous punctilio, and went half way over the bridge to meet this haughty sovereign prince. Here matters were adjusted to their mutual satisfaction, Valdemar yielding points of no consequence in order to obtain others of real benefit, conducting himself throughout the whole congress with the ability of a statesman and the moderation of a great king and conqueror.

Subsequent to this treaty concluded between Denmark and Saxony, were a variety of incursions, tumults, and rebellions, among the fickle, unsteady, and predatory Vandals, who were neither able to oppose the power of Valdemar, nor could rest satisfied under his dominion, though he exerted the rights of conquest with all possible mildness and lenity. The recital however of such unimportant and uninteresting events would be tedious to the reader. Suffice it to observe that they were constantly defeated, constantly suing for peace, and no less constant in taking up arms again upon every opportunity. In a word, nothing seemed capable of securing Denmark on this side, but the total extirpation of so perfidious, barbarous, and warlike a people. This scheme had often been resolved upon by Valdemar, at the instigation of his faithful counsellor Absalon; he had frequently made large strides towards its final execution; but some fresh difficulties intervened; or the clemency of his disposition was always wrought on by the supplications of the vanquished.

During the Vandal war, a conspiracy set on foot by Magnus, son to Eric the Lamb, was happily discovered. This young prince had sided with Swen; and being made prisoner in the last battle, was set at liberty and kindly pardoned by Valdemar, at a time when he expected the most severe punishment. Unmindful of this instance of goodness, he joined with Canute and Charles, nephews to Eschil, in a plot to destroy the king. Some of the conspirators, who were gone to Holstein upon business, chanced to lodge in the hut of an old hermit, by whom they were kindly accommodated. After they were in bed they began to talk upon the important subject in hand, expressing among other things their astonishment, that the king should so long escape the machinations of Canute, Charles, Magnus, and other conspirators, who had vowed his destruction. The hermit, separated from the strangers only by a wicker partition, overheard their discourse, and next morning communicated it to the abbot, with his request that

A conspiracy.

that it might be instantly transmitted to Absalon. By means of this accident, Valdemar was informed of his danger. He consulted with Absalon the means of avoiding the impending storm. It was agreed, that the guard should be doubled with as much expedition and privacy as possible, and every other measure taken that could insure the king's security; yet, without disturbing the public tranquillity, or using violence upon the conspirators, until more ample proofs could be procured. It was not long before some letters wrote by Magnus were intercepted: in these a full account of the conspiracy was contained; and Valdemar openly producing them in the assembly of the states, confronted him with his own hand and seal. At first he pretended to deny the hand-writing, affirming it to be an impudent forgery; but such circumstantial proofs appeared, that in the utmost confusion he fell upon his knees before the king, confessed the whole, excused himself by saying that he had been led away by the subtle policy and ambition of Charles and Canute, and concluded with the strongest assurances of loyalty and fidelity, if his majesty would be pleased graciously to pardon this past offence. The good and merciful king, moved with his repentance, granted his request, and imposed no other punishment on his ingratitude and treachery than forbidding him the court for a certain time. Christiern, son to Swen, who likewise enlisted himself with the conspirators, was pardoned, on condition that he would immediately leave the kingdom.

*The endem-
wars of
the nobility
to get an
act of am-
nesty passed.*

*Magnus
makes fresh
attempts.*

When the assembly broke up, Eschil and the relations of Canute and Charles made all possible interest with the king to pass an act of oblivion, in which all the conspirators, without exception, should be included. They had even found means to engage Absalon in this request; but Valdemar was inexorable, thinking it necessary to make some examples; and believing very justly, that too much lenity and indulgence would only tempt them to a repetition of their crime, especially as they saw themselves supported by so powerful an interest. Eschil was so chagrined with his disappointment, that he resigned his mitre, and retired to a private convent in France. The event proved the wisdom and prudence of the king's opinion. Magnus was no sooner at liberty than he began a secret correspondence with Charles and Canute, in order to make a second attempt on Valdemar's life. The messenger between them was taken up, the plot discovered, and Magnus seized and closely imprisoned: but before his trial a fresh war broke out with the Vandals.

We

We are told that the occasion of this war was their seizing upon the portion of a daughter of Denmark, which was sent by the ambassadors of Henry the Lion into Saxony. From hence it would appear, that a treaty of marriage had been executed between the families of Denmark and Saxony, though we are not informed expressly of any such marriage. Be that as it will, Valdemar entered into an alliance with Saxony against the Vandals. The inhabitants of Rugen were, on this occasion, ordered to take up arms, as their services, it was thought, would greatly promote the designs of the allies, from their perfect knowledge of the country. As soon as the troops could be assembled, and transports got ready, the Vandals were assailed on one side by the king, who destroyed the strong fortress in Wollin; and by Henry the Lion, who attacked Demin. The siege of this place he carried on with great assiduity, but little progress, and at last was forced totally to abandon it. The king, on his side, was more successful; for after having destroyed Wollin he laid siege to Coscoa, which he likewise took and reduced to ashes. Then laying the surrounding country under heavy contributions, he pushed his march to Wolgast, which he besieged so vigorously, that the inhabitants were glad to purchase peace, by paying a large sum of money, and restoring to him prodigious magazines of plunder, which had been deposited there by the pirates.

A.D. 1179.

An alliance between Saxony and Denmark against the Vandals.

After these exploits Valdemar returned to Denmark; but having received some fresh insults, he determined to punish the Vandals with still more severity, and accordingly sent a fleet and army against them, under the conduct of his son Canute, Absalon, and Frederic bishop of Sleswick. The young prince, for the first time, appeared in the field to be initiated in the art of war by the prudent and successful Absalon. Frederic perished in a storm before he had any opportunity of serving his master, or exercising his prowess; but, notwithstanding this loss, Canute and Absalon pursued their course with such assiduity and diligence, that they surprised many of the enemy in their houses, who expected not so sudden a visit. They laid waste the country, set fire to a number of towns and villages, besieged Wolgast, and forced the brothers Casimir and Bogislaus, to sue for peace, and purchase it upon terms very advantageous to Denmark. Besides repaying the marriage portion of which the ambassadors had been robbed, they agreed to lay down in money the sum of two thousand talents, together with presents of an hundred pounds of silver, to Canute and Absalon. Having thus finished the

Young Canute takes the command of the army.

the war in one campaign, the generals returned to Denmark, and were graciously received by Valdemar, with very extraordinary marks of approbation and favour.

*The rebels
defeated.*

They resided but a few days at court, enjoying their repose, when the affairs of the state again called them into the field. The rebels Canute and Charles, who had fled to the governor of Gothland, had by his means, and their interest with the people, got together a considerable number of troops, with which they invaded Halland. There they expected to be joined by crowds of the peasants; but finding themselves disappointed, and the whole country firm in its allegiance to the king, they retired to a large wood that forms a frontier to Gothland and Halland, where they hazarded a battle, in which they were totally defeated.

Next year Henry, who was put under the ban of the empire by Frederic Barbarossa, took shelter with Valdemar, and was treated with the distinction due to his rank. His pride was now humbled, and he readily crossed the bridge over the Eyder, which, but two years before, he had refused to pass. Valdemar, to whose generous disposition misfortune was the surest recommendation, promised him all the assistance in his power, without absolutely breaking with the emperor; but the requests of Henry were of so extraordinary a nature, that he found it impossible to comply with them, without being unjust to the people and clergy, whom he governed and was bound to protect.

*A revolt in
Schonen.*

While this transaction was on the carpet, a revolt happened in Schonen; to appease which the king immediately dispatched Absalon. The people of Schonen were tumultuous and inexorable; they believed themselves oppressed, and would hear of no terms but a positive compliance with their remonstrances, and redress of their grievances; upon which Absalon returned to Zealand, and laid their complaints before the king and senate, or rather council of the nobility. Although Absalon was perhaps the most concerned of any other, yet with a noble spirit of disinterestedness, he pleaded strongly, that the first article of their remonstrance should be redressed. Foreigners, and among the rest himself, had long enjoyed the lucrative posts and places belonging to this province, while the natives were excluded, and the principal nobility of Schonen forced to live in indolence on their estates, without any share in the administration. This was a grievance insupportable to a free-spirited people. Absalon's sentiments were, however, over-ruled by a majority, and, instead of redressing the grievances of the disaffected, a letter filled with

with promises on the one hand, and dreadful menaces on the other, was sent to the malecontents. This more and more incensed a people already irritated, and inflamed them to such a degree that they broke out into open acts of rebellion. They refused to pay the usual taxes, and particularly the bishop's tithes, and restored to the inferior clergy their ancient privilege of marriage. The stroke was levelled at the bishops, and particularly at Absalon, the primate of all Schonen. They insisted that the superior clergy were an unnecessary load upon the people, fattening upon the spoils of the land, while their flocks were left to find heaven in their own way, or by the assistance of the inferior clergy, who were not rewarded in proportion to their services, or, in such a manner as to render their situation easy and independent.

Perceiving they were not to be wrought on by gentle means, Valdemar resolved upon using force. The troops were assembled at Helsenburgh, the van led by the king in person, and the rear by Absalon. In their march the latter was grossly insulted by a mob of fishermen, who flocked together in a tumultuous manner, and presumptuously flung stones at the good prelate, even while he commanded a strong body of troops. His majesty was enraged at so bold an insult, and determined to punish the offenders with the utmost severity; but was persuaded, by the moderate and prudent Absalon, to let it pass as an ebullition of that noble spirit which characterized this people. He then again exerted all his influence with the king to listen to their complaints: he insisted, that people so tenacious of their freedom must be bold and intrepid, and of consequence the best supports of the regal authority duly administered; in a word, he used such prevailing arguments, that Valdemar determined to avoid bloodshed. All those persons who were obnoxious to the malcontents he removed from their places; Absalon resigned his bishoprick, and accepted of one greatly inferior in power and profit, and the province was in a fair way to be settled, when some of the more turbulent, who found their own interest in the public disturbance, spirited up the people still to refuse payment of the bishop's tithes, or, in other words, insisted upon the abolition of this order of ecclesiastics. Absalon himself now lost all patience, and, with the king's leave, laid the insurgents under severe interdiction. For a while they persisted in their obstinacy; but were at length tired out by the firm conduct of Absalon and the clergy, whom he had gained over to his interest. The insurrection was not, however, terminated without bloodshed. Two battles were fought, in

The tumult suppressed. both of which the malcontents were defeated, and at length reduced to the necessity of obeying upon the king's terms, which were more reasonable and mild than they could expect.

Conference between the emperor and Valdemar.

About this time Frederic Barbarossa, resolving to deprive Henry, duke of Saxony, of every friend capable of supporting his cause, endeavoured to draw off Valdemar from his attachment to him, by some proposals equally honourable and advantageous to Denmark. The emperor proposed that the king's two daughters should be matched with his two sons, one of whom was to succeed to the imperial diadem, the other being already duke of Suabia. The Danish nobility easily perceived that these overtures were made rather from enmity to the duke of Saxony than friendship for Valdemar; and the king, joining with them in opinion, expressed no great eagerness for the alliance: but his queen interfered, and used all her influence to prevail on him to accede to proposals which might render her daughter queen of the Romans and empress of Germany. In compliance with her vanity a grand fleet was equipped, and Valdemar went to meet Barbarossa at Lubec. He was met on the banks of the Trave by a great body of the German nobility, who conducted him with all imaginable pomp to the imperial quarters. Here he was treated by Barbarossa with every possible mark of respect: his person and address were the admiration of the Germans, who could not avoid making public comparisons between the monarchs, no way to the advantage of Barbarossa, whose appearance and aspect were mean. After visits had passed, business at length was brought on the carpet, when Barbarossa's demands in point of fortune appeared so extravagant, that Valdemar and the Danes began to question his sincerity. The king positively refused the portion he asked for his eldest son; but at length consented to what was demanded for the duke of Suabia; upon which the treaty was concluded, sworn to, and guaranteed by Bela III. king of Hungary.

Matters being thus finished, the king went on board the fleet that waited for him, with intention to sail with the first fair wind; but next morning he was surprised by a visit from the emperor in person, escorted only by a few of the nobility. Immediately the two princes retired from company, and Barbarossa earnestly requested the king that he would permit him to bestow the dignity of dukes of Pomerania on Casimir and Bogislaus, in order the more easily to reduce Henry to his obedience. Valdemar did not deny this favour; and accordingly those two princes were installed

stalled in the usual manner, the king assisting at the ceremony. Before the king of Denmark's departure his eldest daughter was betrothed, with the emperor's approbation, to Sigefred, landgrave of Thuringia; and soon after the nuptials were celebrated at Sleswick. On this occasion it was that Barbarossa invested Valdemar with the title of duke of Holstein, and annexed the country in perpetuity to the crown of Denmark.

Valdemar invested with the duchy of Holstein.

In the beginning of the following spring Valdemar receiving advice that the Vandals began to fortify some places which had been dismantled at the last peace, ordered Abfalon and his son Canute to levy an army, and proceed against them; but the Jutlanders refused to enlist themselves under such generals, despising the prince on account of his youth, and hating the minister for no other reason than that the king loved him, and that his influence was great; though he studied popularity, and was constantly the mediator between the king and the people. Valdemar was incensed at their refusal; and determined, notwithstanding his ill state of health, to command the expedition in person. The ingratitude of his subjects increased his distemper, and in a few days confined him to his bed; yet would he not relinquish his design. At length, by the tears and intreaties of his nobility, he was prevailed on to commit the war to his generals, and his own person to the care of his physicians at Wortenburg.

Valdemar falls sick.

While the fleet was detained in port by contrary winds, the Jutlanders began to mutiny, to complain of the scarcity of provisions, and insisted upon a release from the service. Homer, bishop of Ripen, a man greatly esteemed for his character and eloquence, harangued them for a long time to little purpose; and at length ordered one of the ring-leaders to be seized and bound. Instead of quieting, this act increased the tumult to such a degree, that the officers were constrained to dismiss the soldiers, and permit them to return home. Valdemar observed them from his window dispersed over the fields, guessed the cause, and was so afflicted, that his distemper increased, and his life was despaired of. The art of all his physicians was foiled; upon which the nobility prevailed on him to call in the assistance of a certain abbot, an empiric, whose impudence and boasting had raised him to a high degree of credit: his fatal nostrum was administered, and the king breathed his last, while he was left alone to take that repose which the quack insisted would restore his health.

Thus died Valdemar, a prince respected more than any of his predecessors for the qualities of his mind and person,

His death and character.

at the age of forty-eight, and in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, from the death of his associate. His piety, justice, prudence, and clemency, rendered him no less the idol, than his bravery, conduct, and success excited the admiration of his people and of neighbouring states. His disposition was equally suited for war and peace; but the latter he chose to cultivate, and never entered upon the former but to support the honour and dignity of his crown. His conquests were less brilliant, but more useful and necessary than those of former kings. He subdued Rugen, annexed it to his crown, and confirmed the islanders in the true principles of religion, the Christian faith. He overcame Wratislaus, duke of Stetin, and made him a vassal of Denmark. Henry, duke of Saxony, a powerful, fierce, and fickle prince, he thrice obliged to sue for peace in the most abject manner. Twice he defeated Erling and the Norwegians, and often overthrew the Vandals; but his behaviour to the conquered added more to his fame than all the great talents by which he became a conqueror. In a word, he is extolled by all contemporary and subsequent writers as the greatest, the wisest, and the best monarch, who had hitherto filled the Danish throne.

2 Saxo-Græm. lib. xv. - Meurf. lib. v. p 1118.



END OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH VOLUME.

